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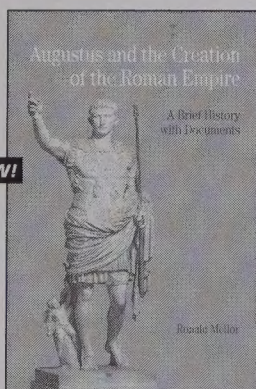
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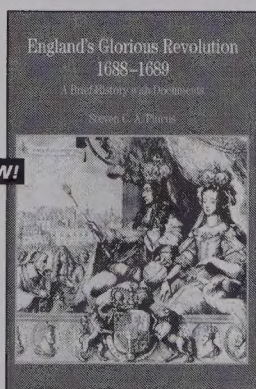
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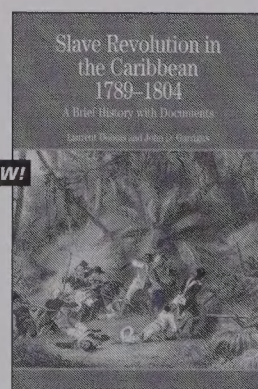
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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles and an *AHR* Forum. The articles are about the politics of faith in Colonial Mexico, nationalism in West Africa, and the utility of material culture as a source for historians. The Forum brings four scholars together to assess the nature of the “Constitutional Revolution of 1937.” In addition, the issue includes our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

William B. Taylor gives an account of rural devotion in late colonial Mexico. It revolves around a loss later remembered by rural devotees in ways that made the place of a miracle of a self-restoring crucifix more important than the relic itself. More broadly, it is about the politics of faith and the importance of place expressed in the direction and redirection of an official story. Based on several unusually well-documented episodes of dispute and religious practice, the article takes on the difficult issue of how cultural practices are reenacted and appropriated—what Michel de Certeau called “the secondary production hidden in the process of utilization.” It attempts to reach beyond the ideas of center-periphery and a hierarchy of shrines; to address elusive questions of religion and the negotiation of colonial circumstances by Indian villagers; and to contribute to the ongoing interest of Latin Americanists in South Asian scholarship on colonial and postcolonial experiences.

Elizabeth Schmidt examines the post–World War II nationalist movement in Guinea, French West Africa, drawing conclusions with broad ramifications for the non-Western world. The Guinean case demonstrates that anticolonial nationalisms’ embrace of heterogeneous populations belonged to a progressive political tradition of “inclusive nationalism.” Western-educated elites often led these nationalist movements, but they did not initiate them. Rather, elites found support among popular groups already engaged in movements against the state by identifying issues that had mass appeal and including them in the nationalist agenda. Indeed, elites and nonelites alike shaped the ideas, objectives, strategies, and methods of the nationalist movements. While elites contributed European ideas and models of nationalism, the nonliterate majority brought elements of indigenous culture to the movement. This case study in nationalist mobilization shows us *how* people were

mobilized. While some indigenous cultural practices and images were co-opted by elites, the people themselves brought others to the movement. The Guinean case thus provides a new framework for understanding the dynamics of anticolonial nationalism in many parts of the world.

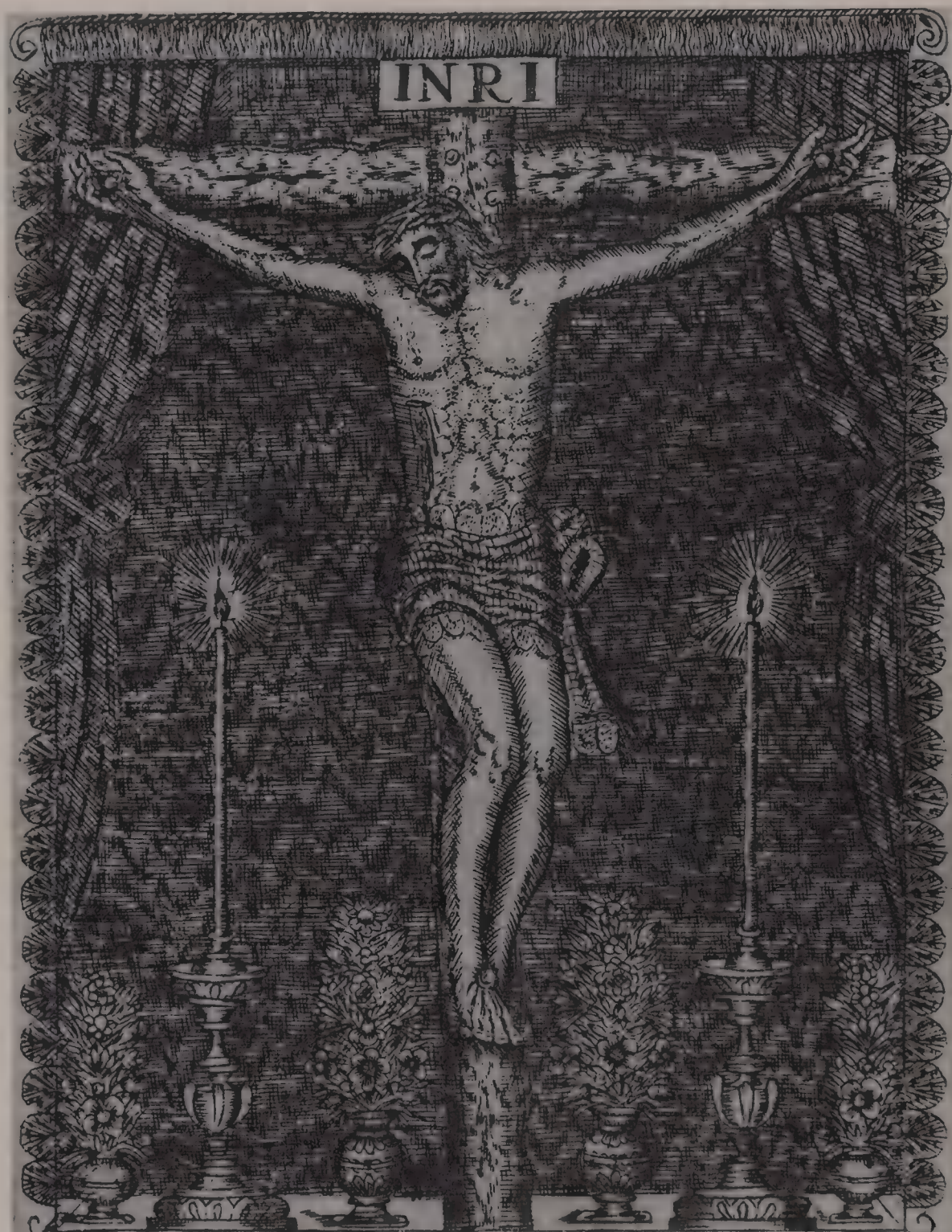
Laura Auslander argues for the utility of material culture as a source for historians in both their research and pedagogical practices. Her argument is based on phenomenological, psychoanalytic, and psychological theories, which together demonstrate the importance of objects in people's communicative and expressive practices. But how people use objects differs from their use of language, images, music, or other expressive forms, and thus the study of material culture calls for specific approaches and methodologies. If historians wish to grasp the human past in all its complexity and richness, however, they will have to include the examination of material culture and other nonlinguistic sources. After a theoretical introduction, the article briefly sketches both the ways in which historians may productively borrow from other disciplines' expertise in the analysis of material culture and history's particular analytical contribution to that task. It concludes with two examples, one from the French Revolution and the other from the post-WWII period, to illustrate the power of this approach.

AHR Forum

The Forum examines from different perspectives the shift in the orientation of the Supreme Court in 1937, in what has been called a "constitutional revolution." **Alan Brinkley** introduces the Forum by providing a context for the three longer pieces that follow. He summarizes the scholarly debate reflected in these essays—a debate between those who believe that changes in constitutional jurisprudence have been primarily a product of political and social pressures on the judiciary, and those who conclude that such changes are primarily the result of internal doctrinal changes within the judicial world itself. Brinkley argues that this scholarly debate reflects a real political struggle that has run through much of American history between those who believe that the courts should reflect the will of the people (and the legislatures) and those who hold that they should respect the judiciary's own traditions and standards. **Laura Kalman** continues the discussion by exploring the two sides of the debate as outlined by Brinkley. In particular, she asks whether the "constitutional revolution" of 1937 reflected the Court's capitulation to political pressures, such as Franklin D. Roosevelt's Court-packing plan, or whether it was the end result of doctrinal changes within the law that began well before 1937. She turns to the historiography of the recent debate over the Court's behavior, paying particular attention to how disciplinary affiliations have affected the explanations of historians, law professors, and political scientists. She maintains that instead of framing the question as one between "law and politics," we should recognize their interrelationship, at least in the context of "1937." **William E. Leuchtenburg** offers a comment on Kalman's analysis, and in the process restates his own view that a constitutional "revolution" did indeed take place in 1937. He disputes the assertion

that earlier decisions were more decisive, that the dramatic changes in the 1930s were the final stage in a slowly evolving paradigm shift. By scrutinizing dissenting opinions, the attitudes of contemporary legal scholars, several lesser-known rulings of the era, and such external forces as the 1936 election and Roosevelt's Court-packing attempt, he affirms that the greatest change in jurisprudence in the twentieth century came not gradually but abruptly. The Forum concludes with a contribution by **G. Edward White**, who argues that this debate goes well beyond the historiography of the New Deal period. It raises questions about what causal variables best explain decisions of the Supreme Court, especially those that revise earlier decisions. White describes the current debate between "internalist" and "externalist" constitutional historians of the New Deal and explores the historiographical implications of this controversy.

This Forum was commissioned by Michael Grossberg, a legal historian, whose tenure as Editor of the *AHR* ended on July 31. It is a fitting farewell tribute to Mike and to all that he brought to this journal during his ten years in the Editor's chair. In the light of the prominence of the Supreme Court in current affairs, the timing of these articles might seem purely fortuitous—but Mike would insist that he planned it that way.



VERDADERO RETRATO DEL S. XPTO E IXMIQVILPAN.
 COLOCADO POR EL ILL.^{MO} S.^R ARCOBISPO D IVAN DELA SERNA
 EN EL CONVENTO DE CARMELITAS DESCALSAS DE S.^R S.
 JOSEPH DE MEXICO DONDE ESTA OI.
A debocion del D.^o D.^o Joseph. Valleso. Hermosillo.

FRONTISPIECE: Depiction of the Cristo Renovado de Ixmiquilpan/Cristo Renovado de Santa Teresa in the first edition of Alfonso Alberto de Velasco's *Exaltacion de la Divina Misericordia en la milagrosa renovacion de la soberana Imagen de Christo Señor N. Crucificado que se venera en la Iglesia del Convento de San Joseph de Carmelitas Descalzas de esta ciudad de México* (Mexico, 1699).

Two Shrines of the Cristo Renovado: Religion and Peasant Politics in Late Colonial Mexico

WILLIAM B. TAYLOR

WHETHER IN APOLOGETIC LITERATURE OR SCHOLARSHIP, the Virgin Mary appears to dominate Mexico's devotional landscape, especially in the guise of Our Lady of Guadalupe. "Mexico can pride itself on the glorious title of 'Marian land,'" wrote Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte in *Historia del culto de María en Ibero-América y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados*, his monumental survey of the Virgin Mary in Latin America.¹ To Victor and Edith Turner, the Virgin of Guadalupe is Mexico's "dominant symbol," presiding over "the total symbolic system"—situated at the apex of pilgrimage routes and a hierarchy of shrines and images.² It is a surprise, then, to find a murmur of dissent in the last pages of Francisco Javier Lazcano's 1760 celebratory biography of his fellow Jesuit and Marian devotee Juan Antonio de Oviedo. After praising Oviedo's extensive revision and publication in 1755 of Francisco de Florencia's forgotten manuscript *Zodiaco mariano*—the first survey of Marian shrines in Mexico—Lazcano remarked:

May Heaven one day awaken a pen equal to that of Father Oviedo so that another great work of history worthy of the Christian World's acclamation will describe in detail the prodigious crosses and miraculous images of Jesus Christ, Our Lord, that make this kingdom famous in innumerable magnificent shrines throughout its vast dioceses. This kingdom is no less favored by the Son of God, Jesus Christ, Our Lord, in his infinite mercy than by the most beloved Mother of a God who is her son.³

I am not the one to write Lazcano's imagined chronicle, but, like him, I have noticed that local and regional devotion to particular images of Christ often exceeded the popularity of celebrated images of the Virgin Mary during the colonial period, and I have wondered what drew devotees to them. (Of course, the two are often intimately related and complementary, as in the Madonna and Child, or Our

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¹ *Historia del culto de María en Ibero-América y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1956), 2: 163.

² Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978), 245.

³ Francisco Javier Lazcano, *Vida exemplar y virtudes heroicas del venerable padre Juan Antonio de Oviedo de la Compañía de Jesús* (Mexico, 1760), 341.

Lady of Sorrows and the Crucifixion.) Of about 480 Mexican shrines to miraculous images that have attracted followers from beyond their immediate vicinity since the sixteenth century, 219 are dedicated to images of the Virgin Mary and 261 to images of Christ.⁴ True, the Christs are more likely than the Marys to have become famous during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but at least 156 of the shrines to images of Christ developed during the colonial period.⁵ Most of them were confined to district-wide or regional followings, but the Lord of Chalma, the Cristo Renovado de Santa Teresa, the Stone Cross of Querétaro, Guatemala's Lord of Esquipulas, and a dozen others were more widely venerated.

Christocentric devotion in New Spain (the colonial administrative territory that encompassed modern Mexico plus much of Central America and the Spanish borderlands that are now part of the United States) was closely related to European practices at the time, and rooted in medieval traditions. It came to the fore in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with Catholic reforms following the Council of Trent's promotion of the liturgy of the Eucharist, commemoration of Christ's Passion during Holy Week, and the feasts of the Holy Cross and Corpus Christi. Two-thirds or more of the colonial Mexican Christ shrines were dedicated to crucifixes.⁶ As in Europe, some of these crucifixes famously showed signs of life—sweating, bleeding, and groaning—in ways that recalled Christ's suffering, sacrifice, and promise of eternal life. Some images of Mary showed signs of life, too, but less often. In both Europe and Mexico, dilapidated images of Christ spontaneously *restored* themselves to fine condition, recalling Christ's resurrection and the promise of eternal salvation of the soul, while Marian images were more often said to have *remained* in preternaturally fine condition when they should have decomposed or been damaged, in the spirit of Mary's perpetual virginity.⁷

In short, in New Spain and the future Mexico, there was not just one dominant symbol presiding over a hierarchy of sacred places and images; nor did images of Mary overshadow all others. While the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe had become the most widely known object of faith in New Spain by the late eighteenth century, Tepeyac—the legendary site of the Virgin Mary's apparitions to Juan Diego in 1531 and where her miraculous image appeared mysteriously on his cloak—was not much more appealing beyond its own vicinity before the mid-nineteenth century than were eight or nine shrines to other miraculous images, not

⁴ These figures come from tabulating individual cases documented in various manuscript and printed sources, plus several compendiums, especially Francisco de Florencia and Antonio de Oviedo, *Zodiaco mariano* (Mexico, 1755); Luis Mario Schneider, *Cristos, santos y vírgenes: Santuarios y devociones de México* (Mexico, 1995); and *La ruta de los santuarios en México* (Mexico, 1994), which identifies 89 Cristo shrines and 78 Marian shrines.

⁵ I have no information about when 69 of the remaining 105 shrines began.

⁶ A total of 104 of 157, plus 21 miraculous crosses. This proportion holds true for more recent times, although since the early nineteenth century some images of the infant Jesus have gained a large and loyal following.

⁷ On the other hand, there were several striking transatlantic differences. In Spain, many miraculous images of Mary were discovered under unusual circumstances in caves, trees, or shallow burials and on hilltops, after the Christian recovery of an area from the Moors. In New Spain, it was mostly images of Christ that were discovered, and they were frequently *of* nature—formed in trees, marked on rocks, associated with the color green—as well as found *in* nature, and without the scent of holy war. These various associations point to Christ's resurrection and eternal life, but they are also signs of His active, protective presence on earth, a theme that may have been less common in Spain after the seventeenth century.

to mention the hundreds of shrines to yet other images of Mary and Christ that were regarded as essential to the well-being of people living nearby. Little in the way of an interlocking system of pilgrimage routes ending at Tepeyac developed—even with the advent of railroads in the late nineteenth century, when great streams of visitors to the shrine began to arrive from distant places—and there were about as many shrines to miraculous images in 1900 as in 1700. With so many shrines and images in play, the subject reaches far beyond Our Lady of Guadalupe and a Wal-Mart-style history in which other shrines fell away in the face of the irresistible attraction and relentless promotion of one dominant symbol.⁸

A self-restoring crucifix in central Mexico that stirred interest in two separate shrines during the eighteenth century offers an opportunity to reach beyond the idea of a hierarchy of shrines and the claim that written records generated by colonial institutions yield little more than the intentions of colonial elites and the operation of those institutions. It enables us to study Christocentric devotion in particular places and to consider what Michel de Certeau called “the secondary production hidden in the process of utilization.”⁹ The story in this essay revolves around a loss later remembered by rural devotees in ways that made the place of the miracle of self-restoration more important than the relic itself. More broadly, it is about the politics of faith in two places through the direction and redirection of an official story, and about how historians might reckon with elusive questions of religion and the negotiation of colonial circumstances by Indian villagers. “Indian” here means the descendants of indigenous Americans, who recognized themselves by, among other names, this one that Spanish authorities applied to them, but the other India also has a place in my reckoning with the bi-local developments at hand, as readers will see in the last section of the essay.

UNTIL RECENTLY, I KNEW THE STORY OF THE CRISTO RENOVADO only from various editions of a small book with a long title, *Exaltacion de la Divina Misericordia en la milagrosa renovacion de la soberana Imagen de Christo Señor N. Crucificado, que se venera en la Iglesia del Convento de San Ioseph de Carmelitas Descalzas de esta ciudad de México*. It amounts to the providential biography of a celebrated crucifix in Mexico City, presented in an omniscient narrator’s voice, published first in the late seventeenth century to encourage devotion and sanctify a struggling convent of Discalced Carmelite nuns founded a few years before the crucifix was brought to them. It is a story of God’s grace in the world from the pen of Dr. Alfonso Alberto de Velasco, a learned metropolitan priest who served as chaplain to these nuns—a finished, official story that might well be said to colonize knowledge and silence or marginalize other voices. By itself, Velasco’s text could not bring me close to devotees and other possible histories of the image. But now I have three clusters of eighteenth-century records and a sprinkling of other references that complicate Father Velasco’s seamless, linear story. The host Carmelite nuns remain offstage in both Velasco’s text and the administrative record of the shrine in Mexico City, and

⁸ Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, chaps. 1 and 2 and Appendix A.

⁹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), xiii.

there is little to say about their devotion to the crucifix. This is not surprising. They did not directly administer the shrine, and with their emphasis on silent prayer, individual work, poverty, privacy, and the solitude of the cell, the reformed Carmelites called for an unusual measure of austerity and discipline, which kept these nuns largely out of the public record. Theirs eventually became the most prestigious convent in Mexico City, attracting local women from white, elite families to a particularly arduous, self-abnegating life, but even their assistance to the needy is little documented, and they seem to have escaped the kinds of troubles that could bring the activities of cloistered life into view for strangers.¹⁰

First, here is the view from Mexico City through Father Velasco's story of the image, and a sketch of the devotion there during the colonial period. Known variously as the Señor de Santa Teresa, the Cristo Renovado de Ixmiquilpan, the Cristo de El Cardonal, or simply the Cristo Renovado, it is a nearly life-size crucifix that was removed to Mexico City in 1623 from the small mining community of Mapethé just north of El Cardonal in the western hills of modern Hidalgo State.¹¹ (See Map 1.) Velasco wrote in the 1680s that the crucifix had been brought to Mapethé by a Spanish miner in 1545 and was housed in a modest chapel, attracting more attention from hungry insects than from devotees. The image became so dilapidated that in 1615 the archbishop ordered it to be broken apart and buried with the next adult to die in the parish. For nearly six years thereafter, however, no one died, and mysterious groans and celestial music drifted from the chapel late at night. In 1621, the image began to perspire and twitch on the cross, and during a fierce storm it floated free and was restored to fine condition before becoming reattached. The image continued to show signs of life, occasionally opening its eyes, perspiring, and spurting blood. Marvelous healings of local people and an abundant crop of maize followed. Later that year, the archbishop ordered the image brought to Mexico City for safekeeping, because the miner's chapel had virtually collapsed. Velasco mentioned that local Indians and Spaniards struggled against the removal of their now-prodigious image before it was taken to the capital, where it was received with great rejoicing.

I know of just one earlier reference to the image and devotion. Gil González Dávila's survey of the history of the Archdiocese of Mexico from a European perspective, published in Madrid in 1649, mentioned that the image sweated, trembled, and performed other miracles in 1621 and was moved to the Carmelite convent in Mexico City on orders of the archbishop, who wanted it rescued from its

¹⁰ New Spain's Carmelite nuns have been studied by Manuel Ramos Medina in *Místicas y descalzas: Fundaciones femeninas carmelitas en la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1997). See especially xxiii, 113–117, 197–198. Ramos Medina found only one wave of public record for this convent. In the mid-seventeenth century, the nuns appealed to Spain to be removed from the jurisdiction of secular ecclesiastical authorities and placed under the supervision of Carmelite prelates, 152–163.

¹¹ The word "Mapethé" has no obvious sacred connotation in the Otomí language. Pedro Martín Godínez Salas translated it as "place of the mineral washing basins (*deslavaderos*)."*Abandono y recuperación de la tierra en Santuario de Mapethé, Hidalgo* (Mexico, 1982), 53–54. Velasco's first publication about the Cristo Renovado reported that the image was known locally as "the Santo Cristo de Zimapán, del Cardonal, etc., and also as the Santo Cristo de las minas del Plomo pobre and de las minas de Guerrero, for its original owner, . . . but most commonly as the Santo Cristo de Yxmiquilpa, which is the headtown of the district." *Renovacion por si misma* . . . (Mexico, 1688), fol. 6v. These various names point to tensions between shared devotion and local proprietary claims discussed later in the essay.



MAP 1: The Shrine of Mapethé and Surroundings

precarious location near the Chichimec frontier.¹² González Dávila did not mention the act of self-renovation that is central to Velasco's story; nor did he mention the crumbling chapel. He offered the classic *furta sacra* ("holy theft") story, familiar in

¹² Gil González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de la Santa Iglesia de México* (Madrid, 1649–1655), 59. The image, he wrote, had sweated three times on February 17, 1621—forty days before the death of King Philip III—and trembled on the cross five months later.

medieval European hagiography, of relics rescued from danger or neglect and moved by their new owners to another location.¹³ The shrine of the Cristo Renovado in Mexico City apparently did not become important until the end of the seventeenth century; Fr. Isidro de la Asunción, the Spanish Carmelite inspector who resided in central Mexico from 1673 to 1678, did not mention it in the chapter on shrines of his *Itinerario a Indias*.¹⁴

The first version of Velasco's account of the image, published in 1688 as *Renovacion por si misma de la soberana imagen de Christo Señor Nuestro crucificado, que llaman de Ytzimiquilpan* (vulgarmente Ysmiquilpa, y Esmiquilpa): colocada en la iglesia del convento de San Joseph, de religiosas Carmelitas descalça desta imperial ciudad de Mexico. Narracion historica, qve la refiere, con fundamentos de hecho, y derecho, para que se declare por Milagrosa, y los demás sucessos, reads like a digest of one of the extended legal reports called *informaciones jurídicas* that were prepared for episcopal courts in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mexico to evaluate cases for beatification of a holy person or recognition of a miraculous image.¹⁵ Composed for a campaign to establish the authenticity of miracles associated with the image, it bristles with testimony and references to various documents, witnesses, and experts, and is organized into a long series of numbered paragraphs rather than chapters that develop a story line. The year after *Renovacion por si misma* appeared, Archbishop Francisco Aguiar y Seixas examined a full set of depositions supporting the tradition of supernatural restoration and declared it to be an authentic miracle.¹⁶ It is not clear whether the archbishop fully supported Velasco's dramatic extension of the origin story told by González Dávila, who may have garbled or radically simplified the tradition that reached him from Mexico.

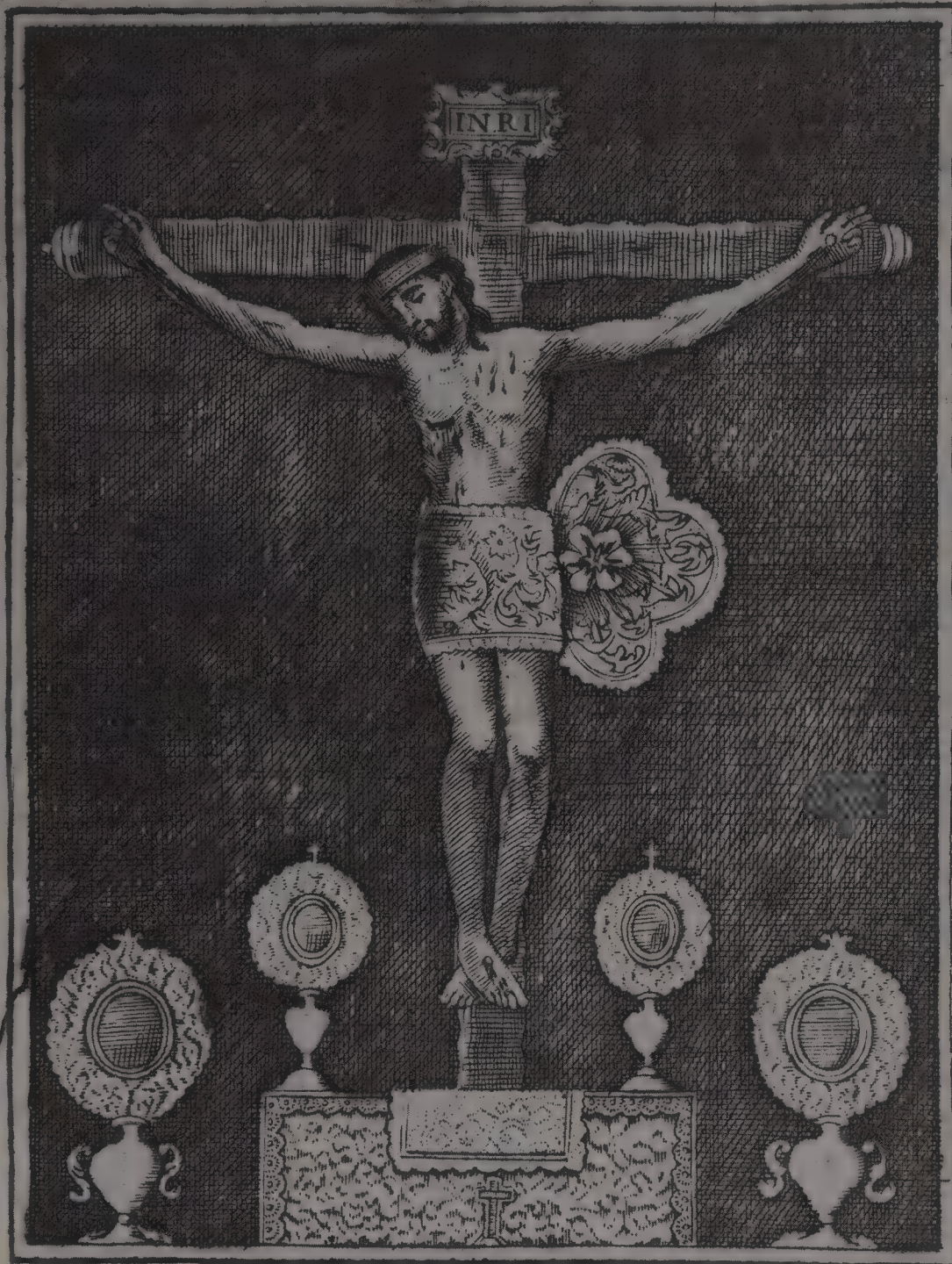
With the archbishop's official endorsement of a miraculous restoration and a buzz of public excitement after the image was believed to have brought relief to the city from an epidemic in 1697, the devotion took off. That year, Italian visitor Juan Gemelli Carreri called the chapel of the Cristo Renovado one of the Valley of Mexico's three great shrines (among more than sixty celebrated miraculous images by my count). The first edition of Velasco's apologetic book, revised for a general readership from his 1688 publication, appeared in 1699 along with a printed program of prayers and other devotions for an annual novena in the church of Santa Teresa. A second novena booklet appeared in 1715, followed in 1724 by a reprinting of Velasco's 1699 text and a new book for devotees of the image by the Jesuit Domingo de Quiroga. Then in 1731, a lengthy sermon inspired by the image was delivered and published by one of the capital's leading preachers, Manuel Folgar. In all, there have been twelve editions of Velasco's devotional history, published without revisions to his text. They were printed in four clusters: 1699 and 1724;

¹³ Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1978).

¹⁴ *Itinerario a Indias (1673–1678)* (Mexico, 1992), 103–109.

¹⁵ José Toribio Medina, the great nineteenth-century bibliographer and historian, identified the 1688 publication as "un informe historial jurídico" (a historical-judicial report) rather than a devotional history. *La imprenta en México (1539–1810), edición facsimilar*, 8 vols. (Mexico, 1989), 3: 222–224. It may have circulated in manuscript a few years earlier, perhaps as early as 1684, when Archbishop Aguiar y Seixas blessed Mexico City's newly finished Carmelite church of Santa Teresa. In his preface-aprobación for *Renovacion por si misma*, Francisco de Florencia wrote that he had read Velasco's manuscript in 1685.

¹⁶ Antonio de Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables (1665–1703)*, 3 vols. (Mexico, 1946), 2: 72.



V.R. de la Hermosissima Imagen de N.S. Crucificado milagrosamente Renobada que se venera en el Convento Antiquo de Señoras Carmelitas Descalzas de Mexico.

El Eminentísimo S. D. Luis Antonio Arzobispo de Toledo, Concede, 100, dias de Indulgencia à todas las personas q. delante de esta estampa rezare un Credo, Padre Nro. ó hizieren alguno de los Actos de Fe, rogando por Dios por la paz &c.

FIGURE 1: Velasco's written text was not revised in its various editions, but the prints of the Cristo Renovado that embellished them did change. The crucified Christ in the 1699 print (see Frontispiece) hangs heavy on the cross, with the ravaged torso accentuated and the figure blending into a busy, textured background set off by two lighted candles and other decorations. This 1807 print is very similar to the others that appeared in the editions after 1776. Here Christ's body is less tortured and seems to float on the cross. The background is plainer and begins to recede.

1776, 1790, 1807, 1810, and 1820; 1845 and 1858; and facsimiles in 1945, 1951, and 1996. The silence between 1858 and the facsimile editions coincided with a long decline in popular and official interest in the image in Mexico City. The gaps in publication during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries seem to have less to do with declining interest than with the history of promotion by archiepiscopal authorities.¹⁷ Publications and descriptions of popular devotion to the Cristo Renovado were less conspicuous during the period of concerted official promotion of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the 1740s and 1750s, but chroniclers in the 1760s and 1770s continued to single out this crucifix as one of the great miraculous images favoring New Spain, and private bequests were accumulating.¹⁸ Between 1724 and 1776, there is ample evidence of growing devotion in Mexico City. Enthusiasm for the Cristo Renovado as a processional image and “celestial physician” (*celestial médico*) in times of illness seems to have taken firm hold during the great epidemic of 1737, when many thousands of people accompanied the image to Mexico City’s cathedral and crowded in for a novena of public prayers and masses.¹⁹ It would be taken in procession to the cathedral for novenas during other epidemics in 1761, 1779, 1784, 1797, and 1833.²⁰

Paintings of the celebrated crucifix made for devotees in Mexico City and the provincial city of Querétaro during the eighteenth century trace a similar pattern of promotion and devotion. Most were painted in Mexico City during the 1730s, when the Cristo Renovado was featured in penitential processions.²¹ At least three were done by José de Ibarra, an especially popular Mexico City painter of the time, and several found their way to Spain. One that advertised itself as having “touched the original” went to a Carmelite convent in Málaga, Spain, in the 1740s, attracting an ardent following among the nuns there. They eventually received from the Mexico City shrine two of the original nails from the cross of the Cristo Renovado in exchange for three gold-plated, diamond-studded replacements.²² These eighteenth-century paintings and publications kept the focus on the image and Mexico

¹⁷ The publication history of Velasco’s text during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries more often points toward promotion. The 1724 edition was sponsored by the nuns of the Santa Teresa la Antigua convent—“a devoción de la madre priora y religiosas”—for whom the image had been brought to Mexico City in the first place. The 1996 facsimile edition of Velasco also resulted from the desire of the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Mexico City to promote the devotion. Writing in 1997, Manuel Ramos Medina observed that “very few know its history in spite of the efforts of the nuns to promote the devotion. Recently these Carmelites commemorated the 375th anniversary of the renovation of the Christ of Ixmiquilpan and reprinted Velasco’s book.” *Místicas y descalzas*, 136.

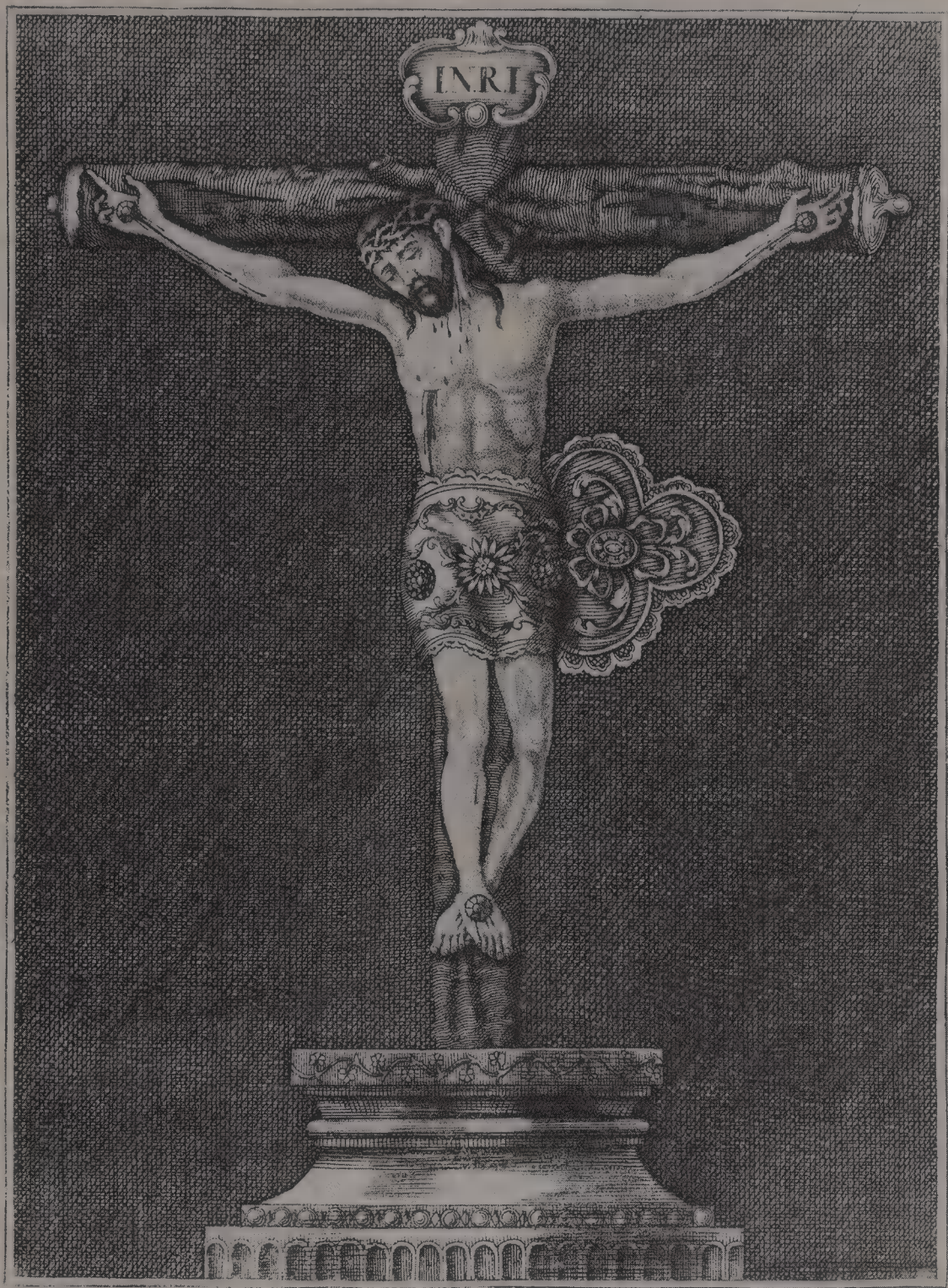
¹⁸ Francisco de Ajofrín, *Diario del viaje que hizo a la América en el siglo XVIII el P. Fray Francisco de Ajofrín*, 2 vols. (1764; repr., Mexico, 1964), 1: 106; Agustín Francisco Esquivel y Vargas, *El fénix del amor* (1764; repr., Zamora, 1990), 109; Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, 3 vols. (ca. 1767; repr., Mexico, 1841–1842), 2: 125–128; Lazcano, *Vida exemplar*, 341; Juan de Viera, *Compendiosa narración de la ciudad de México (1777)* (Mexico, 1952), 56. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (hereafter AGN) Bienes Nacionales 1210, exp. 7, *dotación de novena* by Doña María Teresa de Borja: a 2,000 pesos lien on a house in Mexico City.

¹⁹ *Gaceta de México*, April 28, 1737, reported a great procession to the cathedral for prayers to restore the city to health.

²⁰ *Gaceta de México*, November 29, 1797, note appended to an article on the 1797 procession to the cathedral.

²¹ Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero, *Escudo de armas de México . . .* (Mexico, 1746), 450–456.

²² On other paintings of the Cristo Renovado, especially those by Ibarra, see Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, “José de Ibarra,” in Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini, eds., *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821* (Denver, Colo., 2004), 201–202.



VER DE LA MILAGRO DEL SSMO. CRISTO. RENOV. DE SANTA TERESA
en el año 180. dadas por Indulgencia a todas las personas que rezaren un Credo por la salvación
de su alma. Nuestra Señora. *Barra grabó y dedicó a...*

FIGURE 2: This 1820 print accentuates the figure of Christ and extends neoclassical motifs of dignified simplicity and Christ's perfection in its large but spare fluted base, the unobtrusive background, and the refinement of the body. It is more about the figure of Christ, but less about his agony. If these differences are signs of changing religious sensibilities in Mexico City, there is little to suggest that devotees of the shrine at Mapethé were catching the new spirit.

City as especially favored by the original miracle of self-restoration, and devotional fervor to the Cristo Renovado intensified during times of crisis, as the surge of interest during epidemics suggests.

The years immediately before and during the War of Independence (1810–1821), when a new and grander chapel for the Cristo Renovado was under construction in the Carmelite church, represent the period of greatest official promotion, wealth, and popularity of this shrine after the 1690s. In April 1809, the image was taken to the cathedral for a novena to appeal for the safety of the king of Spain and the defeat of “French heretics”—apparently the first time the image had left the convent church of Santa Teresa except for penitential processions during epidemics. In his late 1810 diatribe against the insurrection led by Miguel Hidalgo and plea for “union and brotherhood” across New Spain’s regions and social classes, Agustín Pomposo Fernández de San Salvador invoked the “Cristo de Santa Teresa la Antigua” along with the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Virgin of Los Remedios as the symbols of national unity.²³ A wealthy confraternity dedicated to the Cristo Renovado was active at the shrine then, and in 1814 the shrine’s treasury boasted bequests and chaplaincies that produced about 20,000 pesos in annual interest.²⁴ This sum was augmented by the usual alms collections, and in 1813 a popular raffle was instituted (the “Lotería del Ssmo Cristo de Santa Teresa la Antigua”) during the final months of construction of the new chapel. The raffle netted the shrine 894 pesos on gross ticket sales of 2,340 pesos during its first thirty-two months.²⁵

Although the popularity of the raffle had run its course by 1823, the shrine’s stock of capital continued to produce a steady income,²⁶ and devotion peaked again during the cholera epidemic of 1833 with another procession and novena in the cathedral.²⁷ Carlos María Bustamante celebrated the image’s continuing power and popularity when he wrote in the early 1840s: “This surprising rejuvenation of the Lord of Santa Teresa not only has been a matter of belief by all Mexicans up to the present, but it has been confirmed in singular marvels, including its exalted protection in every public calamity, most recently in the terrible cholera epidemic, which began to recede as soon as the image was displayed in a magnificent procession.”²⁸

The new chapel collapsed in an earthquake in 1845, shattering the image. There was enough money in the shrine’s treasury and enough interest among devotees both to print updated editions of Velasco’s *Exaltacion de la Divina Misericordia* for

²³ *Memoria Cristiano-política sobre lo mucho que la Nueva España debe temer de su desunión en partidos, y las grandes ventajas que puede esperar de su unión y confraternidad* (Mexico, 1810). Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez, the late-colonial hagiographer of miraculous images in the Valley of Mexico, wrote book-length devotional texts about four shrines: Our Lady of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Los Remedios, Our Lady of Los Angeles, and the Cristo Renovado. Only the first two were published, in 1797 and 1808.

²⁴ AGN Bienes Nacionales 1864, exp. 34; AGN Bienes Nacionales 800, exp. 12.

²⁵ AGN Bienes Nacionales 423, exp. 19; AGN Bienes Nacionales 466, exp. 20.

²⁶ AGN Bienes Nacionales 466, exp. 20, 1823 report of the shrine’s treasurer.

²⁷ See *Odita al contemplar que desaparece de la Metropolitana de México . . .* (Mexico, 1833), on the occasion of the Cristo Renovado’s return from the cathedral to the Santa Teresa convent church, and Carlos María Bustamante’s *México religioso: Procesión del Señor de Santa Teresa de México a la iglesia catedral con motivo de la cholera morbus* (Mexico, 1833).

²⁸ Quoted in Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2: 128.

promotional purposes in 1845 and 1858 and to rebuild the chapel and artfully remake the image. Perhaps the remade image was not perceived as “the same.” In any case, the Cristo Renovado de Santa Teresa never regained its old popularity after Mexico’s reform period in the 1850s and 1860s. During the Cristero War of the late 1920s, the church of Santa Teresa la Antigua was closed by the government, and the image was moved to the cathedral; later it was returned to the Carmelite nuns, who were then residing in San Angel on the outskirts of the Valley of Mexico. Today, few people in Mexico City, much less elsewhere, know about the miraculous image of the Cristo Renovado, and the nuns have not succeeded in reviving much interest in it. Their facsimile edition in 1996 of an early edition of Velasco’s book marking the 375th anniversary of the miracle of renovation attracted some antiquarian interest, but few new devotees.²⁹

WHAT WENT ON IN THE PLACE where the great miracle of rejuvenation was said to have happened back in 1621? Had people there been telling themselves the miracle story that Velasco eventually published? Were they drawn to the shrine in Mexico City after the image was taken from them? Was Velasco’s text known to them? If so, how did they understand it? We may never know what stories local people told about the place and image during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, nothing yet known from the seventeenth century suggests that they organized pilgrimages to visit the lost image in Mexico City or honored the site of the miracle of renovation before Velasco’s devotional history appeared in 1699.

The chapel at Mapethé remained in ruins until the 1720s; then, soon after the second edition of Velasco’s book appeared, the situation changed. From the 1720s to the early 1800s, bursts of record making and building tell of considerable regional interest in the site. The 1728 license to rebuild the chapel noted that many people—identified as non-Indians as well as Indians—were visiting Mapethé as a place of miracles.³⁰ By the late 1730s, several Otomí Indian leaders from the district of Ixmiquilpan were vying for control over the project.³¹ At the center of this first dispute was Don Agustín Morales, an Otomí *cacique* (hereditary leader) and painter by trade from El Cardonal, who was described by his followers as “the first founder” of the tradition. In the late 1720s, he reportedly crafted two crucifixes similar to the Cristo Renovado, started to build a church on the site of the original chapel, sponsored an annual novena there during Lent, and secured licenses from ecclesiastical and royal authorities to collect alms for the building project.

While no one denied that the shrine was Morales’s idea and that the first phase of construction was undertaken largely at his expense, by 1737 he was entangled in

²⁹ The only photograph of the Cristo Renovado de Santa Teresa published recently treats it as an art object rather than a devotional image. Elisa Vargas Lugo et al., *Parábola novohispana: Cristo en el arte virreinal* (Mexico, 2000).

³⁰ AGN Tierras 2155, exp. 5.

³¹ AGN Civil 1384, exp. 11; AGN Civil 2292, exp. 4. The *alcaldía mayor* district of Ixmiquilpan encompassed the two parishes of Ixmiquilpan and El Cardonal and the Indian headtowns of Ixmiquilpan, El Cardonal, Orizaba, and Tlazintla and their outliers. People known historically as Otomíes usually identify themselves today as Nāhñu.

litigation over who should be in charge of the project and the site.³² He sought and received an order from the high court in Mexico City for the parish priest of El Cardonal and other colonial authorities and Indian governors throughout the area to recognize his authority—"quasi-possession," the legal record calls it—and not to interfere with his collection of donations and management of the building project. But his authority at the sacred site was always in dispute. In 1739 and 1742, he petitioned for confirmation of his 1737 possession and an order for the officials of El Cardonal not to interfere with his collections and administration of the project. Then in 1743, he was imprisoned on orders of the priest and charged with stealing 300 pesos from the collection box. His principal alms collectors and fellow Indian notables Diego Joseph and Pedro Martín Bello seized his crucifixes and claimed to be the rightful administrators of the burgeoning devotion. Morales spent more than a year in jail until he rendered what were regarded as adequate accounts of the alms collections. Royal revenue agents and district governors got involved, accusing all the Indian leaders of embezzling funds and complaining that the shrine was creating a vagrancy problem and depriving them of tax revenue and labor for the mines of the El Cardonal district. The protracted litigation drew in dozens of witnesses who incidentally attested to a territory of devotees and conscripted construction workers that included various Otomí towns and hamlets in western Hidalgo. They testified that most devotees went to the holy site for the festivities Morales promoted during Lent, taking their village and family crucifixes with them, as if to charge them with sacred energy at the place of the miraculous renovation.

Bello served as *mayordomo* or administrator of the emerging shrine for two years, from 1746 to 1748. About a third of the construction was completed by the latter date, but the job was still far from done, and he, too, was brought down by accusations of withholding alms for his own use and not submitting full financial reports. Morales and his followers continued to lay claim to the project and gained a decisive legal victory over Bello and other rivals in 1748, as colonial officials pushed for completion of the shrine and regular administration by a parish priest and a single *mayordomo*. Bello spent that year and part of the next in jail while he and eight more self-styled "founders" of the shrine continued to appeal the verdict against his claim as rightful administrator. Morales and his followers responded with the usual vigor. The judges finally threw up their hands on December 20, 1748, and remitted the case to the archbishop's court for further consideration. There Morales was quickly confirmed as the *mayordomo*. Morales recovered his crucifixes—the one described as "the green cross" was given a place of honor in the temporary shrine at Mapethé—and new alms collectors resumed their rounds. His triumph was short-lived, however. By the fall he had died, and the church was still unfinished.

This summary of bitter, costly legal claims and counterclaims barely touches on the complex, shifting webs of local interests and the factions behind them. Morales, Diego Joseph, and Bello were all Otomí leaders from the vicinity of El Cardonal,³³

³² The following discussion of developments in 1737–1748 is based on AGN Tierras 2155, exp. 5, and AGN Tierras 2904, exp. 2.

³³ AGN Tierras 2155, exp. 5. In April 1744, both Morales and Diego Joseph were identified as *indios principales* (Indian nobles) of El Cardonal.

but the collective leadership of El Cardonal opposed Morales in the early years of this dispute, then supported him later. His most consistent supporters seem to have been people identified as Indians from the large settlements of Tlazintla and Palma Gorda, near the district capital of Ixmiquilpan. The pastors and royal governors of El Cardonal and Ixmiquilpan were suspicious of any Indian administration of this district-wide project that shifted patronage and control of finances from their offices, yet they wanted it to go forward. At one time or another, they became allies or adversaries of the several Indian partisans, while struggling with each other over jurisdiction and administration of funds. District officials and the high court in Mexico City found the mounting record of disputes and shifting divisions among Indian leaders and settlements as tangled as the would-be historian does. As early as January 1744, the *alcalde mayor* (district governor) of Ixmiquilpan marveled at “the many orders and injunctions issued in this case, some in favor of Agustín Morales and others for Diego Joseph, . . . and the endless complaints of both parties.”³⁴ The Otomí side of the case seemed endless because it had less to do with clear-cut legal issues that could be resolved by compromise or the final authority of a colonial court than with unremitting tetchiness over subordination to authority outside the local community. Even the apparent local communities were dispersed and often fractious.

Situated several miles north of the settlement of El Cardonal, the unfinished shrine was described in late 1748 as very large—roughly 150 feet long and more than 50 feet high, with walls nearly 6 feet thick and a beautiful bell tower modeled on the cathedral in Mexico City. The structure was valued at just over 10,000 pesos, and it was estimated that two years and another 14,000 pesos would be needed to finish the job. But the way to a finished shrine and settled administrative and devotional practices still was not clear. In 1755, Archbishop Manuel Rubio y Salinas’s pastoral visit report sharply criticized the shrine’s administrators and alms collectors for not completing the building and for keeping inadequate records of “the copious donations that are collected daily.”³⁵ Yet another church official seemed convinced that the alms collectors were skimming money from the collection boxes.

This first wave of records has the hallmarks of a shrine and devotion in its early stages of development. Alms-collecting missions began then, and their purpose was to pay for construction of the first substantial church at the site. Construction was the center of activity, and weekly labor receipts for late 1748 and early 1749 show a crew of twelve Indian day laborers at work under the supervision of four skilled masons. Don Agustín Morales’s two crucifixes circulated with the alms collectors and were sometimes housed at the building site, but no particular image was yet regarded as the Señor de Mapethé. The principal feast day during the week before Palm Sunday does not seem to have been well established yet.³⁶

Velasco’s story of the miracle of renovation and the transfer of the image to Mexico City may well have become local knowledge in western Hidalgo at this time,

³⁴ AGN Tierras 2155, exp. 5, fol. 92.

³⁵ Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México (hereafter AHAM), Rubio y Salinas pastoral visit book, fols. 101v–106v, February 11, 1755.

³⁶ Archbishop Rubio y Salinas refers to “la semana de San Lázaro” festivities in his 1755 pastoral visit report.

with a selective, provocative twist. According to Salvador González, a *mestizo* from Ixmiquilpan who testified before the district governor in 1743, local people knew the story of the self-renovating crucifix “as it is described in the printed book about this astonishing portent.”³⁷ And in 1748, Indians from three communities in the district boldly asserted that the image in Mexico City ought to be returned to Mapethé once their church was completed³⁸—a possibility implied by Velasco, who had described how when the archbishop’s deputies came to take the image away, it grew heavy and began to bleed and blink its eyes. When local people resisted its removal, their parish priest promised them he would request the return of the image, “God willing, if it is not properly cared for in Mexico City,” but pointed out that “at present, we have no church; it is in ruins.”³⁹ At least some local devotees in the 1740s and later seem to have taken this passage from Velasco’s book to mean that if they built a fine church for the image, it would be returned.⁴⁰

The unfinished shrine became a parish seat in 1751, and its first pastor, Bachiller Antonio Fuentes de León, actively promoted the cult during his tenure of more than twenty years, enlarging and strengthening the building and furnishing it with fine altars and paintings. The present building has the gilded altars from Father Fuentes’s time—the main altar is dated 1765⁴¹—and an antique wooden crucifix about three feet high, known as the Señor de Mapethé (perhaps one of the portable images Morales made in the 1720s; more likely a later crucifix commissioned by the people of Palma Gorda). On the side walls hang an undated oil painting of the Cristo Renovado bringing rain after seven years of drought and a set of four paintings dated 1773 that depict the miraculous renovation of the image in 1621. The last painting in the set shows Father Fuentes in the posture of a devout donor. If I did not know about Agustín Morales, Diego Joseph, Pedro Martín Bello, and the others, it would be tempting to conclude that the shrine and devotions at Mapethé began with, and largely depended on, the efforts of the assiduous Father Fuentes. In word and image, Don Agustín and his rivals are absent from the material remains of the shrine at Mapethé. But they are there in deed.

The second long wave of written records, from 1783 to 1795, mainly concerned the Zimapán area north of Mapethé. It establishes that interest in the shrine remained strong after Father Fuentes died, and spread to the north and west, mainly among Otomí people.⁴² By then, the fifth Friday of Lent, just before Palm Sunday, had become the day for the annual gathering of crucifixes from throughout the region. Participants spoke of this event as ancient practice—“de tiempo inmemorial”—as if it had always been so.⁴³ By then, one or more images displayed

³⁷ *Relaciones geográficas del Arzobispado de México, 1743*, ed. Francisco de Solano, prepared and transcribed by Catalina Romero, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1988), 1: 69.

³⁸ The three communities were Tlazintla, Palma Gorda, and Ixmiquilpan. AGN Civil 1384, exp. 11, fol. 50r.

³⁹ *Exaltacion* (1790 ed.), 33. According to Velasco, when porters attempted to take the crucifix toward Mexico City, “2,000” local Indians and some Spaniards seized the image and took it to Ixmiquilpan. Healings and other signs of Christ’s presence in the image happened there before it was eventually removed to Mexico City. No one in 1748 seems to have threatened a similar mass action for the return of the image.

⁴⁰ AGN Civil 1384, exp. 11, fols. 50–53; Velasco, *Exaltacion* (1790 ed.), 33–35.

⁴¹ *Dones y promesas: 500 años de arte ofrenda (exvotos mexicanos)* (Mexico, 1996), 96.

⁴² AGN Civil 1111, exps. 1, 12, and “991.”

⁴³ AGN Civil 1111, exp. 12.

at the shrine were recognized as the Lord of Mapethé, although not without some controversy. Many Indians were making the one-day walk from the district of Zimapán,⁴⁴ where the most productive silver mines in the region were located at that time. Indians of Zimapán, many of them transient or recently settled, reportedly left their work in the mines to visit the shrine at least once a year, confessed and took communion at Mapethé rather than at home, and sometimes hid from the local tax collector and the labor bosses when they returned. The royal officials of Zimapán were not about to lose their grip on Indian labor and local taxes without a contest in the courtroom. The result is an ample record of sharp dispute over this thirteen-year period and more testimony about the shrine.

If the conflicts of the 1740s involving the shrine at Mapethé crosscut local society in more directions than I can describe in a few pages, those of the 1780s and early 1790s are even more complex and less localized. Three kinds of conflict appear in this new documentation: (1) between Indians of the Zimapán area and their *alcalde mayor* (Spanish governor) and parish priest over fees, taxes, and where their political loyalties belonged; (2) between Zimapán's Indian governors and the Indian *mayordomo* who organized the annual nine-day pilgrimage to Mapethé over the collection of expense money;⁴⁵ and (3) between the *alcalde mayor* and parish priest of Ixmiquilpan on one side and the *alcalde mayor* and parish priest of Zimapán on the other over how and where Indians of the district of Zimapán should spend their money and receive communion. Despite the divisions, when it came time for the annual journey to Mapethé with the local crucifixes, the various Otomí rivals seem to have joined in, including the Indian governors who had complained about the *mayordomo*. Nor did higher colonial authorities interfere. Perhaps because devotees could show that they were not gone long and did not engage in unruly activity, the litigation of the 1790s did not lead to orders from the archbishop or the viceroy to suspend the processions or discourage the devotion in other ways.⁴⁶ This tacit acceptance is surprising, since official policy at the time discouraged most alms collections and large Indian gatherings, and district officials were concerned about "Indians" in El Cardonal harboring suspicions that "the Spaniards" meant to destroy them.⁴⁷ Mexico City authorities may not have in-

⁴⁴ One witness testified that the trip from the town of Zimapán to Mapethé took about five hours. AGN Civil 1111, exp. "991."

⁴⁵ The *mayordomo* had his two processional crucifixes confiscated and was charged with collecting money without a license to defray expenses, including the rental of outfits for those who went armed as Roman soldiers. Even ceremonial arming of Indians was controversial in this region. While the Indian governors and councilmen nominally chose the *mayordomo* annually, one *mayordomo* served throughout this period, while governors and councilmen came and went. He may well have become an especially powerful figure in the community.

⁴⁶ The parish priest at the shrine and the *mayordomos* of Zimapán assured authorities in Mexico City that the Indians had behaved decorously. AGN Civil 1111, exp. "991"; AGN Civil 1111, exp. 1.

⁴⁷ For example, Bancroft Library, uncatalogued 2002 acquisition, "Año de 1802, criminal contra los indios del Cardonal por tumultuarios." According to Antonio Fonseca's report of March 4, 1802, after five Indian laborers perished when the wall of a reservoir they were rebuilding caved in on them, the rumor spread that Spaniards wanted to kill Indians. In 1799, the archbishop did ban a larger procession of *cristos* in the city of Querétaro on Maundy Thursday involving as many as 8,000 Indians from neighboring communities. AGN Arzobispos y Obispos 2, fols. 308–315. In 1803, the archbishop also banned the Corpus Christi festivities in San Pedro de la Cañada, near the city of Querétaro, because of "abominable excesses." But in general he found Querétaro a pious place. AHAM L10B/32 fol. 44r (1803 pastoral visit).

terfered with the Mapethé shrine because they did not want to chance disturbances over devotional practices in a place uncomfortably close to the Sierra de Tututepec, where an Indian millenarian movement during the 1760s was still well remembered. The appeal of the Mapethé shrine does not seem to have grown much in the late eighteenth century, but it would not have been easy to suppress if colonial authorities had been inclined to try. When the *alcalde mayor* of Zimapán did forbid the annual visit to Mapethé in 1792 (before the dispute was appealed to Mexico City), local people ignored his order and went to the shrine anyway.⁴⁸

The third wave of political drama and record making, lasting for most of nine years, followed the creation of a town at the shrine, known as Pueblo Nuevo (El Santuario on modern maps). About two hundred people, most of them Otomí Indians, had taken up residence near the shrine by 1776, but the community was not formally constituted as a town until a viceregal decree to that effect was issued in 1795. The establishment of a formal town meant that the headtown of El Cardonal lost jurisdiction, and in this case also population and labor service, because most of the residents of Pueblo Nuevo came from its Guigui and Cardonalito *barrios* (a Spanish term for neighborhood, here applied to dispersed extended-family settlements, which were the common Otomí residential pattern in the area). The most contentious and enduring issue, however, was land rights. El Cardonal ceded the new settlement its townsite, a square about 550 yards on a side, but the access its residents would have to farmlands, pastures, and woodlands was unresolved. Most of the original two hundred settlers in 1776 had ancestral lands nearby; many of the roughly four hundred inhabitants in 1804 did not.⁴⁹ From 1799 to 1804, the people of Pueblo Nuevo were in constant, sometimes violent disputes over woodlands with neighboring rancheros and the Otomí town of Orizaba.⁵⁰

A separate, indirectly related dispute came to a head at the time of these land struggles.⁵¹ In late 1799, Palma Gorda, a subordinate settlement of Orizaba in the parish of Ixmiquilpan (the parish seat and district headtown for Pueblo Nuevo was the smaller El Cardonal), complained to the *alcalde mayor* of Ixmiquilpan and to the archbishop's court in Mexico City that a crucifix donated by their community, which had long occupied the place of honor on the main altar of the shrine, had been replaced with a new image belonging to Pueblo Nuevo. The attorney for Pueblo Nuevo responded that malcontents from Ixmiquilpan with unspecified ulterior motives were behind this complaint. A flurry of charges and countercharges

⁴⁸ So reported the parish priest of El Cardonal, Lic. Felipe de la Bárzena. He wrote that Indians came that year from Zimapán and throughout the district of El Cardonal. AGN Civil 1111, exp. "991."

⁴⁹ AGN Indios 70, exp. 259, reported ninety-seven tributaries in 1804. Using a multiplying factor of four inhabitants per tributary, the population would have been about 388.

⁵⁰ AGN Tierras 2152, exp. 6; AGN Indios 70, exps. 180 and 259. In the 1740s, the headtown of Orizaba with its subordinate settlements registered 945 Otomí families and 80 non-Indian families nearby, or about 4,000 people in all. José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro Americano* (Mexico, 1746), chap. 32. El Cardonal and its outliers were said to have 215 Otomí families and 73 non-Indian families at the time. The third important Indian town and outliers in the district of Ixmiquilpan was Tlazintla, with 945 Otomí families and 50 non-Indian families.

⁵¹ The two sets of disputes pitting the people of Pueblo Nuevo against their Otomí neighbors were interlocking, at least in terms of political alliances. The people of Palma Gorda belonged to the town of Orizaba and were described as close allies. Both of these adversaries of the new pueblo belonged to the parish of Ixmiquilpan rather than El Cardonal, though all were under the spiritual direction of Augustinian pastors.

followed, leaving the archbishop's legal adviser to make sense in April 1800 of "the confusing writings of the Indians of Palma Gorda," and to separate fact from fulmination. After three years of dispute, the archbishop's adviser counted heads and recognized that the old image was "an object of particular devotion, visited by people from throughout the area." He recommended that the old image be restored to the main altar, and it was.⁵²

The original image of the Cristo Renovado was never repatriated from Mexico City, but a report on resources and conditions in the district in 1792 remarked on the well-furnished church at Mapethé, ready to welcome the original image, as promised in Velasco's account, "when the famous dispute over where it belongs is resolved."⁵³ Even in the 1860s, the animated Cristo Renovado was vividly recalled by a local chronicler, who assured his readers that sighs, groans, sobs, and the tolling of phantom bells could still be heard at Mapethé.⁵⁴ Popular devotion to the Cristo Renovado hardly exists in Mexico City today, while the shrine at Mapethé continues to attract a regional following—thanks in part to Velasco's sunlit account of providential beginnings for what he represented as a major urban shrine. But there is not a straight-line, happily-ever-after story of growth and Otomí or Indian solidarity for the rural Mapethé shrine, either. We have the eighteenth-century records that carry the history of the Cristo Renovado beyond Velasco's Mexico City story because of perennial struggles in the district of Ixmiquilpan and Zimapán, most of them struggles among Otomí groups. The main celebration at the shrine still falls on the fifth Friday of Lent, but it is overshadowed by the crowds and commerce on the same day in the nearby town of El Arenal, where another miracle-working crucifix is honored—perhaps one of those that paid its respects at Mapethé in the eighteenth century.

The history of the miraculous Cristo Renovado connects a remote rural place to the capital city without establishing a pilgrimage route or authority and subordination between them. Many other local histories in Mexico bear comparison to it. Some shrines were more popular than others, but there were no great pilgrimage routes through a landscape of secondary shrines such as those to Rome or Compostela. Before the great organized pilgrimages to Tepeyac began in the late nineteenth century, large numbers of devotees of all social ranks were going to several hundred shrines all over Mexico. They still go. Most seventeenth- and eighteenth-century visitors to shrines did not travel far or linger over the journey as a prolonged penitential quest, and many who revered a renowned image never visited its shrine. Even as popular devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe flowered in the eighteenth century, most visitors to Tepeyac were locals, and most devotees of the Virgin of Guadalupe would have encountered her only in a regional chapel or over the altar in their parish church. Except perhaps in the Valley of Mexico, the growth of *guadalupanismo* was not a zero-sum game, as home altars crowded with different images suggest. Mapethé is an unusual case of *furta sacra*, but in shifting

⁵² AGN Bienes Nacionales 1047, exp. 13.

⁵³ Lourdes M. Romero Navarrete and Felipe I. Echenique March, eds., *Relaciones geográficas de 1792* (Mexico, 1995), 43.

⁵⁴ Pío Sáenz, "El misterio del Cardonal oculto en la milagrosa renobación acaesida en ese pueblo . . . (1865)," University of Texas at Austin, Benson Library, G85.

the story away from distant travels, Marian devotion, official chroniclers, and a hierarchy of shrines, it strikes the dominant chord.

I HAVE FRAMED THIS PRESENTATION OF THE CRISTO RENOVADO around two shrines with different historical trajectories that can suggest how Indian subjects might interrupt and refashion the logic of a printed text produced in Mexico City from a metropolitan viewpoint and the logic of the wider social order to meet their expectations and circumstances. Here local knowledge seems to have taken its cue from Velasco's book, but made the place where a moldering crucifix was said to have restored itself to fine condition more important than the absent relic.⁵⁵ These two histories of one Cristo Renovado are more than self-contained stories running on parallel tracks. In the eighteenth century, they converged most immediately for colonial authorities in Mexico City, Ixmiquilpan, and El Cardonal who presided over the long-running litigation and administrative affairs of the Mapethé shrine. But they also converge in the history of growing Christocentric devotion in Spain and Spanish America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Most of the important Spanish and Mexican shrines to miraculous images of Christ originated early in the seventeenth century, and some of them—especially in Mexico—attracted even greater interest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This trajectory of formation and growth, punctuated by ebbs and flows of interest, was also true of many Marian shrines in Europe and Mexico. William Christian and others find that the new importance of image shrines in Spain and much of western Europe from the sixteenth century is related to declining interest in relics and sacred sites in the countryside.⁵⁶ The Mexican case was bound to be somewhat different. Saints' relics were never as important in the Americas. America had few saints of its own before John Paul II's papacy, and minor European saints' relics were imported but rarely caught on as objects of popular devotion.⁵⁷ To the extent that the interest in miraculous images in Mexico was orchestrated by church leaders during the seventeenth century, it has less to do with deflecting attention from relics than with muffling stories of apparitions reported by Indian neophytes, stories that sixteenth-century Franciscans in particular had encouraged and celebrated in their American chronicles.⁵⁸ The growing importance of urban sites of marvels and image shrines was shared with Europe, but without overshadowing the countryside. The found or animated images of Christ in Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were mostly reported from rural places and small settlements.

⁵⁵ Another case of the location of a departed crucifix being venerated in the El Cardonal area—the cross of El Maye—is mentioned by Jesús Salinas Pedraza in H. Russell Bernard and Jesús Salinas Pedraza, *Native Ethnography: A Mexican Indian Describes His Culture* (Newbury Park, Calif., 1989), 549.

⁵⁶ William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), 123–124.

⁵⁷ Use of relics for healing—often said by clerical authors to be ineffectual—appears in miracle stories recounted by Francisco Javier Alegre (1729–1788) in *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2: 8, 42–44, 75–76. He and other chroniclers of the orders in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New Spain mentioned the clothing and bones of especially venerable predecessors as if they were relics.

⁵⁸ For example, Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Cien de México ed., 2 vols. (Mexico, 1997), 2: chaps. 24–26; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, 6th ed., 3 vols. (Mexico, 1986), 3: 179, 200, 243–250; and *The Oroz Codex*, trans. and ed. Angélico Chávez (Washington D.C., 1972), 98, 162–164, 168, 187–192, 216–217, 248–252, 255–256, 268–269, 302–306.

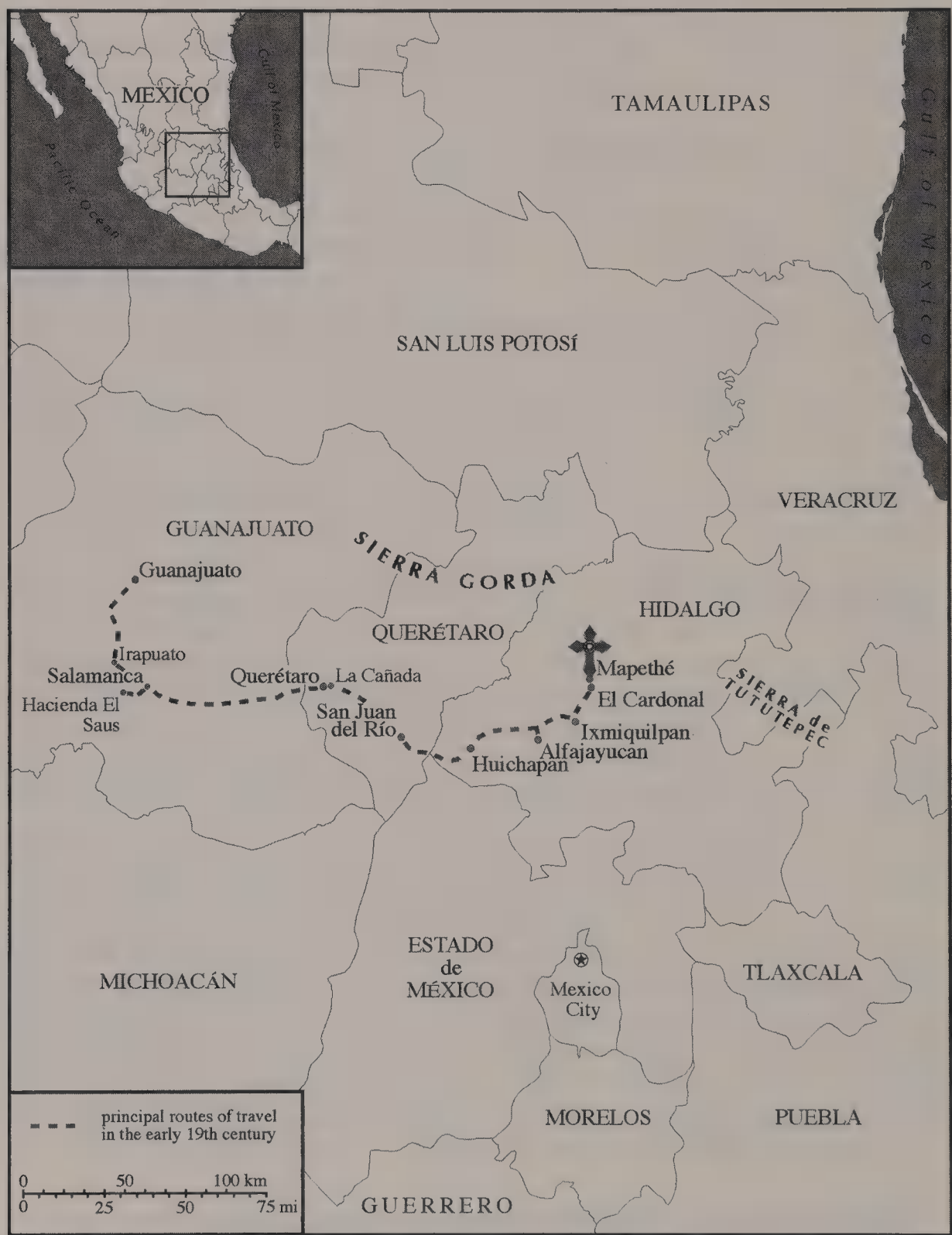
To approach the emergence of the Mapethé shrine in the eighteenth century as more than a local story in isolation calls especially for attention to the nature and reach of Otomí devotion to this Cristo Renovado and the cross as a sacred symbol. The shrine's reach was not limited to the immediate vicinity of Mapethé or the district of Ixmiquilpan, where it was centered.⁵⁹ The parish priest based at Mapethé in 1793 testified that the annual fiesta and procession of crucifixes during Lent was sponsored by the Indian pueblos of Jacala, Zimapán, Yxtatlaxco, and Tepejí (del Río), as well as Ixmiquilpan. These places form a band through western Hidalgo approximately thirty miles long from north to south, none of them more than a two-day walk from the shrine. This was the main catchment area of visitors. A larger territory of interest in the shrine can be traced in the reports submitted by alms collectors in 1748 and 1749. This area of donors reached farther west, into southern Querétaro and Guanajuato. Collectors reported in from San Juan del Río and La Cañada near the city of Querétaro, from Irapuato (Guanajuato), from settlements around Hacienda Saus near Silao (Guanajuato), and from the city of Guanajuato and vicinity. Each of them was sending back to the shrine the substantial sum of twenty to eighty silver pesos every month or six weeks. (See Maps 1 and 2.)

The travels and settlement sites of Otomí people may hold a key to this greater spiritual geography of the Mapethé shrine and growing devotion to images of Christ in Hidalgo and the Bajío. Before Spanish colonization, Otomí-speakers occupied much of modern Querétaro and Hidalgo, with pockets of settlement and migration reaching into San Luis Potosí, Michoacán, Guanajuato, México, Puebla, and Tlaxcala. Unlike the Tlaxcalans or the Tenocha-Mexica, precolonial Otomíes did not constitute a proper "kingdom," and their most important center, Xilotepec (in Hidalgo), was not an urban capital like Tenochtitlan or Tlaxcala. Rather, Otomíes evidently had many smaller, scattered pockets of settlement and authority, mirroring the organization of their local communities, in which most people lived dispersed in extended family clusters. Beyond modern Hidalgo's Mezquital Valley, their ancestral lands were high, dry, and stony, and during the colonial period they could rarely make a living from maize farming and horticulture the way their ancestors may have done, and as other groups in central Mexico continued to do. In addition to farming and gathering food, family members had long made charcoal and produced *pulque* (fermented juice of a native agave plant) and pottery vessels in which to carry it to consumers. Other Otomíes were recruited by more organized states—including, later, the Spanish colonial regime—as warriors and laborers.⁶⁰

Even as the population of Otomíes shrank during the colonial period, they were

⁵⁹ People from the town of Alfaxayuca, southwest of Ixmiquilpan, seem to have had an especially strong association with Mapethé. They regularly sent alms, and they supplied much of the stone for construction of the church in the 1740s, in addition to participating in the annual processions.

⁶⁰ On Otomí settlement patterns and their diffuse, archipelago-like distribution in central and north-central Mexico, see Leonardo Manrique C., "The Otomí," in Robert Wauchope, general ed., *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, 16 vols., vol. 8: *Ethnology*, pt. II (Austin, Tex., 1969), 682–724; Victor W. Padelford, "Otomí House Types as a Reflection of Acculturation," in H. Russell Bernard, ed., *Los Otomíes: Papers from the Ixmiquilpan Field School* (Pullman, Wash., 1969), 49–54; and Lourdes Mondragón, Patricia Fournier-García, and Nahúm Noguera, "Arqueología histórica y etnoarqueología de la comunidad alfarera Otomí de Santa María del Pino, México," in Janine L. Gasco and Greg C. Smith, eds., *Approaches to the Historical Archaeology of Mexico, Central and South America* (Los Angeles, 1997), 17–28.



MAP 2: The Reach of Otomí Alms Collectors for the Cristo Renovado

becoming more widely distributed in modern Hidalgo, Querétaro, and Guanajuato. Both Otomíes and non-Indians began to herd sheep in the sixteenth century, which contributed to this dispersion and reinforced the old pattern of scattered settlements of extended families. While communities associated with the shrine at Mapethé were located mainly in the hotter, drier northern portion of the Mezquital

Valley, where ranching did not predominate, the new pastoralism undermined traditional agriculture throughout Hidalgo, as the farmland was reduced to small pockets of irrigated fields by overgrazing, erosion, and lower water tables.⁶¹ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some Otomí groups also were resettled in townships near Spanish settlements or on frontier missions intended as buffers against hostile “Chichimecs.” In the eighteenth century, more Otomíes migrated for work within this core territory—especially to the colonial mines, haciendas, and towns of Guanajuato and Querétaro as day laborers, or to Zimapán and other mining settlements of northern Hidalgo. Aggressive expansion of non-Indian ranches made the growing numbers of landless Otomíes more vulnerable to coercive labor practices, contributed to this late colonial migration, and strained labor relations in the mines of Zimapán and El Cardonal.⁶²

Otomíes also began to spill beyond old limits of settlement in the early colonial missions of the Sierra Gorda—the “land of war” with hostile “Chichimecs” in northern Hidalgo, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí. Zimapán itself had once been one of these frontier missions, but in 1703 its Dominican mission of Santa María de los Dolores was moved deeper into the Sierra Gorda in order to isolate and overcome Indians then in rebellion. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the mountains of the Sierra Gorda and eastern Hidalgo were volatile areas of “Chichimec” (and sometimes Otomí) resistance, of military expeditions during the 1740s, of secularization of missions from the 1740s to the 1770s, and of millenarian uprisings at Xichú in 1768 and the Sierra de Tututepec in 1769.⁶³

Colonial Otomí Christianity drew on local traditions and organization in ways

⁶¹ Elinor Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York, 1994) and “Cultural Persistence and Environmental Change: The Otomí of the Valle del Mezquital, Mexico,” in William Balée, ed., *Advances in Historical Ecology* (New York, 1998), 334–348. In spite of the great changes on the land, the district of Ixmiquilpan, which encompassed most of the communities of the northern Mezquital Valley, was reported to have produced 3,000 *fanegas* of maize and 1,000 *fanegas* of wheat in 1792, although the area around El Cardonal was “arid and saline, good only for mesquite and piñon pine.” This area was dotted with twenty-two lead mines and “diferentes pueblecillos de indios.” Two-thirds of the 17,000 inhabitants of the district at the time were said to be Indians. Romero Navarrete and Echenique March, *Relaciones geográficas de 1792*, 112–113.

⁶² Manrique, “The Otomí,” 682–685. Otomí migration to Zimapán in the eighteenth century was related to the periodic surges in mining activity, but it was not just the product of a free labor market. When the Conde de Regla invested in Zimapán mines in 1768, he received permission to “employ press-gangs who rounded up laborers and forced them to work in the mines. One of these men met his end as a victim of workers’ rage.” Edith Boorstein Couturier, *The Silver King: The Remarkable Life of the Conde de Regla in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2003), 153. The district of Zimapán in the late sixteenth century was described as “a land of few people,” with no more than 400 “barbarous” Indians speaking Chichimeca and Otomí. The population of the three Indian pueblos in the vicinity had been increasing by resettlements since Spanish colonization. “Relación de las minas de Zimapán,” in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed., *Papeles de Nueva España*, 7 vols. (Madrid, 1905), 6: 3. In 1743, there were said to be 6,249 Indians and 200 families of non-Indians (perhaps 800 individuals); by 1779, the non-Indian population had grown to 2,584 Spaniards, 1,113 *mestizos*, and 326 *mulattos*. Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge, 1973), 70–71. An 1803 population count for the parish of Zimapán included 1,397 Indian families (6,992 individuals), 244 *mestizo* and *mulatto* families (889 individuals), and 387 Spanish families (1,533 individuals). AGN Bienes Nacionales 388, exp. 19. I have not been able to establish the extent to which Indians from other places mixed with Otomíes in this area.

⁶³ Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, “Resistencia étnica y mesianismo en Xichú, 1769,” in *Sierra Gorda: Pasado y presente. Coloquio en homenaje a Lino Gómez Canedo* (Querétaro, 1994), 127–136; J. Jesús Solís de la Torre, *Bárbaros y ermitaños: Chichimecas y agustinos en la Sierra Gorda, siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII* (S.L.P., Hidalgo, y Querétaro) (Querétaro, 1983); Margarita Velasco Mireles, ed., *La Sierra Gorda: Documentos para su historia*, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1996–1997), 1: 345–346.

that emphasized the cross and Christ crucified. Early chroniclers mentioned the Otomíes' unusual attachment to festivals of the cross; and the practice of bringing local saints and crosses to great processions of the cross in Querétaro, Chalma, and San Miguel Allende, among other places, was established before the end of the colonial period.⁶⁴ Otomíes from Querétaro and Hidalgo were drawn to the famous miracle-working stone cross of the Franciscans in the city of Querétaro, and to the Christ of Chalma, near Malinalco in the Estado de México. At both sites, they took part in great processions of portable crosses brought from their home communities.⁶⁵ Miraculous crosses, sometimes green in color (suggesting both fertility and life everlasting), abounded in Otomí communities. Following a brief rebellion of Otomí people in the district of Amanalco, Hidalgo, against their parish priest in 1792, the archbishop of Mexico ordered Indians in the area to turn over to the parish priest all the crosses that dotted the hilltops and other places "in order to give them proper veneration and avoid superstitions, abuses, inappropriate observances, and perhaps worse."⁶⁶ An unusual number of Otomí men were baptized with the name of the cross (such as "Juan de la Cruz"), and the many stone sanctuaries that served as Otomí family chapels in rural Hidalgo from the late colonial period and the nineteenth century had special associations with the cross, ancestors, and shamanic healing. Although most of the family chapels in the northern Mezquital Valley have been put to other uses or neglected in recent years, many are still active in mountain communities of Querétaro and Hidalgo. Even if the family has a patron saint, his or her image usually cedes center stage to a cross or crucifix. Other, smaller crosses are found there, too, along with objects for healing and fertility ceremonies that one would not find in the parish church.⁶⁷

Otomí veneration of the cross amounted to more than the crucified Christ as a distant, terrifying symbol of suffering and punishment or as the embodiment of their own suffering under Spanish and Mexican rule.⁶⁸ Their colonial Franciscan

⁶⁴ Sources cited in Justino Fernández, *Danzas de los concheros en San Miguel de Allende* (Mexico, 1941), 33–41.

⁶⁵ José Díaz de la Vega, "Memorias de México: Memorias piadosas de la nación yndiana," Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, M-M 240, pt. 3, attributed the spread of devotion to the stone cross of Querétaro to Otomíes and Tlaxcalans. For examples of visits to Chalma, see AGN Civil 2059, exp. 4, 1817, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Guadalajara, "Un teatro eclesiástico novohispano: La Congregación de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (De altar criollo a altar de la patria)" (master's thesis, El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999), 379.

⁶⁶ AHAM L10B, fol. 107.

⁶⁷ On early chroniclers, see Fernández, *Danzas de los concheros*, 37–41. On the distinctive and numerous Otomí household chapels, see Mondragón, Fournier-García and Noguera, "Arqueología histórica y etnoarqueología," 25–27 (thirty-six in the small community of Pino Suárez, Hidalgo, alone); Heidi Chemín Bässler, *Las capillas oratorio otomíes de San Miguel Tolimán* (Querétaro, 1993); Alan R. Sandstrom, *Traditional Curing and Crop Fertility Rituals among Otomí Indians of the Sierra de Puebla, Mexico: The López Manuscripts* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981); James W. Dow, "Sierra Otomí Religious Symbolism: Mankind Responding to the Natural World," in Douglas Sharon, ed., *Mesas and Cosmologies in Mesoamerica* (San Diego, Calif., 2003), 28; and Jacques Galinier, *The World Below: Body and Cosmos in Otomí Ritual*, trans. Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Boulder, Colo., 2004). For an example of the naming pattern, see the population records of 1793 for Indians in the district of El Cardonal, which registered many "de la Cruz" men. AGN Bienes Nacionales 818, exp. 8.

⁶⁸ Christian, *Local Religion*, 206–208, describes the distant, terrifying symbol for early modern Spain. Richard Nebel sums up a familiar view of the meaning of Christ figures in Indian Mexico that emphasizes Marian devotion: "Traditional Catholicism centered on devotion to Jesus Christ as a self-sacrificing man of sorrows . . . In this conception, the Indio sees the suffering figure of Christ as a reflection of his own tragic past and present. He seeks consolation and refuge in his mother, the Virgin

and Augustinian mentors presented the cross as a symbol of life, both temporal and eternal, and protection against Satan's wiles; and Otomí attachment to stories of self-renovating crucifixes may well stem from an Augustinian predilection.⁶⁹ Local meanings are especially associated with protection, propitiation, fertility, veneration of ancestors, and sacred movement in the outdoors. In the script of a play about Emperor Constantine's veneration of the cross, composed in Otomí in 1714 for Indians of Santa Cruz Cozcaquauhauhtlahticpac, Tlaxcala, the cross is presented as the tree of life and protector. In this play, Constantine comes to discover the true faith in the sign of the cross; and the cross, in turn, is treated as a gift from God with which to conquer his enemies. This is the familiar story of his conversion and providential conquests as a Christian emperor, but the play ends with a local, protective twist. All the actors kneel before the cross, and Constantine's mother, Saint Helene, speaks at length about the "adorable cross, truly the tree of life," saying, "the land is blessed by the divine cross."⁷⁰

Recent ethnographic accounts add suggestively to the colonial-period record of Otomí understandings of the cross and other local practices that colonial authorities regarded as superstitions (or worse) and rarely recorded. Studies of Otomí rituals and family chapels suggest that crosses have been so prominent because they carry a bundle of meanings for social and personal well-being. The numerous crosses inside Otomí family chapels have especially to do with ancestor veneration. The principal cross on the altar represents "the first common ancestor," and smaller crosses represent the souls of other ancestors.⁷¹ Inside these sanctuaries, images of the patron saints also are placed, along with paper cutouts representing other divine beings in nature that are used by local shamans in curing and fertility ceremonies.⁷²

Otomí oral traditions and prayers place the cross and Christ crucified at the center of their cultural landscape as a protective, healing gift from God and the promise of renewal and continuity, including personal redemption.⁷³ Prayers invoke the souls of ancestors and the cross in the same breath: "May they help us and

Mary, and above all in the Virgin of Guadalupe." Nebel, "The Cult of Santa Maria Tonantzin, Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico," in Benjamin Kedar and R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, eds., *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land* (New York, 1998), 255. For a very different view of the meaning of Christ's suffering to colonial Indians, see Miles Richardson, *Being-in-Christ and Putting Death in Its Place: An Anthropologist's Account of Christian Performance in Spanish America and the American South* (Baton Rouge, La., 2003).

⁶⁹ Jaime Cuadriello, "Tierra de prodigios: La ventura como destino," in *Los pinces de la historia: El origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680–1750* (Mexico, 1999), 219. Another self-renovating cross in an Augustinian *doctrina* of the vicinity is the Señor de Tzinguilucan, said to have rejuvenated itself in 1651 and grown in 1712. Hector H. Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial: Jesucristo* (Buenos Aires, 1992), 328. From November 1780 to November 1781, collections at this shrine were 3,001 pesos 3 reales—a considerable sum. AGN Bienes Nacionales legajo 535, exp. 24.

⁷⁰ Bancroft Library, M-M 474:1, "Coloquio de la invención de la Santa Cruz por la virtuosa Santa Elena," 1859 copy of a 1714 text by Br. D. Manuel de los Santos y Salazar.

⁷¹ Chemín Bässler, *Capillas oratorio*, 91–95; Sandstrom, *Traditional Curing*, 19.

⁷² "There are literally scores of different figurines cut, corresponding to the large number of crops grown by the Otomí. Usually the seed figures are kept throughout the year in a wooden box which is placed on the altar of an *oratorio* [family chapel] . . . Once a year they are removed and used in a ceremony dedicated to crop increase after which they are returned to the box. Throughout the year small offerings are placed in front of the box in the hope of influencing crop yield." Sandstrom, *Traditional Curing*, 19.

⁷³ Bernard and Salinas Pedraza, *Native Ethnography*, 548.

accompany us.” The cross as “master of life, master of health” is invoked for “a good path, my good entryway.”⁷⁴ When in danger, make a cross with your fingers and say, “Cruz, cruz, cruz, que se vaya el Diablo y venga Jesús” (“Cross, cross, cross, may Jesus come and banish the Devil”).⁷⁵ But crosses, especially household crosses, can be “bad.” In the spirit of Emile Durkheim’s notion of “contagiousness of the sacred,” they are invested with harmful as well as beneficent powers and need to be approached properly and propitiated so that they do not spill out in undesirable ways.⁷⁶

The placement and movement of crosses throughout the landscape—near caves, rock outcroppings, and springs, on hilltops, and especially along pathways and at thresholds—is a longstanding practice.⁷⁷ In Huizquilucan on the edge of the Valley of Mexico, H. R. Harvey found that crosses on hilltops are taken to embody the Otomí rain divinity, or in one case Makata, the Otomí divine essence and lord of the mountains. The cross associated with Makata is carried in procession through much of the district during early May, at the time of the feast of the Holy Cross. Otomíes from Chimalpa el Grande, Tlaxcala, evidently regard their shrine on the summit of Cerro de la Malinche as the birthplace of the Lord of Chalma, who departed long ago for his cave near Malinalco in the Estado de México.⁷⁸

Little is known about Otomíes’ role as carriers of enthusiasm for particular crucifixes and other images during the colonial period. The shrine of the Christ of Chalma, near Malinalco, Estado de México, which may have attracted more devotees from distant places than any other late colonial shrine to an image of Christ, was a favorite destination of scattered Otomí communities. Juan Carlos Ruiz Guadalajara recently described a dense web of devotion to the black Christ of Salamanca (state of Guanajuato) and at least three other renowned crucifixes that connected Otomíes residing in towns and cities of the Bajío during the eighteenth century.⁷⁹ And Otomí fiestas to the Holy Cross often end with a group of local people traveling with their portable crosses and saints to a major shrine such as that of the Lord of Chalma, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and Our Lady of San Juan de los Lagos. But Otomí devotion to sacred images is less about interest in a few distant images of Christ or the Virgin than about veneration of favorite local images, usually of Christ. The travels of these images and of people to their shrines were meant to broadcast sacred energy from its dwelling places as well as to concentrate it there. Judging by the recent circulation of images and their devotees in the districts of Ixmiquilpan and El Cardonal, these travels could have served as a diplomatic counterweight to highly localized affiliations—promoting alliances and

⁷⁴ Yolanda Lastra de Suárez, *Unidad y diversidad de la lengua: Relatos otomíes* (Mexico, 2001), 221–223.

⁷⁵ Margarita de la Vega Lázaro, *Crónica otomí del Estado de México: Narrativa oral tradicional* (Toluca, 1998), 48–53.

⁷⁶ Chemín Bässler, *Capillas oratorio*, 122; Galinier, *The World Below*, 121–122.

⁷⁷ Bernard and Salinas Pedraza, *Native Ethnography*, 548.

⁷⁸ It used to be taken to all the old shrines on nearby peaks, which now have their own crosses. H. R. Harvey, “Pilgrimage and Shrine: Religious Practices among the Otomí of Huixquilucan, Mexico,” in N. Ross Crumrine and Alan Morinis, eds., *Pilgrimage in Latin America* (New York, 1991), 91–107; Angel María Garibay, *Supervivencias de cultura intelectual precolombina entre los Otomíes de Huizquilucan* (Mexico, 1957), 13–17.

⁷⁹ Ruiz Guadalajara, *Un teatro eclesiástico novohispano*, 398–413. The other three images are the Señor del Socorro, the Señor del Calvario, and the Señor del Hospital.

political peace among neighboring communities. Especially the more celebrated images of neighboring communities are invited to the feast day celebrations of other communities and received with a great show of respect. The host community is expected to reciprocate by sending its own miracle-working images to the neighbors' celebrations.⁸⁰

The Mapethé shrine acquired a place in the wider webs of dispersed Otomí settlement, migration, and portable devotion during the eighteenth century. The spiritual territory of this shrine reached west from its home districts of Ixmiquilpan, Zimapán, Alfajayucan, and Tepejí in a distinctive pattern: the main sites of alms collection during the 1740s were located along a route south and west from Ixmiquilpan into the Bajío—through southern Querétaro, then north to the mines of Guanajuato, where some groups of Otomí people had lived for many generations and others had recently settled as mineworkers and ranch hands.⁸¹ What did this larger area of donations mean for a history of affiliation that centered on the Mapethé shrine? There is little to go on. The alms records do not establish whether the contributors had ever visited the shrine or would do so in the future, but the court records that document the processions at Mapethé in the late eighteenth century mention no participants from outside the primary catchment area. Unless the traveling collectors were gifted salesmen, able to persuade strangers to the story of the Cristo Renovado that they should support a new source of divine protection, we should assume that Otomí contacts throughout the area had already established a reservoir of interest.⁸²

THINKING ABOUT THESE DEVELOPMENTS AT MAPETHÉ AND MEXICO CITY in terms of how power worked and how people's actions reiterate and change their situations brought to mind a generation of South Asian writings on colonialism that have intrigued me since I first read Ashis Nandy's *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* nearly twenty years ago. Students of Latin American history have lately been drawn especially to the work of the South Asian Subaltern Studies Collective for its attention to human intentionality, the politics of concerted resistance to elites by peasants and other marginalized people, and a healthy

⁸⁰ Bernard and Salinas Pedraza, *Native Ethnography*, 275, 458, 520, 527, 552.

⁸¹ Major Otomí settlements and political centers were located in Hidalgo at Xilotepec, Ixmiquilpan, and Meztitlán, but Otomíes apparently were less concentrated in one area and more migratory than other major indigenous groups of central Mexico before and especially after the beginning of Spanish rule. See Gerhard, *Historical Geography of New Spain*, 383–386 and 224–226. By the eighteenth century, there were new or larger pockets of Otomíes in the neighboring states of the Estado de México and Querétaro, in the Bajío, and north into San Luis Potosí, with smaller concentrations in eastern Michoacán, northern Puebla, and Tlaxcala. When tens of thousands of people migrated to the Bajío toward the end of the eighteenth century, these pockets of settlement served as stepping-stones of communication and support for Otomíes seeking employment in the mines and rural estates.

⁸² Otomí ethnogenesis since the sixteenth century and its political implications and possible relationship to sacred sites and images of Christ remain unstudied. Melville ("Cultural Persistence") and Galinier (*The World Below*) both posit historical re-creation of Otomí traditions from their knowledge of the ethnographic present, but do so without direct documentation and from different perspectives. Melville sees Otomí ethnogenesis during the colonial period as a result of the Otomíes' growing marginalization by the wider society; Galinier sees it more as an act of will—reacting against the encroachment of colonialism and modernity.

skepticism about Western modernity and its forms of knowledge.⁸³ I have found the writings of this group good to think with as they have unfolded since the early 1980s, but the guiding concepts in them have not provided a model for understanding the complexities of Spanish American colonialism, at least not in Mexico. While Ranajit Guha does not claim to speak for the group, and some of his colleagues no longer share his exclusive enthusiasm for the political or categories of dominance and subordination, domination and collaboration, domination and resistance, and other sharp distinctions, his emphasis on violent resistance, the fragmentary, and “the contribution made by the people *on their own* [sic], that is independently of the elite,” remain fundamental to the approach: the people united as freestanding agents versus the elite.⁸⁴ And the subaltern studies scholarship has been inclined to leave aside the religious faith—beliefs and practices—of peasant actors either as false consciousness or as beside the point of their politics.⁸⁵

Devotion and politics at Mapethé in the eighteenth century do bring to mind disruptive “fragments” of subaltern activity—unquiet episodes of faith and affiliation that reworked Father Velasco’s official story of a sacred treasure rescued from danger and neglect at the periphery followed by steady growth in popularity and marvelous benefits for devotees under the watchful eyes of the proper authorities in its new, central location. But these episodes of struggle, separation, and growing faith were not so clearly a rejection of the colonizers’ logic and authority as a subaltern studies perspective might imagine, with its twofold emphasis on resistance and collaboration.

Nandy, a noted political psychologist and public intellectual, has attracted less attention from historians—no doubt his sharp criticism of historians’ truth claims has something to do with this⁸⁶—but he has a way of thinking about colonial experience that comes closer to the overlapping lines and connections in the

⁸³ For example, Florencia Mallon, “The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: A Perspective from Latin American History,” *AHR* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1491–1515; Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison, Wis., 2002); Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority: Changes to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes* (Durham, N.C., 2003); and Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas* (Durham, N.C., 2003). In his foreword to *After Spanish Rule*, xiv–xv, Shahid Amin, a member of the Subaltern Studies Collective, invites Latin Americanist readers to go light on subaltern studies theory.

⁸⁴ For a recent interview with Guha about the legacy of his work, see “Writing History,” *Biblio: A Review of Books*, November–December 2003, 10–12. It is quite similar to his early position paper “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” in *Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (Delhi, 1982), 1–4.

⁸⁵ In Vinay Lal’s view, “secular Indian intellectuals indubitably have an immense difficulty in accepting religious faith as a valid category of knowledge.” “Subaltern Studies and Its Critics: Debates over Indian History,” *History & Theory* 40 (2001): 147. Recently, Dipesh Chakrabarty, a subaltern studies founder, has recognized that religious convictions need a place in more encompassing, less categorical subaltern histories because peasant politics are not pursued only in modern, secular terms. *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies* (Chicago, 2002), chaps. 1–2. How Chakrabarty and others will bring religion into subaltern historiography and the politics of difference is not yet clear.

⁸⁶ Nandy questions Western rationality and what he regards as the tyranny of historical consciousness; his interests have inclined more toward biography and leadership than subaltern episodes. See his *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi, 1983), 45, 48, 59–60, 62; *Time Warps: Silent and Evasive Pasts in Indian Politics and Religion* (London, 2002); and “History’s Forgotten Doubles,” *History & Theory* 34 (1995): 44: “History basically keeps open only one option—that of bringing the ahistoricals into history.”

episodes at Mapethé. Or so it seems to a Latin Americanist in search of a more synoptic approach to “Indians” under colonial rule in Mesoamerica (the area of densely settled precolonial state societies in modern central and southern Mexico and the Central American highlands). By “synoptic approach,” I mean keeping in mind and under study as many of the actors, dimensions, and primary sources of an episode or structure as I can manage, without claiming that there will be a sum total, a Braudelian *histoire totale*, or very definite conclusions. I still find great merit in the aim of early *Annales* historians—going back to Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre—to combine material, documentary, and theoretical approaches to the past. By reckoning with many contexts, relationships, and sources, one can hope to recognize which were salient in a particular situation, but context does not have to mean wholeness.⁸⁷

Nandy writes of “counter-players,” “non-players,” and “players.”⁸⁸ These are gross, heuristic categories—no individual or group is simply one of them, once and for all. Players in one situation may be non-players or counter-players in another. Players are not always compliant collaborators, and being a non-player does not just mean deflecting colonial domination. In particular circumstances, players may be as rebellious as counter-players or as remote from particular colonial demands and truth claims as non-players. Yet even while blurring at the edges, these categories point toward patterned tendencies in different colonial histories that reach beyond the resistance and collaboration pairing of subaltern studies.⁸⁹ Counter-players—the focus of much attention by subaltern studies scholars—reject the logic and authority of the colonizers and confront them openly, violently. Nandy regards colonial India’s counter-players as heroic losers, comparatively few in number and soon eliminated.⁹⁰ Non-players—who are Nandy’s favorite subjects—do not adopt the colonizers’ logic, either, but they succeed, as de Certeau put it, in “subvert[ing] from within the colonizers’ ‘success’ in imposing their own culture.”⁹¹ They use the colonizers’ laws and truth claims instrumentally, resist them nonviolently, or succeed in bypassing them rather than making a frontal assault. Mohandas Gandhi is only the most famous of the non-players who made a place for themselves at the margins of colonial thought in ways that allowed them to “resist the loving embrace of the West’s dominant self,” as Nandy puts it, and in the long run to succeed in outlasting, if not colonizing, the colonizers.⁹² Nandy’s non-players range beyond his particular interest in intellectuals and political leaders to, among others, Indian cricket players and their audiences, who reinvented a sport in ways that became only incidentally British.⁹³ In this sense—and in contrast to counter-playing—

⁸⁷ See Louis O. Mink, “The Autonomy of Historical Understanding,” *History & Theory* 5 (1966): 24–47 (especially 42).

⁸⁸ *Intimate Enemy*, xiii–xv.

⁸⁹ These categories concern people living with, if not altogether within, colonial settings. Two other possibilities for native peoples in Mesoamerica and the Andes were flight from colonial rule and the kind of totalizing victimization that Serge Gruzinski posits had occurred by the end of the sixteenth century. Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th–18th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁹⁰ Nandy speaks of Indian counter-players as “ornamental dissenters.” *Intimate Enemy*, xiv.

⁹¹ *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xii.

⁹² *Intimate Enemy*, xiv.

⁹³ *The Tao of Cricket: On Games of Destiny and the Destiny of Games* (New York, 2000).

becoming westernized is a way of being Indian. Finally, players learn the logic of the colonial regime and its institutions and live within this logic, language, and authority more than non-players and counter-players do. Like non-players, they are survivors, but they live *by* colonial rules and values as much as *with* them, sometimes turning them to advantage for local, often personal, interests.

Pierre Bourdieu's discussion of "heretical discourse" sets out the counter-player position more specifically: exploiting "the possibility of changing the social world . . . by counterpoising a paradoxical pre-vision, a utopia, a project or programme, to the ordinary vision [here, colonial vision] which apprehends the social world as a natural world."⁹⁴ Colonial authorities of New Spain feared a contagion of heretical discourse and Indian uprisings in places near the edges of settled colonial life such as western Hidalgo (occasionally for good reason), but if Velasco's book and promotion of the shrine in Mexico City represent the "ordinary vision," the founding of Mapethé's shrine and the activities of its devotees show little opposing "pre-vision." The counter-playing possibilities in Mapethé as a telluric site that recharged visiting crosses with sacred, protective energy remained latent except in intermittent calls for the return of the miraculous image from Mexico City. Devotees of the Cristo Renovado in western Hidalgo did not publicly proclaim a break with the ordinary order or set themselves on a collision course with the colonial church. In their way, they remained loyal, accountable Catholics, fulfilling prescribed Christian duties and respecting the authority of priests.⁹⁵ Otomíes as counter-players fought in 1811 near Ixmiquilpan, El Cardonal, and Alfajayucan behind insurgent leader Julián Villagrán during the early years of Mexico's war of independence, and did not come to terms with royalist authorities until 1814 or 1815. Who they were and where they came from is not certain, but judging by their negotiations with the royalists, their prevision was local—the right to bear arms and govern their own communities—and some proceeded to fight against insurgents in 1816.⁹⁶

De Certeau had something like Nandy's non-players in mind when he referred to Mesoamerican Indians under Spanish colonial rule in his study of the practice of everyday life:

Submissive, and even consenting to their subjection, the Indians nevertheless often *made of* the situations, representations, and laws imposed on them something quite different from what their conquerors had in mind; they subverted them not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice but to accept. They were *other* within the very colonization that outwardly assimilated

⁹⁴ *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. John B. Thompson (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 129.

⁹⁵ Mapuches in Chile, "Chichimecs" of north-central Mexico, Mayas in Yucatán for a time in the sixteenth century, and the followers of the New Savior of Tututepec, Hidalgo, in 1769 come to mind as counter-players and counter-playing subjects. Richard Trexler highlights counter-playing aspects of the history of the once Indian, later lower-class *mestizo* passion play of Iztapalapa on the edge of the Valley of Mexico, in *Reliving Golgotha: The Passion Play of Iztapalapa* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003).

⁹⁶ John Tutino, "Buscando independencias populares: Conflicto social e insurgencia agraria en el Mezquital mexicano, 1800–1815," in Marta Terán and José Antonio Serrano Ortega, eds., *Las guerras de independencia en la América Española* (Zamora, 2002), 295–321; William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 461.

them; their use of the dominant social order deflected its power, which they lacked the means to challenge; they escaped it without leaving it.⁹⁷

Mapethé's shrine to the miracle of the absent, self-restoring crucifix and the annual convention of crosses brought by pilgrims from much of western Hidalgo who did not make pilgrimages to the image in Mexico City does express "something in daily life that is marginal to the discourse of the dominant rationality," as de Certeau and Jesús Martín Barbero would understand it.⁹⁸ Mapethé was not conceived or accepted by its founders or later devotees as a satellite of the shrine in Mexico City; nor did they accept Velasco's *furta sacra* story that the sacred energy contained in the miracle resided only in the image, any more than Indians laboring in the mines of Zimapán heeded the objections of their employers or the injunction by the district governor not to abandon their work when it was time to visit Mapethé.⁹⁹ The visitors from Zimapán apparently thought of their trip to Mapethé during Lent not as a pilgrimage to a fixed destination, but as participation in what they called "the procession of crucifixes,"¹⁰⁰ sanctifying movement in which they entered a landscape of their own making, a little heaven on earth in the vicinity of the shrine.

But there is also more to this story than local or Otomí solidarity. Otomí devotees of the Cristo Renovado miracle were non-players and perhaps sometimes counter-players, but they were always players, too. The non-player features and counter-player possibilities were continually crosscut by personal, factional, and intercommunity rivalries pursued for more than seventy years in every colonial court available, the higher the better. Asking how the devotees of Mapethé could be both players and non-players is a way to recognize that "embracing the fragment," as subaltern studies scholars have recommended, may mean reaching beyond the idea of freestanding, autonomous subjects in colonial histories to how and why they acted as *colonial* subjects.¹⁰¹ The case for keeping subaltern "fragments" and the imagination of the state in view at the same time is even more compelling for Mesoamerican Indians than for South Asians. While they were still the numerical majority at the end of the eighteenth century, the four million or so Mesoamerican Indians were far fewer in number and occupied a smaller territory than rural South Asians; and they had a more extensive, arguably deeper, ex-

⁹⁷ *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xii. Emphasis in original.

⁹⁸ Jesús Martín Barbero, *Communication, Culture, and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations*, trans. Elizabeth Fox and Robert A. White (London, 1993), 82.

⁹⁹ One stream of recent scholarship in colonial Mesoamerican studies has a largely non-player interpretation (which might well not accept "subaltern" as an appropriate term for Nahuatl, Mixtec, and Maya colonial subjects): James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 1992); Matthew Restall, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550–1850* (Stanford, Calif., 1997); and Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Nudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 2001).

¹⁰⁰ AGN Civil 1111, exp. "991," petition to the Audiencia in 1793.

¹⁰¹ Chakrabarty acknowledges the link when he writes, "We live in societies structured by the state" and "the subaltern who abjures the imagination of the state does not exist in a pure form in real life." *Habitations of Modernity*, 34, 35. In *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), Chakrabarty takes up players, but they are mainly male, middle-class, and Hindu. He has been criticized for not attending to lower-caste peasants and urban workers as players. See the review by Gyanendra Pandey in *Journal of World History* 13 (Fall 2002): 504–506.

perience of European colonial institutions and culture, however intermittent and attenuated it may have been.

Sherry Ortner expressed the challenge of writing more synoptic histories with multiple agencies under colonialism as “a problematic of the dynamics of power . . . : processes of legitimation, ‘residence’ and resistance, contestation, accommodation; relations between elites and commoners, bosses and workers, . . . colonial authorities and colonial subjects.”¹⁰² On the Otomí side, devotees of the Cristo Renovado understood themselves in various terms—as members or allies of competing extended families, as men and women with gendered duties and loyalties, as residents of a dispersed settlement within a township, as fellow devotees, and as Catholics and subjects of the Spanish king under the sign of the cross. Most also knew themselves to be Otomíes, an identity that may well have become stronger in a colonial setting that marginalized their communities economically yet established routes of migration that put them in touch with far-flung relatives and Otomí speakers. And they knew themselves as “Indians” when they fulfilled Indian duties and made use of Indian prerogatives in their repeated dealings with state authorities, miners, priests, and ranchers. But recognizing themselves as Otomíes and Indians under colonial law did not translate into a strong sense of common cause with Indian strangers except for a time in the early years of Mexico’s independence struggle. Even then, the distinctive subaltern logic they defended was local and evidently not attached to the miraculous Cristo Renovado. The eighteenth-century devotees of Mapethé did not propose to replace the colonial regime or withdraw from its authority and patronage. On the contrary, their struggles from within the Spanish colonial state expressed both their local affiliations and categories of corporate (more than individual) enfranchisement fostered by colonial laws and institutions. Their resistance to outside authority was likely to be directed at a rival faction or leader in or near the local community, at employers, at landlords, or, less often, at the parish priest, the district governor, and Spanish colonialism. The more popular the shrine of Mapethé became and the more its leaders prospered, the more they were checked by district authorities of the crown and the local interests and suspicions of their neighbors.

¹⁰² Sherry B. Ortner, “Practice, Power, and the Past,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1 (2001): 272, 275.

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Top Down or Bottom Up?

Nationalist Mobilization Reconsidered, with Special Reference to Guinea (French West Africa)

ELIZABETH SCHMIDT

IN SEPTEMBER 1958, THE PEOPLE OF GUINEA voted for immediate independence from France, overwhelmingly rejecting a constitution that would have granted the territory junior partnership in a French-dominated community. Throughout the vast French empire, Guinea, with a population of only 2.5 million people, was the only territory to vote “No” to the proposition offered by Prime Minister Charles de Gaulle.¹ The referendum’s outcome was a major victory for the Guinean branch of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), a political party with affiliates in the fourteen territories of French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, and the United Nations trusts of Togo and Cameroon. While every other RDA branch had fallen into line behind de Gaulle, the Guinean RDA, under the leadership of a charismatic young trade unionist named Sékou Touré, had spearheaded the drive for complete and immediate independence.

The decision to oppose the constitution was made two weeks before the referendum, at a territorial conference attended by some 680 party militants from RDA subsections, neighborhood committees, and village committees from across Guinea.² Although Sékou Touré articulated the party’s position, he did not determine it. The final decision was made by the delegates attending the conference, who voted solidly against de Gaulle’s proposition. Sékou Touré’s endorse-

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¹ Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1985* (New York, 1988), 148–149; Ruth Schachter Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa* (Oxford, 1964), 400.

² Centre des Archives d’Outre-Mer, Archives Nationales (de France) (CAOM), Carton 2181, dos. 6, Gouverneur, Guinée Française, Conakry, à Ministre, F.O.M., Paris, “Discours Prononcé par le Président Sékou Touré, le 14 Septembre 1958,” September 15, 1958, #0191/CAB; Carton 2181, dos. 6, Gouverneur, Guinée Française, Conakry, à Ministre, F.O.M., Paris, “Motion du Parti Démocratique de la Guinée en Date du 14 Septembre 1958,” September 15, 1958, #0191/CAB; Carton 2181, dos. 6, Gouverneur, Guinée Française, Conakry, à Ministre, F.O.M., Paris, “Nouvelles Locales Reçues de l’A.F.P. en Date du 19 Septembre 1958,” September 19, 1958, #2276/CAB; “La Résolution,” *La Liberté*, September 23, 1958, 2; Georges Chaffard, *Les Carnets Secrets de la Décolonisation*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967), 2: 204, 206; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 219.

ment of the “No” vote was, in fact, the result of massive pressure from the grassroots.³

While the RDA position was elaborated and its victory lauded in *La Liberté*, the party newspaper read by Western-educated elites,⁴ nonliterate women celebrated their triumph in songs they had created for the occasion. Guinean scholar Idiatou Camara recorded one such song during interviews conducted in 1976–1977:

Guinea says “No”
De Gaulle says “Yes”
One must vote “No”
Comrade Sékou Touré, one must choose the “No”
Yes, one must choose the “No,” Sékou Touré
In any case, we have voted “No.”⁵

One month before the referendum, Prime Minister de Gaulle had traveled to Guinea in a futile attempt to sway the vote. At the airport, he was welcomed by Sékou Touré, president of Guinea’s recently established local government, who was attired in the flowing white uniform of the RDA. Hundreds of party militants, dressed in handmade uniforms of cheap white percale, lined the road for fifteen kilometers, from the airport to the city center. As the motorcade approached, they cried, “Syli! Syli!” [“Elephant! Elephant!”]—the symbol of the RDA, and by extension of Sékou Touré personally. Partisans waved homemade posters emblazoned with elephants and plastered them on buildings throughout the capital. As the women danced, accompanied by traditional tam-tams, balafons, and coras, the crowd sang, “The elephant has entered the city!”⁶ In his memoirs, de Gaulle recalled: “from the airport to the center of the town the crowd [was] evenly distributed in well-drilled battalions along both sides of the road . . . The women were lined up in front in their hundreds, each group wearing dresses of the same cut and color, and all, as the procession passed by, jumping, dancing and singing to order.”⁷ Later that day, Sékou Touré officially received the French prime minister and addressed the Territorial Assembly, providing colonial authorities with an advance copy of his roneotyped speech.⁸

This confluence of popular and elite nationalism was characteristic of the

³ Interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991. In his September 14 address, Sékou Touré made reference to the proindependence positions already taken by trade union, student, and youth organizations. CAOM, Carton 2181, dos. 6, “Discours Prononcé par le Président Sékou Touré, le 14 Septembre 1958.” See also “Unanimement le 28 Septembre La Guinée Votera NON,” *La Liberté*, September 23, 1958, 1–2. Former university student leader Charles Diané also claims that Sékou Touré opted for the “No” vote in the eleventh hour—pushed by the student movement. Charles Diané, *La F.E.A.N.F. et Les Grandes Heures du Mouvement Syndical Étudiant Noir* (Paris, 1990), 128–129.

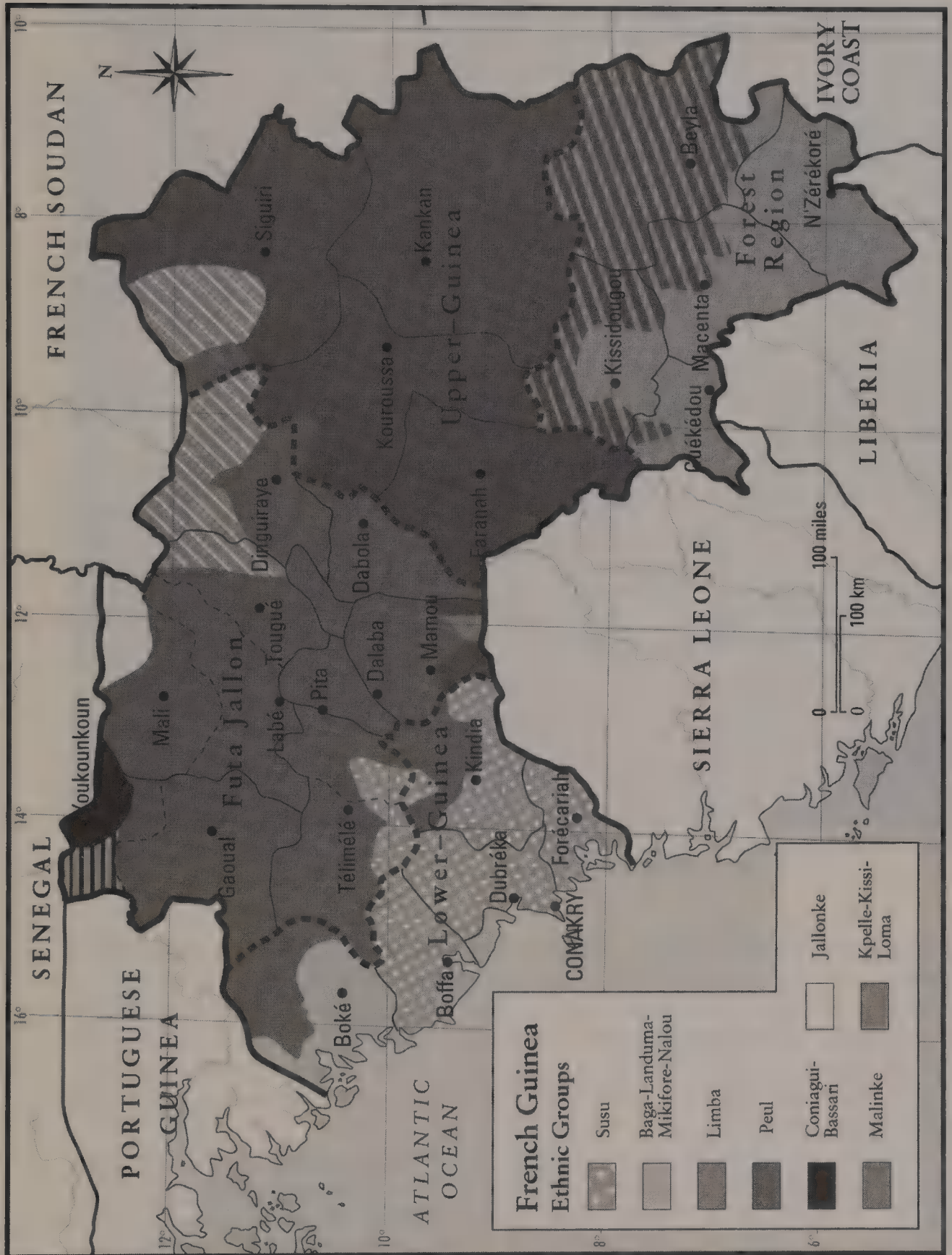
⁴ See, for instance, “Unanimement le 28 Septembre,” 1–2; “Les Résultats du Scrutin,” *La Liberté*, October 4, 1958, 5.

⁵ Archives de Guinée (AG), AM-1339, Idiatou Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme de Guinée à la Lutte de Libération Nationale (1945–1958),” *Mémoire de Fin d’Études Supérieures*, IPGAN, Conakry, 1979, 111.

⁶ Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 108; Chaffard, *Les Carnets Secrets*, 2: 177, 193–194, 196; Lansiné Kaba, *Le “Non” de la Guinée à De Gaulle* (Paris, 1989), 80–86; Pierre Messmer, *Après Tant de Batailles: Mémoires* (Paris, 1992), 234; Charles de Gaulle, *Memoirs of Hope: Renewal and Endeavor*, trans. Terence Kilmartin (New York, 1971), 55.

⁷ De Gaulle, *Memoirs of Hope*, 55.

⁸ Chaffard, *Les Carnets Secrets*, 2: 194.



MAP OF FRENCH GUINEA. Cartographer: Malcolm Swanston. Reprinted by permission from *Mobilizing the Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939-1958* by Elizabeth Schmidt. Copyright © 2005 by Elizabeth Schmidt. Published by Heinemann, a division of Reed Elsevier, Inc., Portsmouth, N.H. All rights reserved.



FIGURE 1: RDA supporters in white uniforms greet Prime Minister de Gaulle on his arrival in Conakry, August 1958. Reproduced by permission of Agence France-Presse/Getty Images.

Guinean RDA, a broad-based ethnic, class, and gender alliance that incorporated Muslims, Christians, and practitioners of indigenous religions. The movement embraced Guinean speakers of Maninka, Susu, Pulaar, Kissi, Kpelle, and Loma, as well as those who spoke languages indigenous to other French African territories. As the RDA struggled to build an independent nation from this heterogeneous base, its message, conveyed by both masses and elites, was simultaneously anticolonial and nationalist.

Although Guinea was alone in its embrace of independence in 1958, it was not unique. In the post-World War II era, nationalist movements burgeoned across the African and Asian continents, resisting imperialism of diverse origins. Other African territories followed Guinea's lead, and by 1960, most French "possessions" had regained their sovereignty. The Guinean RDA was thus one among scores of African and Asian movements that waged successful struggles for national inde-



FIGURE 2: Local musicians perform during the September 1958 referendum campaign. CRDA.

pendence in the postwar period. So, why study the Guinean nationalist movement, and why study it now? Decades after the fact, the Guinean case warrants scholarly consideration for the important lessons it can teach us about anticolonial nationalism in the non-Western world—lessons with enduring relevance. What we learn from the Guinean case will help to push nationalist historiography in new directions.

The study of African and Asian nationalism is not new. In recent years, however, there have been significant shifts in scholarly approach. The wave of anticolonial nationalism that swept Africa and Asia after World War II sparked new interest in what previously had been considered a uniquely European phenomenon. Many of the first studies approached nationalism from the perspective of intellectual history. Exploring the interaction of indigenous and Western ideas, early scholars of Asian nationalism generally focused on religious and secular intellectuals and political

elites.⁹ Although the history of ideas remains a forceful current in the field,¹⁰ recent studies have paid greater attention to popular mobilization and the importance of peasant and worker movements. While many of these works note that nationalist leaders focused on local grievances and manipulated indigenous symbols and traditions to appeal to mass audiences, most perpetuate the top-down perspective of their predecessors.¹¹ According to this view, the masses were but recipients of the nationalist message. They were mobilized by the elites; they were not a mobilizing force.

While a number of recent studies make reference to the generation of mass appeal, only a handful scrutinize the actual mechanisms of popular mobilization. Gail Minault and Sandria Freitag examine the ways in which Indian Muslim leaders used religious and cultural symbols and events to unite a heterogeneous Muslim population, mobilizing the literate classes through the vernacular press, leaflets, pamphlets, and poetry, and the nonliterate masses through speeches, slogans, songs, religious processions, and demonstrations.¹² Peter van der Veer has made similar claims for mobilization among Indian Hindus as well as Muslims, while James Gelvin has investigated these issues in Syria, and Nels Johnson and Ted Swedenburg in Palestine.¹³ Some of the most insightful work in this area has focused not on anticolonial nationalism, but on internal cultural resurgence in multi-

⁹ See, for instance, Sylvia G. Haim, ed., *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology* (Berkeley, Calif., 1962); Patrick Seale, *The Struggle for Syria: A Study of Post-War Arab Politics, 1945–1958* (New Haven, Conn., 1965); Ray T. Smith, "The Role of India's 'Liberals' in the Nationalist Movement, 1925–1947," *Asian Survey* 8, no. 7 (July 1968): 607–624; David G. Marr, *Vietnamese Anticolonialism, 1885–1925* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971).

¹⁰ Ayesha Jalal and Anil Seal, "Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics between the Wars," *Modern Asian Studies* 15, no. 3 (1981): 415–454; Farzana Shaikh, "Muslims and Political Representation in Colonial India: The Making of Pakistan," *Modern Asian Studies* 20, no. 3 (1986): 539–557; Youssef M. Choueiri, *Arab History and the Nation-State: A Study in Modern Arab Historiography, 1820–1980* (New York, 1989); Youssef M. Choueiri, *Arab Nationalism—A History: Nation and State in the Arab World* (Malden, Mass., 2000); David E. F. Henley, "Ethnogeographic Integration and Exclusion in Anticolonial Nationalism: Indonesia and Indochina," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 2 (April 1995): 286–324; Bassam Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1997); Robert H. Taylor, *The Idea of Freedom in Asia and Africa* (Stanford, Calif., 2002).

¹¹ Rajat Ray, *Urban Roots of Indian Nationalism: Pressure Groups and Conflict of Interests in Calcutta City Politics, 1875–1939* (New Delhi, 1979); Nasir Islam, "Islam and National Identity: The Case of Pakistan and Bangladesh," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13, no. 1 (February 1981): 55–72; Philip S. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism, 1920–1945* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); Dilip M. Menon, *Caste, Nationalism and Communism in South India: Malabar, 1900–1948* (Cambridge, 1994); Sanjay Seth, "Rewriting Histories of Nationalism: The Politics of 'Moderate Nationalism' in India, 1870–1905," *AHR* 104, no. 1 (February 1999): 95–116; Hanna Batatu, *Syria's Peasantry, the Descendants of Its Lesser Rural Notables, and Their Politics* (Princeton, N.J., 1999); Taj-ul-Islam Hashmi, "Peasant Nationalism and the Politics of Partition: The Class-Communal Symbiosis in East Bengal, 1940–1947," in Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, eds., *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent* (New York, 1999), 6–41.

¹² See Gail Minault, "Urdu Political Poetry during the Khilafat Movement," *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 4 (October 1974): 459–471; Gail Minault, "Islam and Mass Politics: The Indian Ulama and the Khilafat Movement," in Donald E. Smith, ed., *Religion and Political Modernization* (New Haven, Conn., 1974), 168–182; Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York, 1982); Sandria B. Freitag, "The Roots of Muslim Separatism in South Asia: Personal Practice and Public Structures in Kanpur and Bombay," in Edmund Burke, III and Ira M. Lapidus, eds., *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 115–145.

¹³ Peter van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); James L. Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998); Nels Johnson, *Islam and the Politics of Meaning in Palestinian Nationalism*

ethnic, postcolonial nation-states. Pamela Price, for instance, argues in her investigation of Tamil nationalism in India that the Federation for the Progress of Dravidians “developed a new cosmology, a vision of a new society and polity, which was deeply immersed in Tamil images and themes.” Its appeal resonated more strongly among the Tamil population “than the more secular, pan-Indian message of Nehru or the ascetic image of Gandhi.”¹⁴

While the majority of recent studies continue to treat nationalist mobilization as a one-way street, there are striking exceptions to this trend. Israel Gershoni points out that most works that focus on the dissemination of nationalist ideas from elites to women and “subaltern socioeconomic strata such as the lower middle classes, the working classes, and various levels of the peasantry” tell us very little about the receptivity of these groups to nationalist ideas. We remain ignorant of “the modes in which women, the poor, and the illiterate—constituting the overwhelming majority of the societies in question—reacted to the radicalized upper middle stratum’s struggle against the Westernized ‘ancien régime.’” Gershoni argues that future studies “must encompass the strains of nationalism from below percolating upward as a supplement to the research on [educated urban elite]-driven nationalism trickling downward.”¹⁵

The nationalist historiography of Africa, like that of Asia, has changed dramatically in recent years. Since the early 1950s, scholars of Africa have investigated nationalist movements and nation-building endeavors that were both heir to the European revolutionary and liberal traditions of 1789 and 1848 and the product of indigenous grassroots movements.¹⁶ The earliest studies emphasized the leadership role of Western-educated elites who organized political movements grounded in Western concepts of democracy and national self-determination. To be successful, these movements had to be able to generate mass support, which they did by

(Boston, 1982); Ted Swedenburg, “The Role of the Palestinian Peasantry in the Great Revolt (1936–1939),” in Burke and Lapidus, *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements*, 169–203.

¹⁴ Pamela Price, “Revolution and Rank in Tamil Nationalism,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 2 (May 1996): 365.

For the use of indigenous cultural and religious symbols and practices by resurgent Asante nationalists in independent Ghana, see Jean M. Allman, “The Youngmen and the Porcupine: Class, Nationalism and Asante’s Struggle for Self-Determination, 1954–1957,” *Journal of African History* 31, no. 2 (1990): 263–264, 272, 274–277; Jean Marie Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison, Wis., 1993), 6, 9–10, 16–17, 19, 28, 41–46, 49, 62, 65, 97, 131, 140, 160, 183–184; Pashington Obeng, “Gendered Nationalism: Forms of Masculinity in Modern Asante of Ghana,” in Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephan F. Miescher, eds., *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2003), 203–206.

¹⁵ Israel Gershoni, “Rethinking the Formation of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East, 1920–1945,” in James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, eds., *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York, 1997), 25.

¹⁶ See, for instance, James S. Coleman, “Nationalism in Tropical Africa,” *American Political Science Review* 48, no. 2 (June 1954): 404–426; James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1958); Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (New York, 1957); David Apter, *Ghana in Transition* (Princeton, N.J., 1963); Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873–1964* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); Robert I. Rotberg, “African Nationalism: Concept or Confusion?” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 4, no. 1 (May 1966): 33–46; Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., and John Nottingham, *The Myth of “Mau Mau”: Nationalism in Kenya* (Stanford, Calif., 1966); John Lonsdale, “The Emergence of African Nations: A Historiographical Analysis,” *African Affairs* 67, no. 266 (1968): 11–28; J. M. Lonsdale, “Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa,” *Journal of African History* 9, no. 1 (1968): 119–146.

mobilizing around preexisting grievances and promising to resolve them through the attainment of national independence.¹⁷ While acknowledging the critical nature of mass involvement, pioneers in this field, like their counterparts in Asia, generally focused on the political leadership.¹⁸

In the late 1960s, as social history gained prominence in the discipline, scholars of African nationalism began to shift their focus to “the role of ordinary . . . Africans.” John Lonsdale, an eminent member of this group, argued that “scholarly preoccupation with *élites* will only partially illumine the mainsprings of nationalism.”¹⁹ He claimed that “the pressures of the peasantry at the periphery were at least as important in breaking down the colonial governments’ morale as the demands of the *élite* at the centre.”²⁰ In the post–World War II era, increased government intrusion into the lives of ordinary Africans “resulted in a national revolution coalescing from below, co-ordinated rather than instigated by the educated *élite*.” According to Lonsdale, it was the grassroots that “provided much of [the nationalist movement’s] dynamism and direction.”²¹

It was left for later generations to show *how* “ordinary Africans” accomplished this spectacular feat. In her pathbreaking work on nationalism in colonial Tanzania, Susan Geiger focused on the role of nonliterate women. She argued that these women did not “learn nationalism” from the Western-educated male elites who dominated party politics. Instead, women without formal education brought to the party “an ethos of nationalism already present as trans-ethnic, trans-tribal social and cultural identity. This ethos was expressed collectively in their dance and other organizations, and reflected in their families of origin as well as in marriages that frequently crossed ethnic divisions.”²² Such women were “a major force in *constructing, embodying, and performing* Tanzanian nationalism.”²³ Thus, Tanzanian women were a driving force behind a movement in which African and European ideas interacted to form a new synthesis, one that was uniquely suited to the African context. Geiger’s work on Tanzanian women inspires similar questions about the role of other grassroots actors. What part did military veterans, urban workers, and rural agriculturalists play in shaping nationalist movements from the bottom up?

The importance of mass mobilization to the Guinean nationalist endeavor has been noted by several scholars. However, few have examined the popular aspects of the movement in detail. Ruth Schachter Morgenthau, Jean Suret-Canale, Claude Rivière, Victor Du Bois, and L. Gray Cowan have commented on the popular foundations of the Guinean RDA, but their primary focus has been on colonial

¹⁷ See, for instance, Coleman, “Nationalism in Tropical Africa,” 407–408; Lonsdale, “Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa,” 119–120, 140–141, 146; Lonsdale, “Emergence of African Nations,” 11, 25.

¹⁸ Coleman, for instance, maintained that “the student of political nationalism is concerned mainly with the attitudes, activities, and status of the nationalist-minded Western-educated *élite*.” Coleman, “Nationalism in Tropical Africa,” 425.

¹⁹ Lonsdale, “Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa,” 146.

²⁰ Lonsdale, “Emergence of African Nations,” 25; see also Lonsdale, “Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa,” 119.

²¹ Lonsdale, “Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa,” 140–141, 146.

²² Susan Geiger, “Tanganyikan Nationalism as ‘Women’s Work’: Life Histories, Collective Biography and Changing Historiography,” *Journal of African History* 37, no. 3 (1996): 468–469.

²³ Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955–1965* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1997), 14, 66.

reforms, electoral politics, and male party leaders. Their works do not explore the mechanisms by which people were mobilized or the ways in which the rank and file influenced party methods and programs.²⁴ Guinean historian Sidiki Kobélé Kéïta has written the most comprehensive, if largely uncritical, account of the Guinean nationalist movement. His two-volume study devotes considerable attention to elite electoral politics, and some to the movement's popular roots. However, the specific tactics of mass mobilization are not scrutinized. The central role of women is mentioned, but the dynamics of their participation are not explored in depth.²⁵ Although some other works remark upon the crucial nature of women's involvement, few offer an analysis of women's motivations, methods, and visions of a transformed society or discuss their role in shaping the nationalist movement and defining the terms of the debate.²⁶ A notable exception is Idiatou Camara's unpublished undergraduate thesis, which demonstrates the ways in which urban women helped to construct Guinea's nationalist movement and were critical to its success. Unfortunately, this unique work, preserved in Guinea's national archives, is available only in that country.²⁷

If the focus on popular mobilization is one trend in recent nationalist scholarship, criticism of the negative qualities of nationalism is another. In the 1950s and 1960s, nationalism in Africa and Asia was associated positively with anticolonialism and popular liberation.²⁸ A generation later, however, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, and internal struggles in a number of African and Asian countries, nationalism acquired a highly negative connotation. Ethnic chauvinism and ethnically motivated atrocities overwhelmed the positive characteristics associated with earlier nationalist movements. Increasingly, nationalism was deemed a negative force, promoting ethnic, linguistic, and

²⁴ See Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 219–254; Jean Suret-Canale, *La République de Guinée* (Paris, 1970), 141–146, 159–172; Claude Rivière, *Guinea: The Mobilization of a People*, trans. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 51–82; Victor D. Du Bois, “Guinea,” in James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., eds., *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1970), 186–215; L. Gray Cowan, “Guinea,” in Gwendolen M. Carter, ed., *African One-Party States* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1962), 149–236. Other well-known works perpetuate the top-down approach of earlier scholars. Yves Person, for example, conflates the Guinean RDA with the person of Sékou Touré, erroneously assuming that the party leader had “autocratic power” in the preindependence period and that he imposed his will on the party. Sylvain Soriba Camara and ’Ladipo Adamolekun present grand narratives of events, once again focusing on governing and party structures, policies, and leaders. Yves Person, “French West Africa and Decolonization,” in Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis, eds., *The Transfer of Power in Africa: Decolonization, 1940–1960* (New Haven, Conn., 1982), 141–172; Sylvain Soriba Camara, *La Guinée Sans La France* (Paris, 1976); ’Ladipo Adamolekun, “The Road to Independence in French Tropical Africa,” in Timothy K. Welliver, ed., *African Nationalism and Independence* (New York, 1993), 66–79; ’Ladipo Adamolekun, *Sékou Touré’s Guinea: An Experiment in Nation Building* (London, 1976).

²⁵ Sidiki Kobélé Kéïta, *Le P.D.G.: Artisan de l’Indépendance Nationale en Guinée (1947–1958)*, 2 vols. (Conakry, 1978). Unfortunately, Kéïta’s two-volume work has not been circulated widely outside of Guinea.

²⁶ See, for instance, Margarita Dobert, “Civic and Political Participation of Women in French-Speaking West Africa” (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1970); Claude Rivière, “La Promotion de la Femme Guinéenne,” *Cahiers d’Études Africaines* 8, no. 31 (1968): 406–427. Dobert does not focus exclusively on Guinea or the postwar nationalist period. Rivière focuses primarily on Guinea’s postindependence period.

²⁷ Camara, “Contribution de la Femme.”

²⁸ Studies of Muslim-Hindu violence and the partition of India are notable exceptions to this generalization.

religious homogeneity, brutally excluding—or eliminating—those considered outsiders.²⁹ These illiberal, counterrevolutionary forces had much in common with the right-wing nationalisms of Europe in the “Age of Empire” (1880–1914), when, in the words of E. J. Hobsbawm, “ethnicity and language became the central . . . or even the only criteria of potential nationhood.” In the case of Europe, and later Africa and Asia, “a concept associated with liberalism and the left [mutated] into a chauvinist, imperialist and xenophobic movement of the right, or more precisely, the radical right.”³⁰ In Guinea, the RDA was forced to confront these narrow, ethnically exclusive tendencies, both within its own ranks and in those of the ethnic associations promoted by the colonial government and its African supporters.

Nationalism thus remains a hotly debated topic with undeniable relevance to the contemporary world. We revisit the case of Guinea, a small West African nation that won its independence from France in 1958, because its local lessons enhance our understanding of global trends. While earlier studies have reevaluated particular aspects of the African nationalist experience, none has attempted to integrate these parts into a fully reconceptualized whole. Building upon these works, this article elaborates a new framework in which to consider the nationalist movement of postwar Guinea. It raises theoretical and methodological issues that fundamentally alter the way in which we understand anticolonial nationalism in the non-Western world.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE GUINEAN CASE leads to three theoretical conclusions. First, anticolonial nationalism, in many instances, embraces heterogeneous populations that are ethnically and religiously diverse. As such, it belongs to a progressive political tradition that one might call “inclusive nationalism.”³¹ Second, while anticolonial nationalist movements have been led by educated elites, often inspired by European ideals, elites did not instigate the anticolonial protests. Rather, they built their base among popular groups already engaged in struggle against the colonial state. They identified issues around which the masses were already mobilizing and incorporated them into the nationalist agenda. These agendas were successful largely because they were deeply rooted in mass concerns, rather than imposed from above or outside. Third, conceptualizing the nation was a two-way street. Masses as well as elites had an impact on the ideas, objectives, strategies, and methods of the nationalist leaders. While elites brought European ideas and models of nationalism to the table, the nonliterate majority brought others that were embedded in indigenous histories, practices, and beliefs.³²

²⁹ See, for instance, Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (New York, 1994); Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (New York, 1998).

³⁰ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1992), 102, 121; E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (New York, 1987), 143, 146; E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875* (New York, 1975), 84, 89. See also Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (Minneapolis, 1993), 9.

³¹ Henley refers to this phenomenon as “integrative,” as opposed to “inclusive,” nationalism, which he contrasts with “exclusive” nationalism. See Henley, “Ethnogeographic Integration,” 286, 289–290.

³² These themes are expanded upon in my recent book. See Elizabeth Schmidt, *Mobilizing the*

Finally, an assessment of the Guinean case leads to an important observation about mobilizing methods. It shows us *how* people were mobilized—the mechanisms and processes by which mass mobilization occurred. While some indigenous cultural practices and images were co-opted by elites and presented to the populace, the people themselves brought others to the movement. Again, we see that the masses were not simply an “audience” for elite-inspired nationalism, nor the “transmitters” of a message formulated for them.³³ The songs and slogans employed by nonliterate people to communicate the nationalist message were not composed by party leaders on their behalf. Rather, people without formal education created these devices to communicate among themselves, to transmit their own messages to the elites, and to interpret elite messages in terms meaningful to themselves.

The postwar Guinean movement, spearheaded by the RDA, was not only vehemently anticolonial, but also nationalist and inclusive. It was the conscious struggle to bridge ethnic, class, and gender differences that made the Guinean movement so effective and placed it squarely in the progressive political tradition of the European revolutionary era (1789–1848).³⁴ Much of the Guinean population shared a precolonial history. A large proportion shared a religion. All had mutually understood experiences and grievances resulting from French colonialism. Together, these formed a common basis that allowed a nation to be forged from a multilingual, ethnically heterogeneous population.

While the movement’s leadership was composed of Western-educated elites whose views of democracy and national self-determination were derived largely from European models, its strength lay in its solid support among peasants, workers, veterans, and women. The Guinean nationalist movement was successful because it built its base among these groups, which were already engaged in anticolonial protest. It was their grievances that drove the nationalist agenda and their energies that were harnessed in the struggle for national independence.³⁵

If grassroots activists shaped Guinea’s nationalist agenda, they also influenced its form. Indigenous cultural practices were adapted—by elites and nonelites alike—to transmit the new nationalist message. While print media contributed to the spread of nationalist ideas in nineteenth-century Europe, books and newspapers were less significant in Guinea, where mass education had yet to be realized. Mobilizing the largely nonliterate population required new methods of communication, notably songs, symbols, and uniforms. The majority of songs were composed by nonliterate women, who sang their nationalist message at public water taps, taxi stands, and marketplaces.³⁶ Symbols and uniforms also had popular origins that spoke to mass sentiments and were integral to grassroots organizing efforts.

Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939–1958 (Portsmouth, N.H., 2005).

³³ Geiger, *TANU Women*, 14.

³⁴ See E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe, 1789–1848* (London, 1962).

³⁵ For an in-depth discussion of this subject, see Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*.

³⁶ For further elaboration, see Elizabeth Schmidt, “‘Emancipate Your Husbands!’ Women and Nationalism in Guinea, 1953–1958,” in Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002), 282–304; Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*, chap. 5.

IF NATIONALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY HAS UNDERGONE A MAJOR TRANSFORMATION, so, too, has the meaning of "the nation." In 1882, the French philosopher Ernest Renan contested the nineteenth-century German romantic notion of the nation as a primordial, ethnically and culturally bound entity. The nation is not based upon race, ethnicity, language, or religion, he wrote, but rather on a shared past and a vision of a common future.³⁷ More than a century later, Miroslav Hroch built upon these ideas, arguing that the nation is not an "eternal category, but . . . the product of a long and complicated process of historical development" that cannot be reduced to an ethnicity or language group. Rather, Hroch claims, the nation is "a large social group integrated not by one but by a combination of several kinds of objective relationships (economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, historical), and their subjective reflection in collective consciousness."³⁸ Similarly, Benedict Anderson describes the nation as "an imagined political community" that is sovereign and contained within defined territorial boundaries. The community is "imagined" because most of its members are strangers to one another, yet they consider themselves bound together in emotional solidarity as well as in a sovereign political entity.³⁹

According to these definitions of "the nation," broader and more nuanced than some that had previously prevailed, Guinea in the postwar period was unquestionably a nation-in-the-making. More than any other Guinean party, the RDA consciously and successfully shaped a national rather than an ethnic identity.⁴⁰ Although characterized by its opponents as a party of Malinke and Susu with strong anti-Peul undercurrents, the Guinean RDA prided itself on its multiethnic membership and its particular appeal to the lower classes of all ethnic groups. The party's allure for Néné Diallo is a case in point. A low-status cloth-dyer, Diallo was among the first Peul women to join the RDA. "The RDA welcomed everyone," she claimed. "It treated everyone like family. It did not discriminate against the downtrodden or the poor." While many of her family members joined opposing parties such as the Bloc Africain de Guinée and Démocratie Socialiste de Guinée, both of which were led by Peul notables, Diallo was adamant in her support for the RDA. Likening members of her ethnic group to family, Diallo contended,

It all depended upon who helped me. The other ones did nothing for me . . . Diawadou [leader of the Bloc Africain de Guinée] is my kin. Barry III [leader of the Démocratie Socialiste de Guinée] is my kin . . . Even if they were my mother, I would not support them . . . Sékou worked for us. Allah and his Envoy are my witness. He told us he had no material

³⁷ First delivered as a lecture in 1882, this essay has been published in English as Ernest Renan, "What Is a Nation?" in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York, 1996), 42–55.

³⁸ Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe," in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 61; Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Cambridge, 1985), 4–5. See also Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 87.

³⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1991), 6–7. See also Anthony D. Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World: The Western State and African Nationalism* (New York, 1983), 6.

⁴⁰ Guinea is a classic example of Breuilly's "idea of the nation as a project, a unity to be fashioned out of the fight for independence." John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1994), 7.

things to offer, but he stood up for us and respected us. That is why we followed him . . . Although Sékou did not give us anything, he cared for us.⁴¹

To build an inclusive nation, the Guinean RDA, under the leadership of Western-educated elites, constructed a broad ethnic, class, and gender alliance that was heir to a long European, and particularly French, tradition. With its emphasis on individual rights and liberties and government by the governed, it was, in part, a product of the European Enlightenment. As a mass movement for “the self-determination of peoples,” popular sovereignty, and citizenship, led by an aspiring intellectual elite against an oppressive, hierarchical state, it was also an outgrowth of the French Revolution and influenced by subsequent European nationalist movements.⁴² Rather than rejecting the modern nation-state as an alien institution imposed on African society by colonial rule, nationalist leaders charged that the state had failed because its work was incomplete. The colonial state was, in Partha Chatterjee’s words, “restricting and even violating the true principles of modern government” by denying inalienable rights to colonized peoples.⁴³

The presence of European ideas in African political thought was a product of French colonialism—the unintended outcome of French assimilationist policies. When Guinea was colonized in 1891, the colonial administration, along with its missionary assistants, embarked upon a self-described “civilizing mission” with the goal of transforming an elite corps of Africans into “Black Frenchmen.” This small group of assimilated Africans, or *évolués*, would serve as intermediaries between the government and the populace and work in European-owned enterprises. With a strong emphasis on “practical” education, especially in the poorly funded, lower-echelon rural schools, the African curriculum was designed to be devoid of subjects that might develop thought and hone analytical skills. However, some European ideas infiltrated the curriculum, as colonial educators denigrated African cultures, deplored African customs, and ignored African history—in favor of that which was French.⁴⁴

While many *évolués* embraced French civilization, some of the most assimilated challenged French cultural hegemony with their own. As schoolchildren, they had been prohibited from speaking their own languages and denied the opportunity to explore their own pasts. The most successful among them were rewarded with higher education abroad. On the eve of World War II, an elite group of African and Caribbean intellectuals in Paris rebelled against their growing sense of rootlessness and alienation. Under the leadership of Léopold Senghor of Senegal and Aimé

⁴¹ Interview with Néné Diallo, Conakry, April 11, 1991. When discussing party policies or initiatives, informants frequently attributed them personally to Sékou Touré, secretary-general of the Guinean branch of the RDA.

⁴² Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*, 145; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 18–19; Thomas Hodgkin, *African Political Parties: An Introductory Guide* (Gloucester, Mass., 1971), 163–164.

⁴³ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 10, 26, 74.

⁴⁴ Jean Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa, 1900–1945*, trans. Till Gottheiner (New York, 1971), 383, 391. See Sékou Touré’s critique of African education under French colonialism: Sékou Touré, “Le Leader Politique Considéré Comme le Représentant d’une Culture,” *Présence Africaine*, nos. 24–25 (February–May 1959): 104–115; Sékou Touré, “L’Élite Africaine Dans Le Combat Politique,” *Discours Enregistré du Président Sékou Touré Adressé aux Membres du Congrès des Hommes de Culture Noire*, March 26, 1959, in Sékou Touré, *L’Action Politique du Parti Démocratique de Guinée* (Paris, 1959), 161–176.

Césaire of Martinique, they launched the Négritude movement. While Europeans championed Western civilization as the epitome of human achievement, practitioners of Négritude pointed to the West's legacy of brutality, exploitation, and alienation. In contrast, they posited African cultures, which, they claimed, promoted peace, harmony, and community.⁴⁵ Through poetry, essays, novels, and plays, these cultural nationalists stressed a common African essence, a system of shared values and beliefs that laid the foundations for nationalist movements in the political realm.⁴⁶

Although few Guineans achieved the educational qualifications necessary to study in France, the ideas of Négritude reached elites in Guinea through Senghor's literary and scholarly journal, *Présence Africaine*. Published simultaneously in Dakar and Paris, the journal was circulated among Western-educated intellectuals in Guinea.⁴⁷ While the ideas promoted by Senghor and his colleagues certainly influenced some Guinean nationalists,⁴⁸ proponents of class analysis, including Sékou Touré and interterritorial RDA leader Gabriel d'Arboussier, rejected the racially based theories of Négritude, claiming that they obscured the socioeconomic roots of oppression and distracted the masses from the class struggle.⁴⁹

On the eve of World War II, Négritude was joined by other critiques of colonialism that had germinated on African soil. These, too, were influenced by European ideas. Just as African intellectuals in France challenged the premises of assimilation, French intellectuals in Africa defied the mandate to only partially educate their African charges. During the Popular Front government of 1936–1938, a growing number of French teachers pushed the boundaries of the African

⁴⁵ Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, trans. Joan Pinkham (New York, 2000), 31–78; Sékou Touré, "L'Élite Africaine Dans Le Combat Politique," 161–176; Eileen Julien, "African Literature," in Phyllis M. Martin and Patrick O'Meara, eds., *Africa*, 3rd ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1995), 297–298; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 110, 179; Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, 55; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 163.

⁴⁶ Sékou Touré, "L'Élite Africaine Dans le Combat Politique," 161–176; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 11, 14, 137–138, 144–146; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 110, 179; Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 172, 174–176; Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, 54–55.

⁴⁷ Archives Nationales du Sénégal (ANS), 2G47/121, Guinée Française, Affaires Politiques et Administratives, "Revue Trimestrielle des Événements, 3ème Trimestre 1947," December 5, 1947, #389 APA; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 3, 179.

⁴⁸ While studying in France in 1952, Fodéba Kéïta established Les Ballets Africains, which consciously borrowed dance forms and themes from all the Guinean ethnic groups, blending them into a new "Guinean" whole. Kéïta was also an accomplished playwright and poet in the Négritude tradition. In 1960, Guinean scholar D. T. Niane committed to writing the legendary oral epic "Sundiata," which celebrated the founding of the thirteenth-century Mali empire. See Muriel Devey, *La Guinée* (Paris, 1997), 290; Aly Gilbert Iffono, *Lexique Historique de la Guinée-Conakry* (Paris, 1992), 98; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 14, 251; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 176; D. T. Niane, *Soundjata, ou l'Épopée Mandingue* (Paris, 1960).

⁴⁹ Gabriel d'Arboussier, "Une Dangereuse Mystification de la Théorie de la Négritude," *La Nouvelle Critique*, no. 7 (June 1949): 34–47; Peter S. Thompson, "Negritude and a New Africa: An Update," *Research in African Literatures* 33, no. 4 (2002): 143, 146, 148; R. W. Johnson, "Sekou Touré and the Guinean Revolution," *African Affairs* 69, no. 277 (October 1970): 351. After independence, Sékou Touré developed his own theories of African socialism and the African personality—and continued his vehement critique of Négritude. See, for instance, Sékou Touré, "Le Leader Politique Considéré Comme le Représentant d'une Culture," 104–115; Sékou Touré, "L'Élite Africaine Dans Le Combat Politique," 161–176; Sékou Touré, "The Republic of Guinea," *International Affairs* 36, no. 2 (April 1960): 169; Ahmed Sékou Touré, *Revolution, Culture and Panafricanism* (Conakry, 1978), 11, 13, 71, 97, 175–177, 190–191, 196–204.

curriculum, extolling the republican principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity and championing the universal rights of man. Moving onto terrain considered dangerous by both previous and subsequent governments, they taught the history of the French Revolution along with practical skills and the elements of literacy.⁵⁰

The belief in the universal rights of man, as embodied in French civilization, was the cornerstone of French assimilationist policies. The 1789 "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" promoted radical ideas that bolstered the Guinean nationalist cause. Those exposed to the text learned that "Men are born free and remain free and equal in rights." In striking contrast to their experience under French colonialism, they read that "The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man," including "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression." While their people were ruled by governmental decree, Guinean students learned that "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to take part personally or through his representative in its formation."⁵¹ Thus, the rows of African schoolchildren who dutifully chanted, "Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois" imbibed revolutionary lessons as well.⁵² Embracing the notion of French universalism, African elites incorporated many of its tenets into their nationalist ideology. African trade unionists and military veterans, who seized upon French claims of universalism to demand equal treatment, were a critical component of the Guinean nationalist movement.⁵³

If the Enlightenment and the French Revolution of 1789 laid the foundations for European nationalist endeavors, the continent-wide revolutions of 1848 resulted in the widespread building of modern nation-states based on liberal republican ideals. Struggling against the tyranny of monarchs ruling over large multiethnic empires, proponents of European nationalism supported their claims for national independence by asserting that "no people ought to be exploited and ruled by another." While concurring that certain fundamental features distinguished one people from another, they contended that those differences were not reducible to ethnic or linguistic traits.⁵⁴ According to Hobsbawm, "French nationality was French citizenship: ethnicity, history, the language or patois spoken at home, were

⁵⁰ Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 380–382, 387, 391, 487; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 14–15, 23, 85; Cowan, "Guinea," 153–154, 157–158. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 115–116, 140.

⁵¹ "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789)," in John A. Maxwell and James J. Freidberg, eds., *Human Rights in Western Civilization: 1600 to the Present* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1991), 26.

⁵² Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 387, 391; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 14; ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Kankan, "Renseignements A/S Conférence Publique du R.D.A. du 30 Oct. 1954," November 5, 1954, #2894/1119, C/PS.2. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 118, 140–141; Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, 31; Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 170; Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder, Colo., 1977), 328–330, 436.

⁵³ For an in-depth discussion of these issues, see Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York, 1996); Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1991); Nancy Ellen Lawler, *Soldiers of Misfortune: Ivoirien Tirailleurs of World War II* (Athens, Ohio, 1992); Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Nationalité et Citoyenneté en Afrique Occidentale Français[e]: Originaires et Citoyens dans Le Sénégal Colonial," *Journal of African History* 42, no. 2 (2001): 285–305; Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*, chaps. 2 and 3.

⁵⁴ Hobsbawm, *Age of Capital*, 85.

irrelevant to the definition of 'the nation.'"⁵⁵ It was assumed that small ethnic groups would necessarily be joined into larger, economically and politically viable territorial states. It was this broad-based, multiethnic nationalism that took root in Guinea a century later. In Guinea, as in France, nationality was equated with citizenship, rather than ethnicity or language.⁵⁶

The foundations laid by the European Enlightenment and subsequent revolutions were built upon by French Communists. Because their opposition to imperialism resonated strongly with African intellectuals, members of the Parti Communiste Français (PCF) had a tremendous influence on African elites educated during the 1930s and 1940s.⁵⁷ Since the establishment of the Popular Front government in 1936, French Communists had worked in French West and Equatorial Africa as teachers, technicians, and military officers. They had taught at the prestigious federal school École Normale William Ponty in Senegal, and at the upper primary and vocational schools in Conakry and other major cities.⁵⁸ They had helped to establish a number of Groupes d'Études Communistes (GECs), where African intellectuals studied Marxist-Leninist theories and applied them to the political, economic, and social conditions of their own territories.⁵⁹ Leadership and organizational training were also provided by the Communist-affiliated trade union movement, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT).⁶⁰ Numerous RDA stalwarts, including Sékou Touré, emerged from the GEC/CGT milieu, which deeply influenced their organizing skills, strategies, and ideology.⁶¹ They consciously modeled the RDA's structure and orientation on those of the PCF.⁶² It was to French Communists, as much as to nineteenth-century nationalists, that the RDA owed the notion of a broad-based nationalist alliance forged from a heterogeneous, sometimes divided, population.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN INCLUSIVE NATIONALIST ALLIANCE was the product of struggle. Guinea in the 1950s was anything but a homogeneous society. It was multilingual and multiethnic and included people of diverse religious backgrounds.

⁵⁵ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 88.

⁵⁶ Hobsbawm, *Age of Capital*, 84–86, 88–89; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 144, 146–147; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 19–20, 33, 63, 87–88, 102. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 135.

⁵⁷ ANS, 21G13, "État d'Esprit de la Population," December 1–15, 1950; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 233.

⁵⁸ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 14–15, 85.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 23, 25–26; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 169, 233; Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*, 159.

⁶⁰ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 227.

⁶¹ AG, 2Z27, "Syndicat Professionnel des Agents et Sous-Agents Indigènes du Service des Transmissions de la Guinée Française," Conakry, March 18, 1945; Personal Archives of Joseph Montlouis: Letter from Joseph Montlouis, Conakry, to Jean Suret-Canale, Conakry, April 5, 1983; interviews with Mamadou Bela Doumbouya, Conakry, January 26, 1991, and Joseph Montlouis, Conakry, March 3 and 6, 1991; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 176, 180, 186; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 229; Johnson, "Sekou Touré and the Guinean Revolution," 351–353.

⁶² ANS, 17G573, "Les Partis Politiques en Guinée, 1er Semestre 1951"; 17G573, Gendarmerie, A.O.F., "En Guinée Française," September 12, 1951, #174/4; 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, "Rapport de Quinzaine du 1er au 15 Octobre 1951," #1847/1019, C/PS.2; 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Revue Trimestrielle, 3ème Trimestre 1951," November 24, 1951; 17G573, Comité Directeur, P.D.G., "Analyse de la Situation Politique en Afrique Noire et des Méthodes du R.D.A. en Vue de Dégager un Programme d'Action," ca. January 14, 1952; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 241–242; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 26, 98; Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 147.

Despite the nation-building efforts of party leaders, the battle to forge an ethnic, class, and gender alliance was fraught with tensions and marred by setbacks. Female emancipation, regional and ethnic inclusiveness, and the growing role of Western-educated elites were heavily contested at the grassroots. While RDA leaders remained deeply committed to inclusive nation-building, they struggled to convince the swelling grassroots membership on this point.⁶³ While tensions sometimes percolated to the surface, there existed in Guinea what Karl Deutsch calls a “wide complementarity of social communication,” which allowed Guineans to “communicate more effectively” among themselves than with others who might speak the same languages and belong to the same ethnic groups.⁶⁴

The “complementarity of social communication” in Guinea was predicated on the territory’s shared history. Parts of Guinea had been incorporated into multi-ethnic political, economic, religious, and cultural systems long before European conquest. For centuries, Malinke trading networks and their associated Muslim communities had connected diverse parts of what would become modern Guinea. Jallonke (Susu, Limba, Landuma, Baga, Bassari) and Fulbe (Peul and Tukulor) residents of the Futa Jallon traded extensively with coastal peoples.⁶⁵ In the eighteenth century, the Fulbe *jihads* brought the Futa Jallon under unified political and religious control.⁶⁶ In the nineteenth century, the politico-religious empires of the Tukulor leader, El-Hadj Umar b. Said Tall, and the Malinke leader, Samori Touré, brought together vast expanses of territory that included much of modern Guinea and its neighbors.⁶⁷ Many Guineans had, in Hobsbawm’s words, “the

⁶³ See Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*, chaps. 5, 6, and 7. For a more general discussion of this phenomenon, see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 183–217.

⁶⁴ Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 97. See also Hroch, “From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation,” 61.

⁶⁵ Walter Rodney, “Jihad and Social Revolution in Futa Djallon in the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, no. 2 (June 1968): 269–274. The Malinke (Mandinka/Mandinga/Mandingo) are part of the greater Mande social formation. Their language is called Maninka. The Fulbe are sometimes referred to as “Fulani,” a Hausa term, or “Fula,” a Mande term. In Guinea, the Fulbe are divided into Tukulor, originally from the Futa Toro (Senegal), and Peul, from the Futa Jallon (Guinea). The term “Peul” is a French corruption of the word “Pullo” (singular form of “Fulbe”), which is the term used by the people to describe themselves. The language of the Fulbe is Fulfulde; that of the Peul is Pulaar. The term “Jallonke,” or “men of the Jallon,” refers to the people of a region, rather than an ethnic group. The Jallonke trace their roots to several populations. The Susu, part of the greater Mande group, settled in the Futa Jallon in the thirteenth century. They displaced or absorbed most of the original inhabitants, including the Limbas, Landumas, Bagas, and Bassaris. The resulting population was referred to collectively as the Jallonke. See Andrew F. Clark, *From Frontier to Backwater: Economy and Society in the Upper Senegal Valley (West Africa), 1850–1920* (Lanham, Md., 1999), 41, 44–47; Jacques Richard-Molard, *Afrique Occidentale Française* (Paris, 1952), 93; Rodney, “Jihad and Social Revolution,” 270.

⁶⁶ Rodney, “Jihad and Social Revolution,” 269–284.

⁶⁷ Umar Tall’s mid-nineteenth-century empire extended eastward from French military bases on the lower Senegal River to the ancient city of Timbuktu on the Niger River. His capital, Dinguiraye, was in the Futa Jallon. Some decades later, Samori Touré built an empire that included Upper Guinea and the forest region and extended eastward to modern Ghana. See Rodney, “Jihad and Social Revolution,” 269–284; A. S. Kanya-Forstner, “Mali-Tukulor,” in Michael Crowder, ed., *West African Resistance: The Military Response to Colonial Occupation* (New York, 1971), 53–79; Yves Person, “Guinea-Samori,” trans. Joan White, in Crowder, *West African Resistance*, 111–143; Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981), 119–120; Philip Curtin, Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, and Jan Vansina, *African History: From Earliest Times to Independence*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1995), 343–351.

consciousness of . . . having belonged to a lasting political entity.”⁶⁸ This legacy of political, economic, religious, and cultural interaction linked Guineans to one another and to peoples in neighboring territories.⁶⁹

Precolonial African political leaders, particularly those who had resisted French conquest, were championed by the postwar nationalist movement—their subjugation and enslavement of African peoples minimized, if not erased from historical memory.⁷⁰ Samori Touré was particularly revered for his seventeen-year conflict with the French, which had staved off colonial rule for nearly two decades.⁷¹ To Guineans during the nationalist period, Samori was promoted not as a Malinke leader, but as a common ancestor who belonged to all Guineans.⁷²

The Guinean RDA skillfully used the history of resistance to colonial conquest to rally people to the leadership of its secretary-general, Sékou Touré, a great-grandson of Samori Touré, and to inspire renewed resistance to colonial rule.⁷³ Making a veiled reference to Samori’s enslavement of conquered peoples, the RDA noted, “If Samory Touré can make you slaves, Sékou Touré can make you free.”⁷⁴ The party also promoted other historic resisters, consciously selecting representatives from Guinea’s major regions and ethnic groups.⁷⁵ Among the most prominent were rival Peul politico-religious leaders from the Futa Jallon, Almamy Bokar Biro Barry of Timbo and Chief Alfa Yaya Diallo of Labé; N’Zébéla Togba Pivi, a Loma

⁶⁸ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 73. Duara makes similar claims for premodern China, India, and Japan; see Prasenjit Duara, “Historicizing National Identity, or Who Imagines What and When,” in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 152.

⁶⁹ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 234; see also Lonsdale, “Emergence of African Nations,” 28.

⁷⁰ For a general discussion of this tendency, see Renan, “What Is a Nation?” 52–53; Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, “Introduction,” in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 8; Duara, “Historicizing National Identity,” 164–165; Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 161; Lonsdale, “Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa,” 143. For alternative, more critical readings of precolonial African political leaders, see Jean Suret-Canale, “La Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée,” *Journal of African History* 7, no. 3 (1966): 459–493; Martin Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (New York, 1998).

⁷¹ Person, “Guinea-Samori,” 112; Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, 119–120; interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991. For more critical views of Samori Touré, see the following papers, which were presented on the panel “Samori Toure One Hundred Years On: Exploring the Ambiguities,” Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Philadelphia, Pa., November 13, 1999: David C. Conrad, “Victims, Warriors, and Power Sources: Portrayals of Women in Guinean Narratives of Samori Toure”; Saidou Mohamed N’Daou, “Almamy Samory Toure: Politics of Memories in Post-Colonial Guinea (1958–1984)”; Emily Osborn, “Samori Toure in Upper Guinea: Hero or Tyrant?”; Jeanne M. Tountara, “Kabasarana and the Samorian Conquest of Northwestern Cote d’Ivoire.”

⁷² Smith notes that ethnicity “is more about cultural perceptions than physical demography.” What is at issue is not actual descent, but “the sense of ancestry and identity that people possess.” Anthony D. Smith, “The Origins of Nations,” in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 117, 122. See also Hroch, “From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation,” 65; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 234–235.

⁷³ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 234–235; Sidiki Kobélé Kéita, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme et son Combat Anti-Colonial (1922–1958)* (Conakry, 1998), 22–24, 28–29; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 30; Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 174; Smith, “Origins of Nations,” 121.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 235. The orthography of African names was inconsistent during the colonial period. While “Samori” is now the preferred spelling, “Samory” is an accepted variant.

⁷⁵ Historic “resisters” at times collaborated with the colonial administration, usually to forge alliances against rival African rulers. This more complicated reality was rarely acknowledged by the RDA. For a discussion of the ambiguous roles played by Bokar Biro Barry and Alfa Yaya Diallo, see Suret-Canale, “Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée,” 465–467; Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule*, 147–148.

war chief from the forest region; and Cerno Aliou, the Wali of Gumba, a Peul religious leader whose egalitarian Islamic movement attracted the lower classes and was crushed by the colonial administration.⁷⁶

If a common past was one unifying factor in Guinea, shared religion—at least by a substantial majority—was another. Nearly three-quarters of the Guinean population was Muslim, while a significant minority was Christian.⁷⁷ Christian missionaries had attracted some converts among the Baga (subsequently incorporated into the Susu) in the coastal areas. They had had some success in the forest region, which, apart from Malinke trading communities, Islam had failed to penetrate. However, they had made little headway among devout Muslims in Upper Guinea and the Futa Jallon. Other Christians in Guinea included civil servants from diverse parts of the French empire, along with their descendants. Apart from Muslims and Christians, a minority of the population, particularly in the coastal and forest regions, continued to practice indigenous religions.⁷⁸

Despite the fact that the colonizers were largely Christian, the nationalist movement did not assume an anti-Christian fervor. Rather than lashing out at Christian infidels, RDA leaders, like others in Africa and Asia, stressed the positive attributes of Islam and their compatibility with the nationalist program.⁷⁹ An article in the Guinean RDA newspaper, *La Liberté*, noted “the total identity of the RDA’s programme of emancipation . . . with the liberating principles of justice and hope in Islam.”⁸⁰ A regular attendee at Friday religious services, Sékou Touré frequented a different mosque each week, widely publicizing his relationship with Islam. During Friday prayers, worshipers were reminded of the commonalities between adherents of Islam and the RDA. Prayers such as the following drew parallels between the struggles of the two communities:

God is great
It is hard
To bring unbelievers
Into the brotherhood of believers
But we need the die-hards
To spur us on.

Verses from the first chapter of the Qur’ān (the *fatiha*) were commonly recited at RDA meetings and for workers during highly politicized strikes.⁸¹ Islamic prac-

⁷⁶ Interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991; Siba N. Grovogui, personal communication, April 26, 1999; Suret-Canale, “Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée,” 464–471; Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule*, 46, 143, 147–148, 189; Iffono, *Lexique Historique de la Guinée-Conakry*, 19, 119–120, 134–136, 171–172; Thomas E. O’Toole, *Historical Dictionary of Guinea (Republic of Guinea/Conakry)*, 2nd ed. (Metuchen, N.J., 1987), 16, 30.

⁷⁷ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 235; O’Toole, *Historical Dictionary of Guinea*, 34.

⁷⁸ Interviews in Conakry with Léon Maka, February 20, 1991, and Joseph Montlouis, February 28, 1991; Siba N. Grovogui, personal communication, 1991.

⁷⁹ For similar trends elsewhere, see Minault, *Khilafat Movement*; Burke and Lapidus, *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements*; Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties*.

⁸⁰ *La Liberté*, December 28, 1954, quoted in Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 235.

⁸¹ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 236–237. See also Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 61; ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Renseignements Objet: Réunion Publique R.D.A. à Conakry et ses Suites,” September 8, 1954, #2606/942, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Renseignements Objet: Fêtes Musulmanes à Conakry,” May 26, 1955, #1054/439, C/PS.2; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 136.



FIGURE 3: Sékou Touré, president of newly independent Guinea, wearing an RDA uniform and a Muslim prayer cap, October 6, 1958. Reproduced by permission of Agence France-Presse/Getty Images.

tices—including Qurʾānic readings, the daily regimen of prayers, and religious festivals and holy days—provided the common symbols, rituals, and collective practices that, in Hobsbawm’s words, gave “a palpable reality to otherwise imaginary community.”⁸²

If some of these practices were initiated by RDA leaders, others clearly emanated from the grassroots. In a manuscript based largely on interviews with female militants, Idiatou Camara notes that at baptisms and other gatherings, RDA women recited verses from the *fatiha* to “curse the traitors of the fatherland” and to bind loyalists to the party. Whenever a member of a rival party was converted to the RDA, he or she ate the “bread of *fatiha*,” over which those assembled had intoned Qurʾānic verses “to express their firm conviction and faith in the RDA.”⁸³

The close association of Sékou Touré’s work with Allah’s Will was another politico-religious practice of local origin. Grassroots activists readily linked the names of Sékou Touré, Allah, and Mohammed. Recalling the day she was recruited into the RDA, Aissatou N’Diaye reminisced that she and Mafory Bangoura had been called to a meeting with Sékou Touré:

Upon our arrival, he asked us to help him mobilize women . . . He also said that he had nothing material, not money or gold, to offer in return. If the women would help him, they would do it for the love of Allah, his Envoy, and their cause . . . He asked us to do this work in the name of Allah and his Prophet, Mohammed.⁸⁴

Similarly, police reports describe groups of RDA members crisscrossing the capital city, “singing praises to the Blessed of Allah, Sékou Touré.”⁸⁵ In one song, women beseeched Allah to bless Sékou Touré, “savior of the orphans and the Muslims.”⁸⁶ In another, party members proclaimed that both God and his Prophet favored the elephant—the emblem of both Sékou Touré and the RDA:

God wants the elephant
Muhammad the Prophet wants the elephant
You went to Paris
You returned from Paris
Your face shows
That even the people of Paris
Want the elephant.⁸⁷

At the funeral of M’Baliala Camara, the RDA’s first woman martyr, party officials were followed by a procession of men, women, and children singing RDA songs and chanting verses of the Qurʾān mingled with the name of Sékou Touré.⁸⁸

⁸² Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 71.

⁸³ Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 61.

⁸⁴ Interview with Aissatou N’Diaye, Conakry, April 8, 1991. See also interview with Néné Diallo, Conakry, April 11, 1991.

⁸⁵ ANS, 17G586, “Fêtes Musulmanes,” May 26, 1955. See also Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 162–163.

⁸⁶ ANS, 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Renseignements *Objet*: Incidents à Conakry,” October 26, 1954, #2850/1094, C/PS.2.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 138.

⁸⁸ ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Renseignements *Objet*: Suite aux Incidents de Tondon,” February 18, 1955, #389/160, C/PS.2. M’Baliala Camara, an officer of the RDA women’s committee and wife of the RDA president in Tondon (Dubréka circle), was killed by a canton

If Islam was a binding force, so too were pre-Islamic religious practices. Grassroots activists, rather than party leaders, first associated indigenous religious beliefs and symbols with the nationalist cause.⁸⁹ Numerous accounts link the RDA to Bassikolo, a spirit represented by a sacred tree in the Conakry neighborhood of Tumbo. Revered as the guardian of women and children, Bassikolo was believed to grant them wishes, to protect them from illness, and to ensure women's fertility. Just as some women read from the Qur'ān to convene RDA and trade union meetings, others began by asking for Bassikolo's assistance. They also sought his help during electoral campaigns, beseeching him to aid in the party's triumph.⁹⁰ After sweeping electoral victories in 1956, for instance, the RDA neighborhood committee in Tumbo organized a dance in Bassikolo's honor. Before a crowd of some two thousand people, speakers thanked the spirit for helping the party realize its electoral goals and requested his continued assistance in the future.⁹¹

According to Fatou Khimely, women who invoked Bassikolo customarily assumed male garb and social roles. To call forth the spirit for the new political endeavor, women also "wore trousers and cursed the enemies of the RDA."⁹² Women's assumption of male clothing and gender roles in times of crisis was rooted in precolonial cultural practices. In the forest region, for instance, women historically took collective action against men who abused their wives and failed to mend their ways. Dressed as male warriors and armed with sharp knives they called "penis cutters," women surrounded the offending parties' homes. While the women pounded on the buildings with clubs, no man dared to show his face.⁹³ This precolonial gender practice, and its extension to the political realm under colonial rule, bears a striking resemblance to that of Igbo women in southeastern Nigeria, where, Judith Van Allen notes, "making war" or "sitting on a man" was women's "ultimate sanction."⁹⁴

If many Guineans shared a precolonial history and religious and cultural

chief during a rampage against RDA supporters. The day she was struck, February 9, 1955, was subsequently commemorated by the RDA and set aside to honor women's role in the struggle for national emancipation. "Incidents Graves à Tondon, Canton de Labaya, Cercle de Dubréka," *La Liberté*, February 15, 1955, 1; "Les Grandioses Obsèques de Camara M'Ballia," *La Liberté*, March 1, 1955, 1; Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 132; interview with Aissatou N'Diaye, Conakry, April 8, 1991.

⁸⁹ For similar use of indigenous symbols by Asante nationalists in colonial Ghana, see Allman, "Youngmen and the Porcupine," 263–264, 267, 272, 274–277; Allman, *Quills of the Porcupine*, 6, 9–10, 16–17, 19, 28, 41–46, 49, 62, 65, 97, 131, 140, 160, 183–184.

⁹⁰ Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 59–60; ANS, 17G613, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, "Renseignements A/S Situation en Guinée, à la Veille du Dépôt des Listes aux Élections Cantonales du 31 Mars Prochain," March 9, 1957, #555/247, C/PS.2; 17G613, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, "Renseignements A/S Réunions Diverses tenues à Conakry," May 29, 1957, #1223/480, C/PS.2.

⁹¹ ANS, 17G613, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, "Renseignements A/S Fête R.D.A. Donnée en l'Honneur de Bassikolo dans la Nuit du 26 au 27 Janvier 1957," n.d., #235/107, C/PS.2; 17G613, "Situation en Guinée," March 9, 1957. See also 17G586, "Fêtes Musulmanes," May 26, 1955.

⁹² Quoted in Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 60. See also ANS, 17G613, "Situation en Guinée," March 9, 1957.

⁹³ Siba N. Grovogui, personal communication, October 1991.

⁹⁴ Judith Van Allen, "'Aba Riots' or Igbo 'Women's War'? Ideology, Stratification, and the Invisibility of Women," in Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay, eds., *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 60–62, 71–73. For a similar practice among Ga women

practices, all were bound by the common history of French colonialism. Even before Guinea's colonization, Renan recognized that "suffering in common unifies more than joy does." He noted that shared grievances are the critical constituent of national memories because "they impose duties, and require a common effort." In fact, he claimed, a nation is "a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future."⁹⁵

Despite Renan's prescient words, French officials failed to recognize the unifying power of shared suffering under colonialism. To the government, "Guinea" was merely an "administrative unit," with no natural claim to nation-statehood.⁹⁶ From the perspective of ethnicity, linguistics, and geography, its borders were arbitrary. Historically, the logic of its boundaries corresponded with nothing more than the extent of imperial conquest and "effective occupation," legitimized by the General Act of the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference.⁹⁷ However, Hobsbawm writes, "The unity imposed by conquest and administration might . . . produce a people that saw itself as a 'nation.'"⁹⁸ Such was the case in Guinea.

The people of Guinea experienced French colonialism as Guineans—not as Malinkes, Susus, or Peuls. They were subjected to taxation, forced labor, military conscription, and the arbitrary "justice" of the *indigénat* as Africans, not as members of particular ethnic groups.⁹⁹ As Guineans, they participated in the same political and economic systems, within geographic boundaries created by the colonial power. Despite their variety in language and ethnicity, they shared symbols, memories, and historical experiences that permitted them to communicate more effectively with other Guineans than with outsiders. Increasingly during the 1950s, this shared experience was reflected in their collective consciousness of themselves as Guineans.¹⁰⁰

The Guinean RDA was by no means the only postwar African movement to promote national over regional and ethnic identity and to root national identity in shared suffering under colonialism. However, it was among the first. Kevin Dunn's observations concerning the nationalist ideology of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba are apt for the Guinean RDA, which led Guinea to independence nearly two years before the Congo achieved its own. Influenced by the anticolonial, nationalist, and Pan-African ideas that prevailed at the All-African People's Conference convened by Sékou Touré, Kwame Nkrumah, and others in December

in colonial Ghana, see John Parker, *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2000), 52, 60–61.

⁹⁵ Renan, "What Is a Nation?" 53.

⁹⁶ See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 52–53, 113–114; Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, Preface.

⁹⁷ "General Act of the Conference of Berlin (1885)," in Bruce Fetter, ed., *Colonial Rule in Africa: Readings from Primary Sources* (Madison, Wis., 1979), 38.

⁹⁸ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 138. See also Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, 27.

⁹⁹ Selecting names and regions associated with particular ethnic groups, RDA leader Moricandian Savané wrote, "The misery which kills TOGBA of Macenta is the same as that of Samba of Upper Guinea, Soriba of lower Guinea, or Diallo of the Fouta Djallon." Moricandian Savané, *La Liberté*, August 18, 1954, quoted in Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 233.

¹⁰⁰ See Smith, "Origins of Nations," 107, 113, 116; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 20, 33, 63; Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 6.

1958, Lumumba emphasized national over ethnic and regional identity, accepting “the colonially constructed space of the Congo” as the basis of an independent nation-state.¹⁰¹ While his rivals “privileged smaller, fragmented spaces bound by ethnicity, language, or regional memories, Lumumba tied Congolese identity to the larger colonially demarcated space of the Congo.” In an effort to create a unified identity for people of diverse ethnic origins from all parts of the territory, Lumumba “ground[ed] Congolese identity in the collective social memories of suffering at the hands of Belgian colonizers.”¹⁰² In Guinea, the RDA had promoted a similar inclusive nationalist philosophy.

If the shared history of the Guinean people was rooted in the precolonial past and strengthened by the common experience of colonialism, the identity of Guinea as a nation was still developing in the late colonial period. France, like other colonial powers, maintained control through policies of divide and rule. Existent social cleavages were reinforced, and new ones created, through colonial policies. Layers of African intermediaries—government-appointed chiefs, colonial soldiers, and police—became the focal point of popular anger, diverting attention from the Europeans at the reins of power. It was the task of Guinea’s nationalist leaders to shift the focus and demonstrate common cause.¹⁰³

Although Guinea had the makings of a nation-state, the postwar anticolonial movement was not automatically a nationalist one. Rather, it was consciously molded as such. Nation-building was a long, arduous process that began during the anticolonial struggle and continued after political independence. According to John Breuilly, “the nation” was not only “a body of citizens claiming independence on the basis of universal human rights,” it was also “a project, a unity to be fashioned out of the fight for independence and in the new era of freedom.”¹⁰⁴ It was the conscious struggle to bridge ethnic, class, and gender divisions—and the ultimate success of that endeavor—that made the nationalist movement in Guinea so extraordinary.

WHO WERE THE ACTORS IN THIS REMARKABLE MOVEMENT of masses and elites? Guinea’s nationalist leaders, who articulated the broad-based progressive nationalism of revolutionary Europe, were the product of French assimilation policies, as well as a colonial educational system that was limited in both scope and substance. Graduates of programs designed to create an elite cadre—rather than a mass—of “Black Frenchmen,” they belonged to a select, almost exclusively male, fraternity. While most went no further than primary school in their home regions, those who progressed to more advanced schooling in the capital found peers of diverse ethnic origins from across the territory. As new friendships were cemented through the new vernacular (French), ethnic barriers were weakened and cast aside. These new

¹⁰¹ Kevin C. Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity* (New York, 2003), 75–76.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁰³ For a more general discussion of these issues, see Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 136–137; Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 21–25, 33, 37–61.

¹⁰⁴ Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 7.

Western-educated elites increasingly thought of themselves as Guinean, rather than Malinke, Susu, or Peul.¹⁰⁵

In postwar Guinea, formal education remained the luxury of a few, and that education was rudimentary. There was no schooling beyond lower primary (sixth grade) in most parts of the country, and no education beyond upper primary (ninth grade) anywhere in the territory. The largest administrative districts were equipped with lower primary schools (*écoles primaires élémentaires*), which provided a maximum of six years of schooling to those who could afford it. Possession of a lower primary school certificate, *certificat d'études primaires élémentaires* (CEP), was sufficient for employment in the *cadre subalterne*, the lowest rung of the French civil service. Another three years of education were provided by the upper primary school (*école primaire supérieure* [EPS]) in the capital city. EPS graduates joined the middle-level government cadres (*cadres moyens* or *cadres locaux*). At the end of World War II, Guinea possessed only one upper primary school and one vocational school, both in Conakry. In 1945, with a population of just over two million, Guinea had only 7,900 pupils in upper and lower primary and vocational schools. Of the total, 7,417 were in the lower primary grades, and only 606 of these were girls.¹⁰⁶ Thus, at the end of World War II, the number of Guinean *évolués* was minuscule—and virtually all of them were male.

Students seeking education beyond the primary grades had to leave Guinea. Each year, a small number of EPS graduates won the right to attend one of the highly selective federal schools, which drew the best and the brightest from all the territories of French West Africa. The most prestigious of the federal schools was the École Normale William Ponty, located near Dakar, Senegal.¹⁰⁷ Ponty students were trained to be teachers, assistant doctors, and assistant pharmacists, and for other civil service posts in the *cadre commun secondaire*. Although they constituted the elite among African civil servants, Ponty graduates could never rise to the top of the civil service system. Their diplomas had no equivalence outside French West Africa. Thus, they could not accede to the *cadre supérieur*, reserved for those with French diplomas.¹⁰⁸ With its relatively undeveloped educational system, postwar

¹⁰⁵ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 20. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 121–122. Anderson makes the crucial point that imperial languages become the new vernaculars of colonized peoples. In Guinea, the common vernacular was French. It was the sole language of education, beginning in primary school. For the educated elite, speaking in French was second nature. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 113, 133–134, 138; Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 341, 380–382, 487; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 11, 39; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 73.

¹⁰⁶ ANS, 2G43/109, Guinée Française, Chef du Service de l'Enseignement, "Rapport Statistique Annuel sur l'Enseignement, Année Scolaire 1942–1943," Conakry, August 1943; 2G45/131, Guinée Française, Chef du Service de l'Enseignement, "Rapport de Rentrée, Année Scolaire, 1944–1945," Conakry, January 13, 1945. See also AG, 5B47, Guinée Française, Gouverneur, Conakry, à Ministre, F.O.M., Paris, October 25, 1947, #711/APA; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 10–13, 20, 219; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L'Homme et son Combat*, 11, 30–31; Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 147; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 100–101.

¹⁰⁷ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 147; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 12–23; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L'Homme et son Combat*, 11, 30.

¹⁰⁸ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 142, 147; Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 373–374, 377–378, 388; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 11–13, 15; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 80, 81, 84, 101.

Guinea boasted very few Ponty graduates. In 1948, for instance, only eleven new Guinean students were admitted to the school.¹⁰⁹

Given the paucity of private investment, discrimination by European-owned enterprises, and obligations stemming from state-subsidized studies, most Western-educated Africans joined the colonial bureaucracy. They served in a wide range of civil service positions, as teachers, clerks, and accountants; postal, telegraph, and telephone workers; and assistant doctors, pharmacists, and veterinarians.¹¹⁰ Because they were invested in the colonial system—and risked their livelihoods if they contested state policies—many civil servants, especially those in the highest ranks, joined officially sanctioned regional and ethnic parties and supported government directives. Most Ponty graduates fell within this category.¹¹¹ Hence, Morgenthau notes, Guinean RDA leaders frequently “accused the Ponty graduates of betraying the masses, and called them the valets of the administration.”¹¹²

The relatively privileged position of federal school graduates in the colonial system was one reason that they were generally hostile to the RDA. Class snobbery was another. Many considered the Guinean RDA leader, Sékou Touré, to be beneath them.¹¹³ Sékou Touré had attended Qurʾānic school, lower primary school, and the vocational school in Conakry. When he entered the civil service, he became a postal clerk. Continuing his studies by correspondence, he ultimately qualified to work as an accountant in the Treasury.¹¹⁴ Despite his comparatively advanced level

¹⁰⁹ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 147.

¹¹⁰ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 12–13.

¹¹¹ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 142–143; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 20, 251; ANS, 17G573, “Rapport Général d’Activité 1947–1950,” présenté par Mamadou Madéira Kéïta, Secrétaire Général du P.D.G. au Premier Congrès Territorial du Parti Démocratique de Guinée (Section Guinéenne du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain), Conakry, October 15–18, 1950. For a more general discussion of this phenomenon, see Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 48. Notable RDA adversaries among Ponty alumni in Guinea included several members of the French parliament: National Assembly deputies Yacine Diallo, Mamba Sano, and Barry Diawadou and Council of the Republic senator Fodé Mamadou Touré. Another Ponty graduate was Framoï Béréte, president of the anti-RDA ethnic association Union du Mandé, and a member of the equally hostile Comité d’Entente Guinéenne. The vehemently anti-RDA secretary-general of the Guinean teachers’ union, Koumandian Kéïta, was a graduate of École Normale de Katibougou, the Ponty equivalent in the French Soudan. Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 222, 224–225; R. W. Johnson, “The Parti Démocratique de Guinée and the Mamou ‘Deviation,’” in Christopher Allen and R. W. Johnson, eds., *African Perspectives: Papers in the History, Politics and Economics of Africa Presented to Thomas Hodgkin* (Cambridge, 1970), 368; interviews in Conakry with Bocar Biro Barry, January 21, 1991; Léon Maka, February 20, 1991; and Fodé Mamdou Touré, March 13, 1991.

¹¹² Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 20–21.

¹¹³ École Normale de Katibougou graduate Koumandian Kéïta, an arch-rival of the RDA and secretary-general of Guinea’s powerful African teachers’ union, was a case in point. The deep antipathy that he and Sékou Touré shared was both personal and political. ANS, 2G53/187, Guinée Française, Secrétaire Général, “Revue Trimestrielle des Événements, 1953: 3ème Trimestre,” September 12, 1953, #862/APA; 2G55/150, Guinée Française, Gouverneur, “Rapport Politique Mensuel, Août 1955,” September 28, 1955, #487/APAS/CAB; 2G57/128, Guinée Française, Police et Sûreté, “Synthèse Mensuelle de Renseignements Novembre 1957,” Conakry, November 25, 1957, #2593/C/PS.2; AG, 2D297, Guinée Française, Secrétaire Général du Comité de Coordination des Syndicats de l’Enseignement Primaire Public de l’A.O.F., Conakry, à Gouverneur, Conakry, October 11, 1954, #1/CCE; interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991.

¹¹⁴ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 147; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme et son Combat*, 24, 29, 32, 36; Sidiki Kobélé Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme du 28 Septembre 1958*, 2nd ed. (Conakry, 1977), 29, 31; B. Ameillon, *La Guinée: Bilan d’une Indépendance*—(Paris, 1964), 49; AG, 1E41, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Fiche de Renseignements Biographiques Relative à M. Sékou Touré,” January 2, 1956.

of education, Sékou Touré was derided by his more credentialed rivals as an “illiterate,” or at most a man with “a sixth-grade education.” Even among his supporters, there was sometimes a note of disdain. A Peul aristocrat, Ponty graduate, and teacher, Bocar Biro Barry was unusual in his support for the RDA.¹¹⁵ When he discussed Sékou Touré, however, his assessment was tinged with elitism: “Sékou was practically illiterate. He only had the CEP . . . [His rivals] said, ‘Sékou, who is that? That’s an illiterate. He doesn’t know anything.’ Because, effectively, he was self-taught. You know, as a diploma, he only had the *certificat d’études [primaires élémentaires]*.”¹¹⁶

Although some Ponty graduates joined the RDA, most Guinean RDA leaders were the product of lower state schools. Equipped with only primary school certificates, they staffed the lower echelons of the colonial bureaucracy. Accorded a modicum of privilege that distinguished them from the nonliterate masses, but not enough to render them equal to Frenchmen, this class of intended collaborators grew increasingly frustrated by their unequal treatment and inability to rise above the lowest ranks of government service.¹¹⁷ Commenting on the uncertain loyalty of these lower-level elites, the governor of Guinea observed, “The most dubious elements are found among the *semi-évolués*, who sometimes have a fault-finding, duplicitous attitude, and who are on the lookout for any occasion to criticize and make demands.”¹¹⁸ It was these angry intellectuals who first agitated for a greater voice in political affairs and then spearheaded opposition to colonial rule.

IF ELITES ARE THE FIRST TO IMAGINE A NATION, they cannot make their vision a reality without the support of a mass movement. The nationalist program, by its very nature, requires an alliance of divergent interests—an “imagined community” of comrades that masks any exploitation and inequality within it.¹¹⁹ In Guinea, the RDA’s success was due to its ability to form a formidable ethnic, class, and gender alliance. It was this broad-based alliance that made the Guinean RDA a mass

¹¹⁵ Bocar Biro Barry is a grandson of Almamy Bokar Biro Barry. However, he spells his first name differently.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme et son Combat*, 10–11, 30; Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 142. Morgenthau contends that strains between the more and less educated Guinean elites were comparable to those that existed in colonial Ghana. Basil Davidson writes that those who mobilized for the Convention People’s Party, which ultimately became the ruling party of independent Ghana, were derisively referred to by more educated opponents as “Standard VII Boys” or, in reference to homeless youths who organized for the party by night and slept on porches, “verandah boys, hooligans, flotsam and jetsam, town rabble.” Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 20–21; Basil Davidson, *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo., 1989), 68, 70. See also Apter, *Ghana in Transition*, 167, 207–208; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 30–31.

¹¹⁷ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 142–143; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 12, 20, 251. See also Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 48–49; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 151; Coleman, “Nationalism in Tropical Africa,” 412.

¹¹⁸ AG, 5B49, Guinée Française, Secrétaire Général chargé de l’Expédition des Affaires Courantes, pour le Gouverneur, Conakry, à Haut Commissaire, Dakar, “Revue des Événements du Quatrième Trimestre 1947,” February 17, 1948, #35/APA.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7. See also Hroch, “From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation,” 67.

movement and permitted it to trump rivals that were constrained by their narrow ethnic, regional, and elite male focus.

While the nationalist movement in Guinea was led by intellectual elites with their own vision of "the nation," it was first and foremost a movement of the masses—of peasants, workers, veterans, and women. The RDA did not introduce these actors to politics. Rather, during World War II and its aftermath, these groups instigated a panoply of anticolonial actions. Here I take issue with Breuilly, who contends that nationalist leaders generally "forge links with large parts of the population hitherto uninvolved in politics," and Tom Nairn, who asserts that the emergence of modern nationalism "was tied to the political baptism of the lower classes."¹²⁰ I argue instead that the Guinean RDA targeted social groups *already* engaged in struggle against the colonial state: military veterans and urban workers fighting for equality with their metropolitan counterparts; male and female peasants burdened by the war effort and the demands of government-appointed chiefs; and urban women unable to provide for their families during the postwar economic crisis. Embracing the particular causes of these social groups, the RDA harnessed their energies and enticed them into the broader nationalist movement.¹²¹

Key to the RDA's success was its focus on groups that had already mobilized themselves. It forged an unlikely alliance through consistent focus on areas of common interest determined by the groups involved: forced labor in the rural areas; abuses by government-appointed chiefs; racial discrimination in wages, benefits, and social services; and the promotion of health, sanitation, and educational programs and facilities. While other political parties concentrated on so-called "traditional" elites—chiefs, notables, and their allies—the RDA consciously focused on the majority of the population, polling their grievances and channeling their discontent.

In the case of labor, active opposition to state demands began during the war, when thousands of forced laborers resisted the impositions of the war effort by deserting their workplaces.¹²² When forced labor was officially abolished in April 1946, tens of thousands of rural workers vacated their stations en masse. Official records reveal an extraordinary picture of labor unrest throughout the territory.¹²³ This rural-based labor activity predated the trade union organizing that swept the urban areas in the late 1940s and early 1950s. While they focused on the urban rather than the rural areas, trade unions attempted to harness the popular dis-

¹²⁰ Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 19–20; Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London, 1977), 41.

¹²¹ For further elaboration, see Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*.

¹²² ANS, 2G43/25, Guinée Française, "Rapport de Tournée Effectuée du 27 Janvier au 9 Février par M. Chopin, Administrateur des Colonies, Inspecteur du Travail, dans les Cercles de Conakry-Kindia-Forécariah," Conakry, April 2, 1943; 2G43/25, Guinée Française, Gouverneur, "Rapport sur le Travail et la Main d'Oeuvre de la Guinée Française Pendant l'Année 1943," Conakry, July 24, 1944, #994/IT; 2G46/50, Guinée Française, Inspecteur des Colonies (Pruvost), Mission en Guinée, "Rapport sur la Main d'Oeuvre en Guinée," Conakry, July 13, 1946, #116/C; 2G46/50, Guinée Française, Inspecteur du Travail, "Rapport Annuel du Travail, 1946," Conakry, February 15, 1947, #66/IT.GV.

¹²³ ANS, 2G46/50, "Rapport sur la Main d'Oeuvre," July 13, 1946; 2G46/50, "Rapport Annuel du Travail, 1946." See also Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *French West Africa* (New York, 1969), 492.

content of workers that emanated from the grassroots. The RDA, in turn, built a powerful base in the urban working class.

Likewise, it was the rural populace, rather than RDA leaders, who initiated popular resistance to the colonial chieftaincy. Serving as local agents of the colonial administration, canton and village chiefs forcibly recruited labor and military conscripts, requisitioned cash crops, and exacted onerous taxes from the rural population. They frequently abused their powers for personal ends, extorting labor, cash, crops, and livestock for their own use. Rural women, who were forced to perform much of the chiefs' unpaid labor and frequently were subjected to sexual abuse, were among the most vociferous and active opponents of the chieftaincy. So, too, were returning military veterans. Forcibly conscripted from the rural areas, these men had suffered devastating wartime experiences and postwar deprivations. Inspired by anti-fascist and anti-Nazi rhetoric, angered by their unequal treatment in comparison to their French counterparts, many veterans were deeply resentful of colonial authorities—be they European or African.¹²⁴

For the most part, colonial chiefs staunchly opposed the RDA, which seriously undermined their power base. With significant coercive powers at the local level, they were the primary obstacle to RDA expansion in the rural areas. Capitalizing on preexisting rural sentiment, the RDA helped to articulate grievances against the chiefs and coordinate the spontaneous actions of the population. Although it was the RDA, within the framework of limited self-government, that abolished the institution of the chieftaincy in 1957, it was a decade-long popular revolt that made that action possible.¹²⁵ Had the institution survived, the referendum that brought national independence in 1958 might well have had a different outcome.¹²⁶

The first Guinean leaders to understand the importance of mass politics and the necessity of building a popular base were not the Ponty-educated intellectuals. Rather, they were trade union leaders, whose lives were closely linked to those of the nonliterate masses. Few of these men had advanced beyond lower primary or technical school. Even fewer had had opportunities to study outside of Guinea. The most prescient of these leaders was Sékou Touré. In 1945, Sékou Touré, then a young postal clerk, helped to establish a trade union for African postal, telegraph, and telephone workers.¹²⁷ The following year, he organized the Union des Syn-

¹²⁴ See Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*; ANS, 2G41/21, Guinée Française, "Rapport Politique Annuel, 1941"; 2G42/22, Guinée Française, "Rapport Politique Annuel, 1942"; 2G46/50, "Rapport sur la Main d'Oeuvre," July 13, 1946; 2G47/121, "Revue Trimestrielle des Événements, 3ème Trimestre 1947"; AG, 1E42, Guinée Française, "Renseignements," Cercle de Kankan, January 26, 1945, #66/C/APAN/31/1/46; 1E37, Guinée Française, Cercle de Gaoual, Subdivision Centrale, "Rapport Politique Annuel, Année 1947"; Suret-Canale, "Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée," 462, 464, 467, 470, 479–480; Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 95–98, 137–139; Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 80, 322–325, 327, 341–342; Kéita, *P.D.G.*, 1: 87–88, 99–102, 331; Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule*, 212–213; Babacar Fall, *Le Travail Forcé en Afrique-Occidentale Française (1900–1945)* (Paris, 1993), 279.

¹²⁵ For further discussion of rivalry between "traditional" and "modern" elites in African nationalist movements, see Seton-Watson, *Nations and States*, 328–329, 341, 437.

¹²⁶ Suret-Canale, "Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée," 459–460, 492; Kéita, *P.D.G.*, 2: 147; interview with Mamadou Bela Doumbouya, Conakry, January 26, 1991.

¹²⁷ AG, 2Z27, "Syndicat Professionnel des Agents et Sous-Agents Indigènes du Service des Transmissions de la Guinée Française," Conakry, March 18, 1945; interviews with Joseph Montlouis (assistant secretary-general, postal, telegraph, and telephone workers' union), Conakry, March 3 and 6, 1991; Kéita, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L'Homme du 28 Septembre*, 41.

dicats Confédérés de Guinée, which brought together all the Guinean affiliates of the French Communist Party-linked CGT. The CGT unions united workers of various ethnicities and civil service rankings, as well as previously neglected "auxiliaries," who had no permanent civil service status.¹²⁸ In 1948, Sékou Touré toured the territory, making contact with skilled and unskilled workers and Western-educated civil servants. He instigated the establishment of CGT branches in most of the major administrative districts.¹²⁹ By 1952, the Guinean CGT boasted some three thousand members in twenty affiliated unions.¹³⁰

While the CGT unions included Western-educated civil servants, they were dominated numerically by nonliterate workers. It was the deep involvement of Sékou Touré with the latter that distinguished him from many of his peers. According to Bocar Biro Barry, Sékou Touré "created his trade union from the illiterates." He organized domestic servants, dock workers, laundrymen, and orderlies. Gradually, he added low-level government clerks. The CGT unions, in turn, served as the base for his political organizing. According to Barry,

It was in this way that he created his trade union. It was in this way that he created his party. He found the elements of his party through the trade union—because the party was created from domestic servants, dock workers, and orderlies . . . He first put himself at the level of the lowliest people in order to try to climb . . . He was much smarter than [his opponents]. He began with nothing. He said, "We are the poor. I am with the poor. The teachers, they are bourgeois. The doctors, they are bourgeois. They are the big intellectuals. They speak a language that you don't understand. I come, we speak in Susu. We speak in Maninka. We understand one another." This is how, little by little, he won the little man of the streets. He launched his party from his trade union.¹³¹

The Guinean RDA, like the CGT, was built from a mass base. Despite periodic internal struggles stemming from conflicting interests brought together in a single alliance, the party remained united throughout the preindependence period.

ALTHOUGH THE MASSES WERE RALLIED TO THE NATIONALIST CAUSE by intellectual elites, the process was not unidirectional. Masses as well as elites conceptualized and mobilized the nation. Nairn is correct in his claim that common people were "the ultimate recipients of the new message"—and responsible for much of its content.¹³² Their languages had to be spoken, their cultural forms respected, and

¹²⁸ Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 180.

¹²⁹ ANS, 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements A/S Activité de Certains Africains R.D.A.," February 24, 1948, #229/76 C; AG, 1E38, Guinée Française, Cercle de Kankan, "Rapport Politique Annuel, Année 1948"; 1E38, Guinée Française, Cercle de N'Zérékoré, "Rapport Politique Annuel, Année 1948." See also AG, 5B49, Guinée Française, Inspecteur des Affaires Administratives, pour le Gouverneur, Conakry, à Haut Commissaire, Dakar, September 11, 1948, #596/APA.

¹³⁰ ANS, 17G529, Guinée Française, "Liste des Organisations Professionnelles," 1952; 17G271, Gouverneur de Guinée Française, Conakry, à Haut Commissaire, Dakar, "A/S Activité Syndicale," February 25, 1952, #85/APA; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 414.

¹³¹ Interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991.

¹³² Tom Nairn, "Scotland and Europe," in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 84–85; see also Nairn, *Break-up of Britain*, 100; Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge, 1995), 40.



FIGURE 4: Dock workers, Conakry port, 1957. Reproduced by permission of La Documentation Française.

their grievances addressed, or intellectual appeals would fall on deaf ears. Unlike rival parties, the Guinean RDA attained its strength by addressing preexisting popular grievances and promoting solutions for them. Thus, it was local-level actors who determined many of the basic claims on the nationalist agenda.

Just as the concerns of the African masses influenced the demands of the African elites, nationalist thought was transformed on African soil. Africans did not simply import European concepts and adopt them as their own.¹³³ Like its

¹³³ See Chatterjee's critique of Anderson in this regard. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, 19–22; Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 4–5. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 67, 113, 116, 135, 140–141.

European counterpart, African nationalism was rooted in indigenous “cultural systems” that predated the nationalist struggle.¹³⁴ On both continents, indigenous “cultural and political traditions,” as well as “memories, myths, symbols and vernacular forms of expression,” were harnessed to the nationalist agenda.¹³⁵ Obviously, those in Africa differed significantly from those in Europe.

African models diverged from European in other ways as well. Hobsbawm, Anderson, and Ernest Gellner stress the importance of mass education and “print capitalism” to the success of European nationalist movements.¹³⁶ During the “Age of Revolution” (1789–1848), Europe experienced a dramatic growth in popular education. Books and newspapers increasingly were written in vernacular languages, rather than foreign tongues understood by only a tiny minority.¹³⁷ According to Anderson, the widespread availability of printed material—and people’s ability to read it—“made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways.” These phenomena generated large literate populations who could imagine new kinds of communities, along with the technical means to mobilize them.¹³⁸

Critiquing Anderson, Anne McClintock contends that “mass national *commodity spectacle*,” rather than print capitalism, has been modern nationalism’s driving force. Nationalism is “invented and performed” through spectacle, she argues. It “takes shape through the visible, ritual organization of fetish objects” such as flags, uniforms, anthems, and mass rallies—in other words, “the myriad forms of popular culture.” It is this mass spectacle that creates “a sense of popular, collective unity.”¹³⁹

McClintock’s analysis is particularly apt for the colonized world, where print capitalism and mass education were significantly less important than in Europe. In the case of Guinea, party tracts and newspapers, written exclusively in French, were not widely circulated outside the urban areas. Yet the population was predominantly rural-based and non-French-speaking. Moreover, the percentage of the population that could actually read was minute—and overwhelmingly male. Grievances, demands, and calls for popular mobilization, while articulated in the party press, had to be carried to the masses through other, largely aural and visual, means.¹⁴⁰

Mass spectacle was a critical feature of Guinean nationalism. Party elites and nonliterate militants constructed a vision of national unity through enormous rallies and intensive campaigning in the rural areas. Party slogans, symbols, uniforms, and, most importantly, song were the critical means by which the population communi-

¹³⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 12. See also Smith, “Origins of Nations,” 111, 124.

¹³⁵ Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, 40, 47. See also Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), 49.

¹³⁶ Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*, 135–136; Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 63, 89; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 36–40.

¹³⁷ Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*, 133, 135–136; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 59.

¹³⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24–25, 36–37, 40.

¹³⁹ Anne McClintock, “‘No Longer in a Future Heaven’: Women and Nationalism in South Africa,” in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 260, 273–274. See also Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 64, 67–68.

¹⁴⁰ See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 23. For a discussion of these issues in Africa more generally, see Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 134–139.

cated the anticolonial message and created an imagined political community. The party color (white) was sported at large public rallies, which often numbered two thousand or more. Speakers appealed to popular sentiment through culturally rooted images, anecdotes, and parables.¹⁴¹ In order to promote unity between people of diverse socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds, the Guinean RDA adopted a uniform.¹⁴² It selected as its party symbol Syli, the powerful elephant “who does not forget,” the mighty king of the beasts.¹⁴³ The elephant was featured in countless songs, and on RDA women’s bracelets, necklaces, and wrappers. Posters sporting hand-drawn elephants were plastered on walls and waved in demononstrations. Ballot designs were also aimed toward the nonliterate population, the white RDA ballot emblazoned with an elephant.¹⁴⁴

While Gellner, Anderson, and Anthony D. Smith imply that it was the party elites who devised popular means to appeal to the masses,¹⁴⁵ evidence from Guinea indicates that the nonliterate population created as well as received the nationalist message. Local activists inspired the party color and produced the uniforms and songs. Former RDA militants Léon Maka and Mira Baldé contend that the party color and uniform were primarily popular in origin. Maka attributed them to the RDA women’s leader, Mafory Bangoura—a cloth-dyer and seamstress without formal schooling—and to rank-and-file members of the RDA women’s committees; the role of Sékou Touré’s wife was only tertiary.¹⁴⁶ Uniforms brought people

¹⁴¹ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 238–239, 243–244; interview with Léon Maka and Mira Baldé (Mme. Maka), Conakry, February 20, 1991; ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Kankan, “Renseignements A/S Arrivé Kankan, Sékou Touré et Conférence Publique du 9 Novembre 1954,” November 13, 1954, #2936/1142, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Kindia, “Renseignements A/S Passage à Kindia du Député Diallo Sayfoulaye et Compte-Rendu de Mandat de ce Parlementaire,” July 17, 1956, #1396/503, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Mamou, “Renseignements A/S Visite Parlementaire à Mamou,” July 23, 1956, #1444/512, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, “Renseignements A/S Réunion Publique d’Informations tenue le Jeudi 30 Août 1956, par le Député Diallo Saï foulaye, à Conakry, Salle de Cinéma ‘VOX,’” August 31, 1956, #1761/619, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, “Renseignements A/S Conférence Publique d’Information, tenue le 16 Septembre 1956 par le P.D.G.-R.D.A. au Cinéma ‘VOX’ à Conakry,” September 17, 1956, #1907/658, C/PS.2. See also Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 150, 159; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 134–139; Thompson and Adloff, *French West Africa*, 60.

¹⁴² Interviews in Conakry with Léon Maka and Mira Baldé, February 20, 1991; Fatou Kéïta, April 7, 1991; and Aissatou N’Diaye, April 8, 1991. See also Barbara A. Moss, “Clothed in Righteousness and Respect: The Use of Uniforms within Zimbabwean Women’s *Ruwadzano* in the Methodist Church,” paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Atlanta, Ga., November 3, 1989.

¹⁴³ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 238; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 36, 38; Messmer, *Après Tant de Batailles*, 234.

¹⁴⁴ ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Renseignements Réunion Privée des Femmes R.D.A. à Conakry,” October 7, 1954, #2765/1033, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Labé, “Renseignements Objet: Situation Politique à Labé dans la Première Quinzaine de Novembre 1954,” November 23, 1954, #2999/1180, C/PS.2; Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 77; Chaffard, *Les Carnets Secrets*, 2: 177; Ruth Schachter-Morgenthau, *Le Multipartisme en Afrique de l’Ouest Francophone Jusqu’aux Indépendances: La Période Nationaliste* (Paris, 1998), photograph 29, following 230; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme et son Combat*, photograph “Carte de Voeux 1955 de Sékou Touré,” following 136.

¹⁴⁵ See Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 49; Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, 40, 47; Smith, “Origins of Nations,” 120; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 140.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Léon Maka and Mira Baldé, Conakry, February 20, 1991. For Mafory Bangoura’s background, see “Les Femmes s’Organisent,” *La Liberté*, August 18, 1954, 4; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 340, 345; Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 43–44; interviews in Conakry with Bocar Biro Barry, January 29, 1991; Léon Maka, February 20, 1991; Aissatou N’Diaye, April 8, 1991.



FIGURE 5: Malinke women spinning and dyeing cloth. Reproduced by permission of FR.CAOM. Aix-en-Provence. 30 Fi 31/33. All rights reserved.

together and strengthened their sense of collective identity, Maka claimed. However, because RDA members were generally from the lower classes, they could not afford expensive material. "There was no money. Cloth cost a lot," Maka recalled. "RDA women—market women—wore inexpensive cloth, while our adversaries wore large *boubous* made from luxury cloth, like silk." Since RDA women could not afford silk—or large quantities of any material—Maka observed,

Andrée Touré and Mafory Bangoura made blouses that went just to the waist. These were called *temuray*. They were made out of percale, an inexpensive cloth. The wrapper was dyed in the fashion of the country. The [women] cloth-dyers did this with indigo. They gathered the indigo leaves in the bush and beat them with pestles. It was the women who decided that the blouse should be white. When the men saw that the women had adopted white, they, too, automatically began to wear it. Eventually, it became the national color of the RDA. Everyone wore it on public occasions. This was not done by decree from above. No, it was the people who decided to do it.

Mira Baldé concluded, "And white was easy, because it was common. Percale was white. It did not cost much. So it was easy for the masses to obtain."¹⁴⁷

Grassroots actors brought ideas, practices, and methods to the nationalist movement that dramatically reshaped the whole. As the above example illustrates, African

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Léon Maka and Mira Baldé, Conakry, February 20, 1991. See also interview with Aissatou N'Diaye, Conakry, April 8, 1991.

women were central to this process. While women's formative influence on African nationalist movements has been the subject of some scholarly inquiry, these studies have had little impact on nationalist theory more generally.¹⁴⁸ As McClintock notes, "theories of nationalism have tended to ignore gender as a category constitutive of nationalism itself."¹⁴⁹ And yet nationalisms emerge "through social contests that are . . . always gendered."¹⁵⁰ Proposing a feminist theory of nationalism, McClintock advocates "bringing into historical visibility women's active cultural and political participation in national formations."¹⁵¹

Making women's participation visible requires a shift in focus from the literate elite to the nonliterate base, where women were the preeminent creators and performers of mass national spectacle. As Geiger demonstrates for the nationalist movement in colonial Tanzania, "women's work" included the creation and performance of nationalism through song and dance.¹⁵² Similarly, in Guinea, RDA women proudly wore their party uniforms as they sang and danced the nationalist message. Oral transmission of information was crucial to the success of the RDA, which targeted the large mass of Guineans who had little or no formal education. As traditional storytellers and singers, women were deemed the best sloganeers. They were the practiced creators of ideas, images, and phrases that appealed to the nonelite population.¹⁵³

Most significantly, it was nonliterate women who composed the songs that spread the nationalist message throughout the territory.¹⁵⁴ "The women composed these songs," claimed Fatou Kéïta, a Susu seamstress. "They did it spontaneously. There was not one author. When somebody found a song, they sang it. The next

¹⁴⁸ See Geiger, "Tanganyikan Nationalism as 'Women's Work'"; Geiger, *TANU Women*; LaRay Denzer, "Constance A. Cummings-John of Sierra Leone: Her Early Political Career," *Tarikh* 7, no. 1 (1981): 20–32; LaRay Denzer, "Women in Freetown Politics, 1914–61: A Preliminary Study," *Africa* 57, no. 4 (1987): 439–456; Cheryl Johnson, "Grassroots Organizing: Women in Anti-Colonial Activity in Southwestern Nigeria," *African Studies Review* 25, no. 2 (September 1982): 137–157; Cheryl Johnson, "Madam Alimotu Pelewura and the Lagos Market Women," *Tarikh* 7, no. 1 (1981): 1–10; Nina Emma Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900–1965* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); Cora Ann Presley, *Kikuyu Women, the Mau Mau Rebellion, and Social Change in Kenya* (Boulder, Colo., 1992); Timothy Scarnecchia, "Poor Women and Nationalist Politics: Alliances and Fissures in the Formation of a Nationalist Political Movement in Salisbury Rhodesia, 1950–6," *Journal of African History* 37, no. 2 (1996): 283–310; Cherryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (London, 1982). Many studies emphasize women's contributions to male-dominated nationalist movements—rather than their fundamentally formative roles. In the case of Guinea, Margarita Dobert's 1970 doctoral dissertation skims the surface of women's anticolonial activities. Far more insightful and analytical is Idiatou Camara's unpublished undergraduate thesis, "La Contribution de la Femme de Guinée à la Lutte de Libération Nationale (1945–1958)." See Dobert, "Civic and Political Participation of Women"; Camara, "Contribution de la Femme."

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 259.

¹⁵⁰ McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven," 260.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 261.

¹⁵² Geiger, "Tanganyikan Nationalism as 'Women's Work,'" 467, 469, 471–472; Geiger, *TANU Women*, 162. For further discussion of women's involvement in the "ideological reproduction of the collectivity" and of women as "transmitters of its culture," see Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, "Introduction," in Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman-Nation-State* (London, 1989), 7, 9–10.

¹⁵³ Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 65; Mamadou Tounkara, "Autour d'une Musique," *La Liberté*, November 9, 1954, 3; interview with Fatou Diarra, Conakry, March 17, 1991.

¹⁵⁴ See Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 80; Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*, chap. 5; Schmidt, "'Emancipate Your Husbands!';" interviews in Conakry with Léon Maka, February 20, 1991; Fatou Diarra, March 17, 1991; Néné Diallo, April 11, 1991; Fatou Kéïta, May 24, 1991.

person heard it and sang it, and so on. It spread like that.”¹⁵⁵ Néné Diallo, a Peul cloth-dyer, agreed: “There were countless songs . . . Day after day, songs were made up. Everyone sang songs. We repeated the songs of others as they did ours.”¹⁵⁶ Fatou Diarra, a former militant of Malinke and Senegalese descent, recalled precisely how women mobilized through song:

Women went to the markets every day . . . If there was a new song, all the women learned it and sang it in the taxis, teaching one another. When there was an event, the leader went to the market with the song to teach it to the other women.

After the 1954 elections, women sang at the markets that the colonial authorities had rigged the elections. “You women who go up, You women who go down. The other party has stolen our votes, Stolen the votes of Syli.” All the women sang this song, so by the time they heard the election results, they already knew that they had been cheated, that the election had been rigged.¹⁵⁷

The June 1954 National Assembly elections, which pitted Sékou Touré against Barry Diawadou, were deemed fraudulent by independent outside observers. The official pronouncement of Barry Diawadou as the winner fueled public anger against the state.¹⁵⁸ The message of betrayal—and steadfast adherence to the people’s choice—was spread through song. Aissatou N’Diaye, an RDA activist of Tukulor-Senegalese ancestry, remembered the intense local reaction to the official results:

When it was said that Sékou had lost, there was a popular revolt . . . Sékou was not in Conakry; he was campaigning in the interior . . . We prepared songs for his return. We gathered at Fanta Camara’s to prepare the songs. We asked the crowd to make up a song that would be sung . . . He came at dusk or late afternoon . . . By then the song was known to everyone in town, even to vagabonds. The song went like this:

The saboteurs said they were the leaders
Whereas Mr. Touré said he is not the leader
But he gets to lead the country
Look, people, at the RDA
Look, people, at the RDA
RDA women, unite
Laugh with me, Touré
Laugh with me, Touré.¹⁵⁹

Another song composed for the occasion, which was punctuated by mooing cows, derided Barry Diawadou’s alleged victory as a fraud effected by inflated voter rolls.

¹⁵⁵ Interviews with Fatou Kéïta, Conakry, April 7 and May 24, 1991. See also interview with Léon Maka, Conakry, February 20, 1991.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Néné Diallo, Conakry, April 11, 1991.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Fatou Diarra, Conakry, March 17, 1991. See also Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 80.

¹⁵⁸ Centre de Recherche et de Documentation Africaine (CRDA), Claude Gerard, “Incidents en Guinée Française, 1954–1955,” *Afrique Informations*, no. 34 (March 15–April 1, 1955): 5–7; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 103, 106, 240.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Aissatou N’Diaye, Conakry, April 8, 1991.



FIGURE 6: Market women in Conakry, 1954. Reproduced by permission of FR.CAOM. Aix-en-Provence. 30 Fi 31/49. All rights reserved.

Vote rigging was deemed particularly notorious in the Futa Jallon, the candidate's home and bastion of the Peul aristocracy. Swaying and mooing like a cow, N'Diaye demonstrated how the people had sung:

Look, people, at Barry Diawadou
 Look, people, at Barry Diawadou
 The cows have voted for you in the Futa
 "Mbu, mbe," we don't want you.¹⁶⁰

When Sékou Touré arrived in Conakry, a crowd of some 30,000 supporters received him, crying, "Syli! Syli!" and singing:

The elephant has entered the city
 Yes, the elephant has arrived
 The city is full
 Because the elephant has arrived.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. See also interviews with Fatou Kéïta, Conakry, April 7 and May 24, 1991.

¹⁶¹ CRDA, Gerard, "Incidents en Guinée Française, 1954-1955," 9; Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 78. See also interview with Fatou Kéïta, Conakry, May 24, 1991.

Women sang and danced all night in front of Sékou Touré's home, informing the world that despite the official results, Sékou Touré—the mighty elephant—was the people's choice.¹⁶²

With song as their chosen medium, RDA women praised the party, ridiculed the opposition, and commented on recent political events. The songs' idiom and content provide a window into the popular culture that sustained the nationalist movement. Sexually charged lyrics were common. Some were meant to shame political laggards, others to mock political rivals. Publicly disgracing hesitant or retrograde men, women humiliated them through songs that questioned their virility.¹⁶³ Police reports describe RDA women, in groups of a hundred or more, parading through the capital city, carrying banners, singing political songs, and casting aspersions on Sékou Touré's chief rival, Barry Diawadou. Diawadou frequently was derided as being cowardly and uncircumcised—a mere boy rather than a real man.¹⁶⁴ In one such song, he was accused of having fled from the capital city, an RDA stronghold, to the relative safety of the interior:

Barry Diawadou left Conakry
To go to Upper Guinea
Because he found
That Syli is always in the lead
Barry was slapped like a dog
The penis of Barry
Is circumcised this time!¹⁶⁵

Although their political content was new, songs that ridiculed the virility of their male targets were in keeping with long-standing practices among Susu women.

¹⁶² Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 79.

¹⁶³ Interviews in Conakry with Léon Maka, February 20, 1991; Léon Maka and Mira Baldé, February 25, 1991; Fatou Kéïta, April 7, 1991; ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements," September 8, 1954. For similar use of song elsewhere in Africa, see Shirley Ardener, "Sexual Insult and Female Militancy," in Shirley Ardener, ed., *Perceiving Women* (London, 1975), 29–30, 36–37; Caroline Ifeka-Moller, "Female Militancy and Colonial Revolt: The Women's War of 1929, Eastern Nigeria," in Ardener, *Perceiving Women*, 132–133; Van Allen, "'Aba Riots' or Igbo 'Women's War'?" 60–61; Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized*, 150; Geiger, "Tanganyikan Nationalism as 'Women's Work,'" 473. Asante and Ga women in colonial Ghana also challenged men they deemed cowardly—and thus effeminate—in the face of British colonialism; see Obeng, "Gendered Nationalism," 193, 202–204; Parker, *Making the Town*, 52, 71. The feminization of colonized males, and women's ridicule of them, is discussed in Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 69–71.

¹⁶⁴ ANS, 17G586, "Réunion Publique R.D.A. à Conakry," September 8, 1954; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements A/S R.D.A. Conakry," April 19, 1955, #811/332, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements *Objet*: RDA à Conakry," April 27, 1955, #867/353, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements *Objet*: Incidents en Guinée," June 3, 1955, #1095/463, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements *Objet*: R.D.A. à Conakry," June 6, 1955, #1106/469, C/PS.2. See also 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements A/S Attroupement R.D.A. devant le Commissariat de Police de Mamou, le 15 Mai 1956," May 19, 1956, #929/324, C/PS.2; AG, 1E41, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements A/S Conférence Publique tenue le Lundi 14 Janvier 1957 à Conakry, Salle du Cinéma 'VOX,' par le P.D.G.-R.D.A.," January 15, 1957, #89/50/C/PS.2.

¹⁶⁵ ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements *Objet*: R.D.A. Conakry," June 14, 1955, #1158/490, C/PS.2. The Susu song was transcribed and translated into French by the police. The English translation is mine.

Historically, Susu women had used sexually explicit songs and dances to publicly humiliate and sanction men who had abused their wives. Party leaders—generally Western-educated male elites—were embarrassed by these practices and tried, unsuccessfully, to discourage them.¹⁶⁶ The popular origin of this critical means of communication is thus beyond dispute.

THE WAVES OF ANTICOLONIAL PROTEST that swept the African and Asian continents in the postwar decade were an amalgamation of elite and popular politics. Manifold acts of anticolonial resistance contributed to the development of full-fledged movements for national self-determination and independence. Many of these movements belonged to the progressive political tradition of “inclusive nationalism,” in which ethnically and religiously diverse peoples were mobilized into a single nationalist movement. The product of both European and indigenous ideals, the nationalist movements were led by educated elites, but they were firmly grounded in the urban and rural populace. Only those movements that generated mass support were successful in bringing about national independence. Their leaders focused on population groups already engaged in anticolonial resistance and mobilized around grievances that these groups had previously identified. The momentum galvanized by the grassroots was thus directed toward the nationalist cause. While the lower classes responded to elite appeals, they also brought their own ideas and objectives to the anticolonial struggle. They employed strategies and methods that spoke to their concerns and images that resonated with their cultures. Thus, nationalist mobilization was neither top down nor bottom up. It was, unequivocally, both.

Guinea's postwar nationalist movement, led by the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*, was emblematic of these trends. The Guinean RDA strove to build a nation from a population that was ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous. Party leaders focused on that which was common to the largest number of people: a shared precolonial history, religion, and experience of French colonialism. From this common past, a future as one nation was imagined, and the struggle to realize it was launched. Although they were mobilized by elites into the nationalist movement, “ordinary Guineans” were not passive recipients of ideas instilled from above. They brought their own ideas and experiences to the table, informing the ways in which nationalism was understood. The methods of mobilization, like the contents of the message, were influenced by the grassroots. Lower classes as well as elites adapted indigenous cultural forms for new purposes and made imported ones their own.

Why revisit the case of Guinea nearly five decades after its independence? Because Guinea's postwar nationalist movement provides the raw material that allows us to better understand the interaction between leaders and the rank and file in imagining and creating a nation. It helps us to construct a new theoretical

¹⁶⁶ Siba N. Grovogui, personal communication, 1991.

and methodological framework for nationalist mobilization throughout the colonized world. In this regard, Guinea's significance far outstrips its size.

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Beyond Words

LEORA AUSLANDER

HISTORIANS ARE, BY PROFESSION, SUSPICIOUS OF THINGS. Words are our stock-in-trade. This is not to say, of course, that historians have never had recourse to nonlinguistic sources. From the use of archaeological evidence in the nineteenth century to Marc Bloch's brilliant notion that the intricacies of medieval landholding patterns could be deciphered by observing the interwar French countryside from a small plane, historians have looked beyond the holdings of archives and libraries.¹ Scholars of the ancient, medieval, and early modern worlds, and of science and technology—those whose written sources are limited or whose very object is material—have pushed the evidentiary boundaries the furthest, although some modernists and social and cultural historians have also used visual, material, and musical sources.² Despite these initiatives, however, most historians view words as the most trustworthy as well as the most informative sources; everything else is merely illustrative or supplementary.

I will argue here, by contrast, that expanding the range of our canonical sources will provide better answers to familiar historical questions as well as change the very nature of the questions we are able to pose and the kind of knowledge we are able to acquire about the past. Each form of human expression has its unique attributes and capacities; limiting our evidentiary base to one of them—the linguistic—renders us unable to grasp important dimensions of human experience, and our explanations of major historical problems are thereby impoverished. Within the general category of the extralinguistic, I will make an argument for the utility and importance of material culture in particular.

In its broadest sense, material culture embraces the class of all human-made objects. This includes hand- and machine-made, unique and mass-produced,

This essay has benefited from comments from a joint meeting of the Workshop on the Built Environment and the Modern European History Workshop and from discussion at the Social Theory Workshop at the University of Chicago. I would like to thank the participants for their very helpful critique. Special thanks are owed to Anya Bernstein, Thomas Holt, Eric Slauter, Martha Ward, and Claudia Wassmann for their detailed comments, as well as to Dror Wahrman for suggesting that I write the essay in the first place.

¹ Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1939).

² The following is a small selection of the many examples that could be offered here: Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800*, trans. Miriam Kochan (London, 1974); Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988); Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul* (Baltimore, Md., 2005); Laurel Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun* (New York, 2001); Ken Alder, *Engineering the Revolution: Arms and the Enlightenment in France, 1763–1815* (Princeton, N.J., 1997); Deborah Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

durable and ephemeral, expensive and cheap things. Given the breadth of that definition and the vast range of objects that fall within it, I have limited the category here in two ways: first, to goods “of style” or objects whose design involves aesthetic considerations; and second, to three-dimensional objects with which people are in bodily contact. The initial constraint removes purely functional parts (axles, ball bearings, distributor caps), objects whose function must trump form (scalpels, airplane fuselages, turkey roasters), and the accidental by-products of human life. I have excluded these objects because, although their study is vitally useful for reconstructing life processes in past times, they are not rich sources for grasping the affective, communicative, symbolic, and expressive aspects of human life that are central to the historical project. I would like to underscore, however, that this constraint allows consideration not only of artisanal goods, but also of objects of industrial design such as Tupperware, Bic pens, and Coke bottles.³

I have further limited my discussion here to those objects that are not just seen, but also felt and touched (thereby distinguishing between visual and material culture). These goods—whether jewelry or clothes that are worn, linen that is slept upon, the chests that store that linen, plates or spoons from which food is eaten, or furniture or housing that shelters—carry special weight in essentially all societies. Even the objects used in everyday, repetitive embodied activities, such as eating or grooming (to say nothing of ritual objects), are not simply functional; they are always also modes of communication, or memory cues, or expressions of the psyche, or extensions of the body, as well as sites of aesthetic investment, involving pleasure, distress, or conscious indifference. Their makers and users understand them to have special attributes not only because of their contact with the human body, but because they themselves mirror two crucial characteristics of human existence. They, like the people who use them, are embodied. That embodiedness means that objects occupy space and cannot be in two places at once, and they are mortal, although their life-spans may be much longer or shorter than those of the people using them.

Working within this definition of the material, I will argue that there are three major reasons why historians of all periods should be attentive to, and train themselves in the use of, material culture. People have always used all five of their senses in their intellectual, affective, expressive, and communicative practices. They have, furthermore, used those senses differentially; sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell each provide certain kinds of information, and people create unique (and non-interchangeable) forms in each of these sensorial domains.⁴ A symphony can-

³ For the utility of the distinction, see Henry Petroski, *The Evolution of Useful Things* (New York, 1992). For excellent examples of analysis of industrial design, see Paul Betts, *The Authority of Everyday Objects* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004), and Alison J. Clarke, *Tupperware: The Promise of Plastic in 1950s America* (Washington, D.C., 1999).

⁴ I am, therefore, following a different course, engaged in a different project, than either scholars such as Jonathan Crary and Donald Lowe, who have attempted to historicize the ways in which people have used their five senses, or those such as Martin Jay and Catherine Chaliel, who have focused on demonstrating the place attributed to each of the senses within particular bodies of thought. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Donald M. Lowe, *History of Bourgeois Perception* (Chicago, 1982); Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Catherine Chaliel, *Sagesse des sens: Le regard et l'écoute dans la tradition hébraïque* (Paris, 1995).

not be rendered visually; the aroma of roasting coffee cannot be put into words; the feeling of cashmere or burlap cannot be expressed in music. In the particular domain of concern here—material culture—sight and touch are the relevant senses, and objects, words, and images the relevant genres. I will argue that people's relation to language is not the same as their relation to things; all that they express through their creation and use of material objects is, furthermore, not reducible to words.⁵ That particular relation to things means that even highly literate people in logocentric societies continue to use objects for a crucial part of their emotional, sensual, representational, and communicative expression. Artifacts, therefore, are differently informative than texts even when texts are available; texts, in fact, sometimes obscure the meanings borne by material culture. Thus, although work on clothing that limits its purview to the "fashion system" as constructed by the press, like that famously done by Roland Barthes half a century ago, is very illuminating, it is differently revelatory than melding such a discussion with an analysis of the clothing as worn (and as talked or written about by those who wore it).⁶ The three activities are so intimately interrelated as to be inseparable. Consumers' acquisition, use, and discussion of clothing is shaped by their reading of fashion magazines—but only in part. People are also moved by associations of colors and textures, by the reading of fiction, by the viewing of visual culture beyond the press, and by the microdynamics of their communities. If historians thus limit their analyses of clothing either to the prescriptive literature or people's self-conscious narrations of intent or to analysis of nonverbal clothing practices, they will miss a great deal.

Secondly, objects not only are the product of history, they are also active agents in history.⁷ In their communicative, performative, emotive, and expressive capacities, they act, have effects in the world. Without the crown, orb, and scepter, for example, a monarch is not a monarch.⁸ And not only do certain words uttered in a

⁵ Roland Fletcher, "The Messages of Material Behaviour: A Preliminary Discussion of Non-verbal Meaning," and Miles Richardson, "The Artefact as Abbreviated Act: A Social Interpretation of Material Culture," both in Ian Hodder, ed., *The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression* (London, 1989), 33–30 and 172–177; Fred R. Meyers, "Introduction: The Empire of Things," in Myers, ed., *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2001), 3–64; Michael Brian Schiffer and Andrea R. Miller, *The Material Life of Human Beings: Artifacts, Behavior, Communication* (London, 1999); Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2000). I am not, however, arguing for a *privileged* status for material culture, as Jules Prown does in his classic article "The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction," in Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, eds., *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 1–19.

⁶ Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System* (New York, 1983); Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York, 1967). For three historical analyses of clothing that meld (to varying degrees) discourse, practice, and object, see Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Régime,"* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1994); David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Michael Zakim, *Ready-Made Democracy* (Chicago, 2003).

⁷ On this point, coming from two radically different theoretical traditions, see the work of Bruno Latour and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi: Bruno Latour, "Mixing Humans and Non-humans Together: The Sociology of a Door Closer," *Social Problems* 35, no. 3 (1988): 298–310; Latour, "Visualization and Cognition: Thinking with Eyes and Hands," *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present* 6 (1986): 1–40; Latour, "Une sociologie sans objet? Remarques sur l'interobjectivité," *Sociologie du Travail*, no. 4 (1994): 567–610; Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge, 1981), 14.

⁸ For example, on the embodied and materialized nature of power in the French Old Regime, see

marriage ceremony transform two individuals into a couple, but in many traditions the rings exchanged are equally necessary. In a quite different domain, texts produced with movable type (as opposed to those that were handwritten or block printed) did not just *reflect* a change in technology; by their capacity to transmit uniform knowledge relatively cheaply and durably throughout the world, they themselves *changed* that world. They also changed it in another, more subtle way, however. The experience of reading a book that one knows to be identical to hundreds or thousands of others is not the same as holding a manuscript in your hands in which the individuality of the scribe is present in every letter. The possibility of imagining universal knowledge is augmented by the likeness of the physical form by which it is transmitted. Small innovations in goods, their design, or their aesthetic also structure people's perceptions of the world, thereby changing that world. The undistorted and truly transparent glass that allowed a clear view from domestic to outside space, a product of techniques new in the nineteenth century, for example, allowed novel understandings of privacy and publicity. Finally, to offer one last example, in twentieth-century Europe, the style of a person's clothing or home inevitably and inexorably located that person in society; the objects did not reflect as much as *create* social position (as well, some would argue, as the self itself).⁹

Thirdly, most people for most of human history have not used written language as their major form of expression. They have created meaning, represented the world, and expressed their emotions through textiles, wood, metal, dance, and music. Material culture is simply another vital source of historical knowledge, supplemental to words for those who have had little access to them.

ENGAGING IN SUCH AN ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL CULTURE poses two interrelated sets of challenges. The first is theoretical and concerns the determination of how people relate to objects, and the second is methodological and involves the interpretation both of textual representations of the objects and of the objects themselves. That is, in order to determine an appropriate usage of the evidence of material culture for historical problems, one needs to understand the nature of the relation among words, images, and things, and all of those relations in particular historical contexts. One can then go on to the technical challenges of interpreting artifacts.

Let me start with the theorists who make the most universal claims about how people relate to things—scholars of the mind, including psychoanalysts, psychologists, and phenomenologically inclined philosophers. These scholars start with an

Guy Walton, *Louis XIV's Versailles* (Chicago, 1986); Orest Ranum, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism* (New York, 1968); Jeffrey Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La., 1990); Lynn Hunt, ed. *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Hunt, ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore, Md., 1990).

⁹ On domestic objects as a means of the creation of self and group, see Martine Segalen and Béatrix Le Wita, *Chez-soi: Objets et décors—des créations familiales?* (Paris, 1993); C. Després, "De la maison bourgeoise à la maison moderne: Univers domestique, esthétique et sensibilité féminine," in D. Piché, ed., *Lieux et milieux de vie*, special issue of *Recherches féministes* 2, no. 1 (1989): 3–18; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things*; Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction* (Paris, 1979).

assumption that I accept, but I recognize that many historians do not—that there are certain traits shared by human beings across time and space resulting from our universal embodiedness. Because we are all born small and dependent, grow and mature relatively slowly, and eventually die, and because we exist in three dimensions and possess five senses, we share a relation to the material world. This literature suggests that one crucial shared attribute resulting from this form of embodiedness is a need for objects; human beings need things to individuate, differentiate, and identify; human beings need things to express and communicate the unsaid and the unsayable; human beings need things to situate themselves in space and time, as extensions of the body (and to compensate for the body's limits), as well as for sensory pleasure; human beings need objects to effectively remember and forget; and we need objects to cope with absence, with loss, and with death.¹⁰ They argue that it is because things carry such affective weight that in essentially all societies, key transitional moments in the life of an individual and of a society—births, birthdays, coming-of-age ceremonies whether religious or secular, weddings, and deaths—are marked by the transmission of objects.

The work of psychoanalysts and psychologists on “transitional objects” is a particularly clear (and very familiar) example of how people use objects to cope with absence. Scholars of the mind discovered many years ago that the objects to which small children are utterly (and seemingly irrationally) attached—most famously Linus's blanket in the *Peanuts* cartoon—serve a vital psychic function. The preferred object literally embodies the absent parents until the child is able to keep them securely present in his or her mind's eye.¹¹ Babies choose their own transitional objects, which are most often made from cloth, partially because fabric makes them soft, sensuously satisfying, comforting to sleep with, and convenient to carry, but also because it retains odors well. The panic generated by the (even temporary) loss of these objects is such that parents become as obsessed with them as their children and look forward to the time when they will no longer be needed. It is not, however, so certain that people ever really outgrow their need to incarnate in objects those they love. Rather than disappearing with time, these materializations of love objects change form. At a later moment in childhood, for example, it is not uncommon for that objectification to shift from a stuffed animal or rag possessed by the child to something worn by the parent. Ethnographer Patrizia Ciambelli's report of one woman's memory of her father's ring is exemplary: “My father never took it off. I remember night-time drives when I was in the back seat of the car; each time a car would pass us I would see the shine of the diamond on his ring. *It was, it was . . . it was, my father, voilà.*”¹² And adult psyches facing permanent loss by death often lodge the mourned person in his or her left-behind clothing. The psychoanalysts Serge Tisseron and Yolande Tisseron-Papetti describe

¹⁰ Many texts could be cited here. In addition to those cited above and below, see Helga Ditterman, *The Social Psychology of Material Possessions: To Have Is to Be* (Hemel Hempstead, 1992). From a psychoanalytic perspective, see Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, *L'Ecorce et le noyau* (Paris, 1987), and Serge Tisseron, *Comment l'esprit vient aux objets* (Paris, 1999). A quite different reading of Freud can be found in Adrian Forty's introduction to Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler, eds., *The Art of Forgetting* (Oxford, 1999).

¹¹ D. W. Winnicott, *Collected Papers: Through Paediatrics to Psycho-analysis* (London, 1958).

¹² Cited in Patrizia Ciambelli, *Bijoux à Secrets* (Paris, 2002), 75. Emphasis added.

how a patient—a man widowed long before—had hidden his dead wife's coats away in a closet. He left them untouched for years, but at a particular point in the mourning process, he opened the closet and tried on the coats. Tisseron and Tisseron-Papetti argue that the physical contact with the fabric that had clothed his wife not only reconnected him to her, but also made him whole again: "Because the emotions tied to the lost person are no longer held in the psyche but deposited in certain parts of the surrounding world and melded with those objects, they do a great deal more than to fix a memory. They reunite, inextricably combined, the lost person and the part of the self that had been in contact with her."¹³ This is an ambivalent relation, however. Humans expect things to outlive us, embodying and carrying a trace of our physical selves into a future in which we are no longer present. At the same time, the continued existence of intimately used objects—clothing, pens, eyeglasses, jewelry, toothbrushes—after the death or disappearance of their owner can be both cruel and comforting. In the immediate, they move us to tears; in the long term, they provide a sensory experience of continued contact. The rings I never take off that belonged to my dead grandmothers provide a daily connection to them, as if our fingers could still touch. An account in a novel of a forsaken lover taking a pair of scissors to the closet full of left-behind clothes is an economical, and instantly comprehensible, way for an author to communicate the character's depth of rage and despair.

Having the opportunity to touch, caress, wear a dead loved one's things may help a patient suffering from the melancholia of unresolved mourning to come to terms with definitive absence. Experiences come to be lodged in things; loss of the object-companion of an experience, therefore, can bring the loss of the memory itself. Thus people deprived of their things may be severed from their pasts, and from their dead. Those pasts, and those dead, do, of course, live on in memory, but a dematerialized memory is both very fragile and also less satisfying to human beings—who are, after all, of flesh and blood.¹⁴ Even in literate societies, people use (and need) three-dimensional objects, as well as familiar sights and smells, as memory cues, as souvenirs in a quite literal sense.¹⁵

While intimate things are crucial objectifications of intimate relations, the space in which they are housed is equally fundamental. As Frances Yates and, very differently, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Henri Bergson have eloquently demonstrated, memories are often literally housed, with dwellings and the objects they contain providing the key to remembrance.¹⁶ The power of homes to connect the

¹³ Yolande Tisseron-Papetti and Serge Tisseron, *L'érotisme du toucher des étoffes* (Paris, 1982), 86.

¹⁴ As Sarah Kofman movingly put it in her memoir in reference to the last sign of life of her father—a card written in French by someone else in Drancy—"When my mother died, it wasn't possible to find that card, which I had reread so often and wanted to save. It was as if I had lost my father a second time. From then on nothing was left, not even that lone card he hadn't even written." Sarah Kofman, *Rue Ordener Rue Labat*, trans. with an intro. by Ann Smock (Lincoln, Nebr., 1996), 9.

¹⁵ On the importance of the senses, see Paul Stoller, *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1989). For an anthropological approach to the intersection of objects and people, see Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (New York, 1998).

¹⁶ Julian Thomas, "The Hermeneutics of Megalithic Space," in Christopher Y. Tilley, ed., *Interpretative Archaeology* (Providence, R.I., 1993), 73–97. On space and memory, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966); Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London, 1962); Henri Bergson, *Matière et mémoire* (Paris, 1999); Nicole Lapiere, *Le Silence de*

present with the past lies in the repetition of the small gestures of everyday routine, done with the help of particular objects. The making of coffee, for example, performed unthinkingly every morning for years, can suddenly become profoundly evocative when the gesture conjures the presence of a person no longer there. Likewise, a child's toy brings to mind a moment forgotten. The winter light illuminating a sofa reminds the dweller of a conversation three years earlier. The presence of these physical objects, of the bodily routines, of the light and the smells of a home, enables the conjuring of memories inscribed in those places, sensory impressions, connection to the past, and even identity in the present.¹⁷ Things are not just things, and a physical home is more than that. Thus, historians seeking to understand the meanings of migration, of war, of natural disaster, and even of urban renewal may find in the evidence of things a guide to how such events were lived by their protagonists. Struggles against the loss of even terribly dilapidated unsafe housing, claims for restitution of lost homes and lost property, and the risks that refugees took to carry "mere" things with them would be more accurately interpreted if historians took the psychological meanings of objects and homes more seriously.

It is not only historians of disruption, uprooting, or catastrophe who would find that buildings and objects speak, however, but also those of such diverse domains as work, domesticity, and political identification and transformation. In *La poétique de l'espace*, Gaston Bachelard argues that it is labor and consciousness that bring objects to life. The labor can be that of a housewife polishing a piece of furniture or of a poet describing it. "From one object to another in the bedroom, housewifely care weaves together the very distant past and the new day. The housewife awakens the sleeping furniture."¹⁸ Bachelard's work suggests that the history of mechanization and the division of labor—whether in the home or the workshop/factory—would look quite different if one took the objects of that labor seriously. I have suggested elsewhere, for example, that attentiveness to how nineteenth-century French artisans related to the things they made reveals them to have been as preoccupied with the sensuousness of the labor process and the beauty of their creations as with the conditions of that labor. This observation then required a reconsideration of the history of workers' interests and identities.¹⁹ Likewise, understanding the world of domestic service, which often seems to be better grasped by novelists than by historians, might be easier if one researched not only the relation between servants and mistresses, but also servants and the domestic

la Mémoire: À la recherche des juifs de Ploek (Paris, 2001), 107, 108, 109; Joëlle Bahloul, *La maison de mémoire: Ethnologie d'un demeure judéo-arabe en Algérie (1937–1961)* (Paris, 1992); Anne Muxel, *Individu et mémoire familiale* (Paris, 1996); and particularly on the issues of refugees and objects, David Parkin, "Mementoes as Transitional Objects in Human Displacement," *Journal of Material Culture* 4, no. 3 (November 1999): 303–320.

¹⁷ For a suggestive analysis, see John Lowney, "'Homesick for Those Memories': The Gendering of Historical Memory in Women's Narratives of the Vietnam War," in Rosemary Marangoly George, ed., *Burning Down the House: Recycling Domesticity* (Boulder, Colo., 1998), 257–278, particularly 265.

¹⁸ Gaston Bachelard, *La poétique de l'espace* (Paris, 1957), 74.

¹⁹ Leora Auslander, "Perceptions of Beauty and the Problem of Consciousness: Parisian Furniture Makers," in Lenard Berlanstein, ed., *Rethinking Labor History: Essays on Discourse and Class Analysis* (Urbana, Ill., and Chicago, 1993), 149–181.

things they animated through their labor.²⁰ The history of domesticity itself, particularly of the housewife and the mechanization of labor in the home, would be a richer one if, in addition to consideration of expenditures of time, physical force, and standards of cleanliness, historians thought harder about the change in the relation to time, to space, and to bodies brought about by the replacement of the broom by the vacuum cleaner and other improvements that distanced domestic labor from the objects of its attention.²¹

Finally, both group identification and political consolidation and action are enabled by people's relation with things. Psychologists and sociologists have demonstrated how people "read" style and gesture to recognize those who are like and unlike, to identify and differentiate. These insights have important ramifications for historians striving to understand collective action. Timothy Breen has recently argued, for example, that the American Revolution was in fact a consumer revolution, made possible by a shared relationship to goods among the American colonists in the two decades preceding the war.²² And historian Neil Kamil, writing about an earlier moment in North American history, makes a powerful case in *Fortress of the Soul* for the transmission of a Huguenot identity across the Atlantic, and its maintenance in the New World, through a distinctive domestic aesthetic. While the work of theorists of the mind is vital to understanding the relation between people and things in general or that which is universal in that relationship, the writing of social and political theorists is crucial to grasping its historicity. Transformations in the nature of capital, as well as of the organization of the relations of production, distribution, and consumption, necessarily alter people's relations to things and how things mediate relations among people. Here the work of Marx and Marxian theorists, as well as some of their critics, is invaluable.²³ These theorists argue persuasively for the decreased meaning of labor and a distancing of workers from the product of that labor in a moment of its division and mechanization, as well as for a more systemic change in how people relate to others and to things under capitalism. Given, however, that neither socioeconomic nor political systems completely saturate (or determine) humans' relations to the material world, it is the work of those scholars who attempt to meld analysis of the human and the historical in the domain of the material that is most precious to historians. Walter Benjamin is perhaps the theorist who is cited most often in this context.²⁴ His work grapples with how the affective, communicative, and sensual

²⁰ Anne Martin-Fugier, *La place des bonnes: La domesticité féminine à Paris en 1900* (Paris, 1979); Jacqueline Martin-Huan, *La longue marche des domestiques en France: Du XIXe siècle à nos jours* (Nantes, 1997).

²¹ See, for example, Ruth Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Hearth to the Microwave* (New York, 1983); Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York, 1982).

²² T. H. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford, 2004).

²³ Here, of course, the key text of Marx is chapter 1, "The Commodity," in Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York, 1977); Jean Baudrillard, *La société de la consommation: Ses mythes, ses structures* (Paris, 1970).

²⁴ Walter Benjamin, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writing*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. and with an intro. by Peter Demetz (New York, 1986); *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, with an intro. by Hannah Arendt (New York, 1968). For a very useful analysis of exchange under

uses to which all humans arguably put things is shaped by (a particular moment of) capitalism.

Work inspired by Marx is essential to understanding the implications of shifts in the nature of capital for the relation of people and things, but it is of less assistance in the domain of political organization. Monarchical, imperial, republican, democratic, fascist, and socialist forms of state all use objects and style to constitute and reinforce their power, but they do so very differently. Scholars of monarchy, for example, have shown that kings used a very careful regulation of ostentation to control powerful political actors (most often nobles and clerics) over whom they had limited coercive power.²⁵ The aesthetic choices of the vast majority were of irrelevance to them, since they played no role in the political process, but the color of a duke's cloak was, by contrast, of the greatest import. Under democratic or republican regimes, when the polity was to include all citizens of the nation, material culture came to be understood as an important means of unifying that national body and distinguishing it from others. Likewise, colonial regimes had their own object systems. Anthropologists such as Jean and John Comaroff, Bernard Cohn, and Nicholas Thomas have demonstrated, for example, that material culture plays a particularly explicit role in negotiations and struggle between ruler and ruled in colonial contexts. Colonial administrations demonstrate their understandings of the nature of the relationship (current and future) of metropole and colony in how they mark difference through the style of everyday life. In parallel, indigenous peoples stake out positions through their compliance with, or refusal of, such aesthetic boundaries.²⁶

The use of material culture for the writing of history entails, therefore, the use of both theoretical or conceptual work that addresses the relation between people and things in the abstract, and that which focuses on those relations under particular forms of economy and polity. It also requires careful reflection on the relation of texts and things, how people have represented their object worlds in writing or used textual invocations of objects. In this domain, it is literary scholars who provide the greatest assistance. Those analysts have themselves been inspired, at least in part, by the observation that while novelists and poets have always had recourse to descriptions and evocations of things, it is at moments of radical transformation of systems of production, distribution, and consumption that objects loom particularly large. From the object-saturated work of Honoré de Balzac,

capitalism, see J. G. Carrier, *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism since 1700* (London, 1995).

²⁵ Norbert Elias and those influenced by him have been key here. Elias, *The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1978; German ed. 1939); Roger Chartier, ed., *Passions of the Renaissance*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

²⁶ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Fashioning the Colonial Subject: The Empire's Old Clothes," in Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (Chicago, 1991), vol. 2, chap. 2, 218–273; Comaroff and Comaroff, "Homemade Hegemony," in John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination: Selected Essays* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), chap. 10, 265–295; Bernard S. Cohn, "Cloth, Clothes and Colonialism: India in the 19th century," in Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider, eds., *Cloth and Human Experience* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 303–353; Jean Allman, *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress* (Bloomington, Ind., 2004); Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham, N.C., 1997).

Émile Zola, Marcel Proust, Francis Ponge, and Georges Perec, to cite a few authors from the French canon, scholars have derived a great deal about historical changes in how people relate to things. Rachel Bowlby's and Naomi Schor's analyses of the representation of consumer culture in Zola, Mieke Bal's and Angelika Corbineau-Hoffmann's work on objects in Proust, and Benjamin on Charles Baudelaire are only four of the many examples one could cite.²⁷

While literary scholars focus on the textualization of things, art historians have done crucial work in analyzing their pictorialization. Visual representations of objects are useful to historians in two very different ways. The objects themselves have often disappeared, leaving the historian with only their traces in drawings, paintings, prints, photographs, and film. And even when the things have survived, they have almost inevitably been detached from their context, preserved in a museum or antique shop, or put to a new use in someone's home. Visual representations provide the historian with mediated access to the relationships among objects—how furniture was arrayed in a room, for example, whether an interior was stylistically unified or varied, or what pieces of clothing were worn simultaneously—and some possibility of imagining how they were used. The mediation of the painter, photographer, or filmmaker, like that of the writer, both enriches and complicates the historian's work. That mediation produces the second utility of visual representations of objects to historians. If read as a literal depiction of someone's home, a seventeenth-century Dutch domestic scene will almost certainly mislead; if, by contrast, both the painting and the objects represented are subject to analysis, the painting will be as valuable a source as a perfectly preserved dwelling. The fact that a room was painted at all, the contents of that room, the relation of light and shadow, choices of color, use of perspective, the references to other representations of interiors, the placement of people within the space—all provide crucial insights into the relation of people and things at the time the picture was painted. The focus of much art historical work has been precisely on deciphering and interpreting those representational decisions. Finally, the meaning of style, the relation between aesthetically invested objects and society, and the relation of the verbal and nonverbal has long preoccupied art historians. This work is invaluable in providing a means of or an apparatus for reflection on what makes a "style" (and if the concept is, in fact, a useful one) and how styles change under different conditions of production, distribution, and consumption of aestheticized objects.

²⁷ For exemplary fiction, see Honoré de Balzac, *Le cousin Pons*, *La cousine Bette*, *Histoire des treize* (Paris, 1840); Émile Zola, *Au bonheur des dames* (Paris, 1883); Zola, *Nana* (Paris, 1882); Marcel Proust, *A la recherche du temps perdu* (Paris, 1919–1927); Georges Perec, *Les choses: Une histoire des années soixante* (Paris, 1965); Perec, *La vie, mode d'emploi: Romans* (Paris, 1978); Francis Ponge, *La table présentée par Jean Thibaudeau* (Paris, 1991); Ponge, *Le parti pris des choses* (Paris, 1949); Ponge, *Le savon* (Paris, 1967). Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing, and Zola* (New York, 1985); Naomi Schor, "Before the Castle: Women, Commodities, and Modernity in *Au Bonheur des Dames*," in Schor, *Bad Objects: Essays Popular and Unpopular* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Paul-Laurent Assoun et al., *Analyses et réflexions sur Ponge, Pièce: Les mots et les choses* (Paris, 1988); Mieke Bal, *Images littéraires: Ou comment lire visuellement Proust* (Montréal/Toulouse, 1997); Angelika Corbineau-Hoffmann, *Beschreibung als Verfahren: Die Ästhetik des Objekts im Werk Marcel Prousts* (Stuttgart, 1980); Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire* (London, 1983). For a crucial theoretical intervention on the relation of literature and things, see Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago, 2003).

While the work of theorists and literary and visual scholars is very helpful in understanding the place of objects and their representation, it is archaeologists, anthropologists, curators, and historians of art, architecture, and design who have elaborated sophisticated strategies for analyzing aesthetically inflected things.

Art historian, curator, and well-known scholar of material culture Jules D. Prown has divided those who study material culture into two groups, the farmers and the cowmen.²⁸ The farmers are preoccupied with the “material” side of material culture, the age, substance, and structure of the object, its provenance, its authenticity. The cowmen engage more deeply with the “culture” side of material culture and try to determine the meanings embedded in and transmitted by the objects in question. While Prown himself argues that both kinds of knowledge are needed if the past is to be understood, and that those who focus on the material should also engage the cultural and vice versa—and I agree with that argument—there is truth to the dichotomy. Archaeologists and anthropologists focus on using the object to understand the society of which it is a product. Most curators and some design historians, architectural historians, and historians of the decorative arts view the core of their work as establishing the material truth of the object, while others in those fields would argue that in the domain of aesthetic objects, society and object are so intertwined that one must inevitably attempt to simultaneously establish the truth of the object and its social meaning and place. Historians have much to borrow from all of these disciplines, but those borrowings will necessarily differ according to the mission and constraints of each field.

Archaeology is the discipline whose use of things is closest to that of history. The primary goal of both archaeologists and historians is to understand, by whatever means possible, a given society. Both, therefore, study objects not to explain those objects but to glean from them something about the people who designed, made, distributed, and used them. It is undoubtedly that shared preoccupation that has facilitated the already long-established collaboration among ancient and medieval historians and archaeologists. Historians of all epochs, however, have an enormous amount to learn from archaeology. In part, no doubt, because their data is so difficult to unearth and to interpret, archaeologists have had recourse to highly sophisticated techniques to determine the age, origin, and probable use of their objects of investigation. They are among the freest and most constrained scholars of the material world. They are free in that the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record of very ancient cultures leaves them the obligation and possibility of imaginative interpretation. They are constrained, however, by those same characteristics, and dependent upon advances in other fields—geology, anatomy, and physics, to name only three. Archaeologists tend, therefore, to move between the very concrete and the very abstract. On the one hand, they have elaborated complex scientific protocols for analysis of the material remnants of past societies—protocols that detail modes of uncovering, documenting, transporting, dating, and analyzing the objects found. On the other hand, the discipline is the site of highly abstract theorizing about cultural production and transmission and human

²⁸ Jules D. Prown, “Material/Cultural: Can the Farmer and the Cowman Still Be Friends?” in W. David Kingery, ed., *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1996), 19–30.

evolution.²⁹ Historians can productively borrow both the technical and theoretical advances of this field and can equally constructively turn to anthropology for another kind of help interpreting things.

Anthropologists—because exchange has been so central a conceptual category in the discipline, because of their focus on symbolic systems, and, finally, because the written, and in some cases the spoken, word is relatively marginal in many of the societies in which they work—have long engaged material culture seriously. Marcel Mauss remains a key reference, given particularly that his work raised fundamental issues of both exchange and embodiedness.³⁰ The work of Igor Kopytoff and Arjun Appadurai on rethinking the concept of the commodity,³¹ and of Daniel Miller on the meanings of consumption under capitalism,³² usefully challenges preconceptions concerning the meaning of goods in capitalist and noncapitalist societies. In a very different vein, Janet Hoskins's insights concerning the place of objects in the telling of life histories, and those of Paul Stoller on the importance of the senses, provide crucial signposts for reflection on the embodiment of people and things.³³

Historically, curators of the decorative arts and design historians have produced erudite and invaluable monographs on individual artisans as well as volumes on stylistic developments. Because the focus is on explaining the aesthetic logic of the objects as well as reconstructing their biography and often establishing the lifetime production of their maker, these works discuss the world beyond the object only when the object is explicitly shaped by external events. Even the most internalist of design histories or exhibition catalogues, however, provide not only vital information about a particular genre, its practitioners, and its market, but also an equally important lesson in how to glean information from the glaze on a pot, the curve on a chair leg, the stitch used in an embroidery, or the fabric in a quilt.

The last twenty years have seen vastly increased interest among design historians in using material culture to read society. For example, Adrian Forty's now classic text *Objects of Desire* explicates not only *why* the objects he analyzed look as they do, but what that appearance tells us about the dynamics of industrialization.³⁴ Curator Susan Pearce's work has fundamentally altered understandings of authenticity in museum studies, and both the *Journal of Design History* and the interdisciplinary revue the *Journal of Material Culture*, which first appeared in 1996, largely devoted to encouraging work at the intersection of history, anthropology, and design, have published crucial contributions to this discussion.³⁵ A particularly

²⁹ For a summary of the current place of theory in archaeology, see the essays gathered in Ian Hodder, ed., *Archaeological Theory Today* (Cambridge, 2001), and Christopher Carr and Jill E. Neitzel, eds., *Style, Society and Person: Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives* (New York, 1995).

³⁰ Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," in Jonathan Crary and S. Kwinter, eds., *Zone*, vol. 6: *Incorporations* (New York, 1992), 455–477; Mauss, *The Gift*, trans. W. D. Halls (New York, 1990).

³¹ Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge, 1986), 64–91; Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," *ibid.*, 3–63.

³² Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford, 1987).

³³ Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell Stories of People's Lives* (New York, 1998); Paul Stoller, *Sensuous Scholarship* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1997); Stoller, *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1989).

³⁴ Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society from Wedgwood to IBM* (New York, 1986).

³⁵ Susan Pearce, ed., *Experiencing Material Culture in the Western World* (London, 1997); Pearce, *Museums, Objects, and Collections* (Leicester, 1992).

lively domain of research is design in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries, as well as the changes there since 1989–1991. In an interesting parallel to the work on colonialism, scholars in these fields tell us as much about the workings of power under that regime as about the forms of the goods themselves.³⁶

Architectural historians, from the work of Siegfried Giedion in the 1940s through to the present in such diverse domains as the vernacular architecture of the American South, the structuring and practice of French justice, and the dynamics of colonial power, have made powerful claims for the imbrication of the built environment and the society in which and for which it was constructed. Katherine Fischer Taylor has demonstrated the ways in which the French judicial system was instantiated in the courtroom.³⁷ Architectural historians specializing in American vernacular architecture have persuasively demonstrated that two forms understood to characterize American dwellings—the shotgun house and the front porch—were originally African imports, brought by slaves, and thereby contribute crucial evidence to arguments for the creole nature and racial hybridity of American culture.³⁸ In the domain of colonial history, differences among European conceptions of colonial rule, and their postcolonial effects, have been clarified through investigation of architectural interventions in each nation-state's empire.³⁹

Moving from this overflight, I would now like to offer two examples of historical problems for which the interplay of things and words offers crucial insights. These two cases, furthermore, although separated by a century and a half, both analyze things used within the home in the course of everyday life. They are exemplary, therefore, of the argument made above concerning not only the importance of things to people, but the imbrication of objects, space, and place. The first case focuses on the political use of things during the French Revolution. It examines a discursive silence and material presence in order to suggest a rethinking of the nature of the relation between politics and the private sphere during the revolutionary decade. The second takes a discursive volubility in the context of material loss to shed light on how those defined as Jews by the Nazi and Vichy regimes used goods in their attempts to mourn their past lives and envisage a future in the fall of 1944.

³⁶ David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, "Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-war Eastern Europe," in Reid and Crowley, eds., *Style and Socialism* (Oxford, 1999), 1–24. See also the other essays in that volume, as well as Crowley and Reid, *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc* (Oxford, 2002), and Caroline Humphrey, "Creating a Culture of Disillusionment: Consumption in Moscow, a Chronicle of Changing Times," in Daniel Miller, ed., *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local* (London, 1995), 43–68.

³⁷ Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York, 1949; repr., 1975); Katherine Fischer Taylor, *In the Theater of Criminal Justice: The Palais de Justice in Second Empire Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

³⁸ Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), chap. 9; John Michael Vlach, *By the Work of Their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folklife* (Charlottesville, Va., 1991), pt. III.

³⁹ Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures in Indonesia* (New York, 2000).

ONE OF THE MANY RADICAL INNOVATIONS ascribed by historians to political actors in the decade following the taking of the Bastille in 1789 is the politicization of everyday life.⁴⁰ According to this interpretation, French revolutionaries attempted to republicanize *everything*, from clothing, to language, to song, to the days of the week, to the names of streets and of children.⁴¹ A reading of the scholarship in the history of the decorative arts of this period provides a sharply contrasting image. The vast majority of work on furniture, porcelain, tapestry, and silver slides rather quickly over the Revolution, stating at most that no republican style was created, and that what production there was, was simply derivative of the court styles of the Old Regime. A careful analysis of both the discourse around material culture and the goods produced in these years reveals a more complex story, a story that sheds light on how the division between public and private was constructed during the revolutionary decade.

The historians who emphasize radical change in the everyday are right in that within the space of a few years, French citizens were told that they were to speak a different language, to hear and sing new kinds of music, and to wear different clothing. French people no longer went to church, their roads and towns had unfamiliar names, the boundaries of their *départements* were newly demarcated, their weeks had ten days, their months had a novel nomenclature, and new forms of architecture were hotly debated. Further investigation of both material culture and discursive sources will reveal, however, that French citizens did not find *all* aspects of their material and everyday lives transformed or even discussed. Aside from the quiet commissioning of furniture for the National Convention, interiors, whether of public or private buildings, went largely unmentioned.⁴²

The revolutionaries' definitively documented preoccupation with clothing style, on the one hand, and architecture, on the other, renders this silence particularly intriguing.⁴³ Why attempt to change clothing and the built environment, and not furniture and the other arts of the home? Clothing, architecture, furniture, tapestry, and porcelain are objects with great symbolic capacities; all, in fact, were used by crown and court in the Old Regime to augment their power. I would like to suggest here that this silence on the subject of interior decoration was not simply a result of the brevity of the revolutionary period or of the destruction of the court system,

⁴⁰ This discussion builds on the analysis in my recent essay "Regeneration through the Everyday? Furniture in Revolutionary Paris," *Art History* 28, no. 2 (April 2005): 227–247. A more detailed analysis can be found in my forthcoming book *Cultural Revolutions: Everyday Life and Politics in England, Colonial America, and France* (Oxford, 2006).

⁴¹ In addition to the literature on architecture and clothing cited below, important works on this theme include Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Serge Bianchi, *La révolution culturelle de l'an II: Elites et peuple 1789–1799* (Paris, 1982); Lynn Hunt, "Symbolic Forms of Political Practice," in Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996).

⁴² Hector Lefuel, *Georges Jacob: Ébéniste du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1923); Laurie Dahlberg, "France between the Revolutions, 1789–1848," in Tamara Préaud, ed., *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800–1847* (New York, 1997), 16.

⁴³ There are large literatures on both topics. An excellent recent study on clothing is Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France* (Oxford, 2002); on architecture, James A. Leith, *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares and Public Buildings in France, 1789–1799* (Montreal, 1991), is still the essential text.

as many have suggested, although both were indeed salient. That silence was as much a symptom of the revolutionaries' understanding of the relative importance of the public and the private for political life. Equally noteworthy is the fact that despite the lack of discursive interest, a substantial quantity of self-consciously republican, revolutionary furniture, porcelain, objets d'art, and tapestries was designed, made, purchased, and used. There is, in other words, a discursive absence and a material presence to be explained. First the absence.

At first glance, one might think that the explanation for revolutionaries' unusual silence lies in the material conditions of the relevant crafts; perhaps there was just no time to redesign furniture, porcelain, silver, and tapestries, or perhaps no labor or raw materials were available. Why waste time discussing something one cannot change? The wide-ranging debate on architecture, however, particularly monumental architecture, belies that hypothesis. The examples need not be limited to architecture; revolutionary legislators, journalists, and pamphleteers were voluble on a fantastic array of topics concerning republican design and everyday life, whether practicable or not.

A shared characteristic of all of the topics of intensive revolutionary debate was that they could be understood to concern primarily the *public* world, the world outside the home. Revolutionary-era efforts to reform dress and architecture might appear to contradict this generalization, but it was, in fact, the public manifestations of clothing and building that were the focus of discussion. Most famously, the painter Louis David, when responding to the call for designs for republican dress, concentrated his efforts on defining the differences in attire among those holding various public offices.⁴⁴ Discourses on republican clothing had very little to say about how it might influence familial relations, between either wives and husbands or parents and children. And, in contrast to feminist dress-reform efforts of the next century, there was no interest in an increase in individual freedom of movement or practicality. Changes in the regulation and appearance of clothing were intended to promote—at different moments of the Revolution—liberty of choice or collective identification or political values.⁴⁵

Revolutionary-era architectural projects were, similarly—unless they concerned buildings to which the public would have access—preoccupied mainly with the facades, and with the exteriors more generally. Texts did not discuss, again as later ones would, how living in a dwelling in which space was differently allocated or with a different relation to the outside world might help form republican subjects or inculcate a sense of national belonging.⁴⁶ This is not only a textual omission; in the thousands of extant architectural drawings, little attention was paid to conveying a detailed and powerful sense of the experience of the interior of private buildings. The built environment, like clothing, mattered largely insofar as it shaped people's public, collective experience.

It is therefore no accident that the only furnishings actually commissioned by the

⁴⁴ On David's designs, see Hunt, "Symbolic Forms of Political Practice."

⁴⁵ In addition to the above references, see Lynn Hunt, "Freedom of Dress in Revolutionary France," in Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg, eds., *From the Royal to the Republican Body* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 224–250.

⁴⁶ From the later period, see, for example, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire d'une maison* (Paris, 1873), and César Daly, *L'architecture privée au XIX^e siècle sous Napoléon III* (Paris, 1864).

revolutionary government were for public buildings, ranging from legislative bodies, through schools, city halls, and libraries. The furnishing of citizens' everyday life was of little concern, both because of the liberal separation between a public sphere of state intervention and a private sphere of individual liberty, and because it was not understood to matter politically. The elaboration of a model of a solidaristic public polity resting on a culturally unified private nation would happen gradually over the course of the nineteenth century. The grandchild of the Revolution—the Third Republic—would therefore come to take a great interest in the political and social signification of all of its inhabitants' dwellings.⁴⁷ Despite this lack of official interest in the populace's domestic interiors, however, objects with a clear republican and/or revolutionary theme were, in fact, created and acquired.

Revolutionary-era innovations can be found in all of the arts of the home; from 1789 onward, artisans turned out furniture, decorative plaques, porcelain, pottery, draperies, wallpaper, and knickknacks, either in unornamented indigenous raw materials (emphasizing the principle of equality and patriotism) or decorated with republican symbols, events, and texts.⁴⁸ In the domain of furniture, "republican" design was characterized by solid wood (rather than veneer), indigenous and relatively inexpensive materials (instead of exotic woods and precious stones and metals), and marquetry inlays of Phrygian caps, pikes, and revolutionary texts. Not only did indigenous wood replace imported wood in these pieces, but it was often left in a relatively natural state. While this was no doubt due in part to the constraints posed by wartime austerity, it was coherent with the revolutionaries' valorization of nature. Even if inlay of gemstones or exotic woods or bronzes were too closely associated with court and crown and too costly for the period, the nakedness and humbleness of the wood could have been hidden under paint or colored varnish—neither of which was an expensive technique. In parallel, while carved and turned elements became relatively rare, if present they were used to depict revolutionary scenes and emblems, as can be seen in the chair in Figure 1, whose form is Louis XVI, but which is decorated with the revolutionary symbols of sickles and a sheaf of wheat. This chair was clearly destined for a wealthy consumer eager to show affiliation with the Revolution but not willing to give up luxury to do so; unlike most of the furniture from this epoch, it is crafted from imported mahogany and elegantly upholstered. The enthusiasm of those with means during the revolutionary years for quotidian, domestic reminders of revolutionary principles can also be seen in the cup and saucer in Figure 2. This set was made of fine porcelain, with the surface decoration of the union of the clergy, nobility, and Third Estate painted in gold. The plate shown in Figure 3, by contrast, would have enabled either a modest household to be reminded of and display republican

⁴⁷ On this point, see Auslander, *Taste and Power*, pt. III; Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001); Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France*.

⁴⁸ For further evidence of these objects, see the holdings of the Musée Carnavalet and the Musée de la Révolution française; they can also be found scattered through other French museums and private collections. See also Colin Jones, "Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change," in Colin Lucas, ed., *Re-writing the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1991), 69–118; Pierre Arizzoli-Clémental et al., *Aux armes et aux arts! Les arts de la Révolution, 1789–1799* (Paris, 1988); George Levitine, ed., *Culture and Revolution: Cultural Ramifications of the French Revolution* (College Park, Md., 1989); Michel Beurdeley, *La France à l'encan 1789–1799: Exode des objets d'art sous la Révolution* (Paris, 1981).



FIGURE 1: Mahogany chair with a motif of a wheat sheaf and two crossed sickles, ca. 1790–1792. Jean-Baptiste Sene (1747–1803). Musée de la Révolution Française, Vizille, France. Photograph by Michèle Bellot. Reproduced by permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

sentiments or a wealthier one to inhabit a more egalitarian interior. Finally, some of these objects transcended the public/private divide; the fan in Figure 4, for example, which provided the lyrics and music to a revolutionary song on the side



FIGURE 2: Porcelain Cup and Saucer: "Union" or the "Three Orders," 1789. Produced in Limoges. Musée Adrien Dubouche, Limoges, France. Photograph by Guy Gendraud. Reproduced by permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

held toward the body while the other depicted couples in popular dress, could have been used as a crib sheet in public gatherings and as a visual and tangible reminder of the Revolution within the home.



FIGURE 3: Earthenware plate depicting two crossed tricolor flags holding up the slogan “Vive la liberté,” above which is a crown of laurels. Late eighteenth century. Produced in Nevers. Musée Adrien Dubouche, Limoges, France. Photograph by René-Gabriel Ojéda. Reproduced by permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

The motivation for the production of these objects—generally anonymous—is difficult to establish with certainty. It is likely, however, given the very high rates of revolutionary participation by artisans in the decorative arts industries, that many

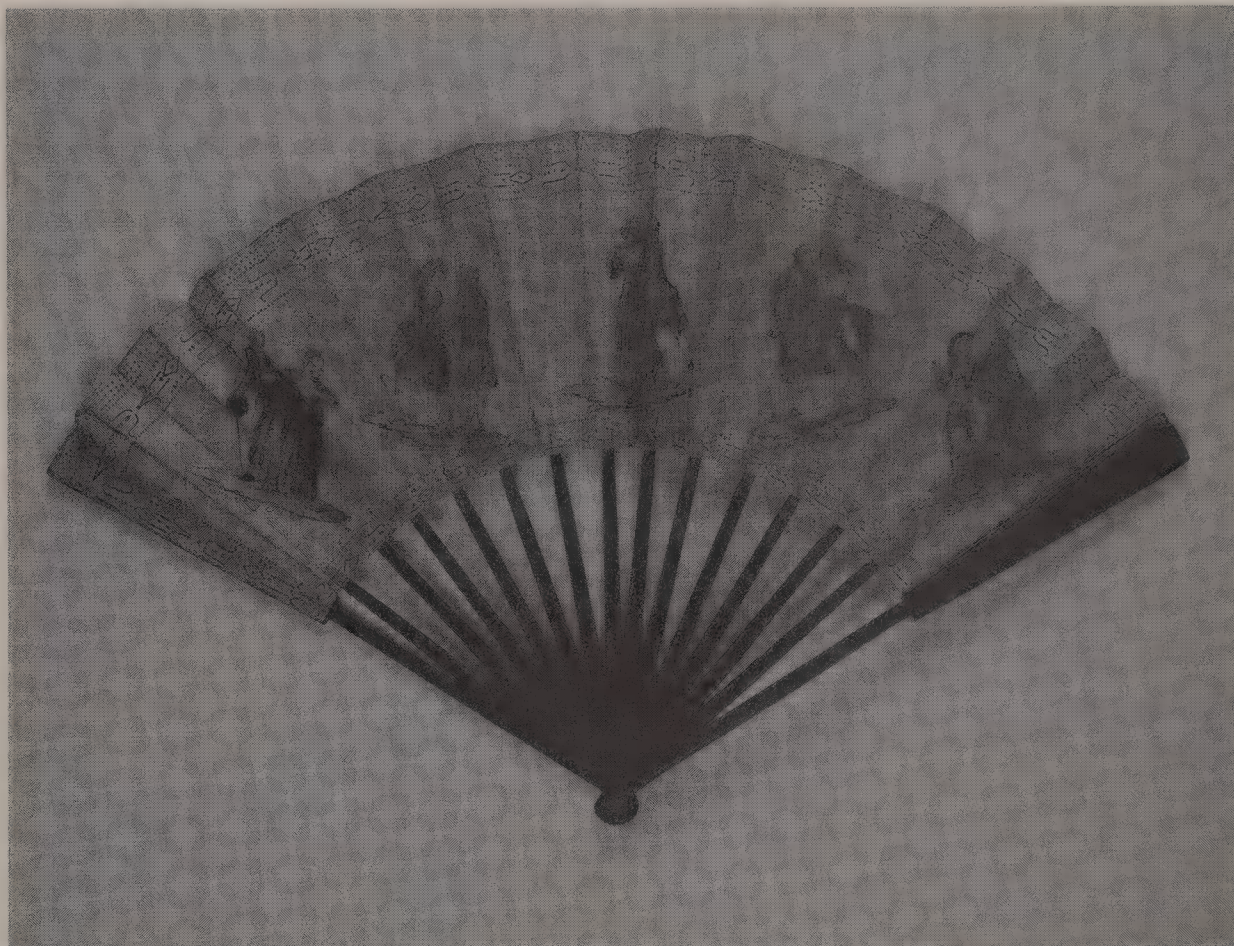


FIGURE 4: Fan of the French Revolution, ca. 1789–1790. Château de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, Rueil-Malmaison, France. Photograph by Gerard Blot. Reproduced by permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

of these objects reflect the convictions of their makers. Producers did not necessarily have the time or the resources to engage in a thorough redesign of their goods, but they wanted, nonetheless, to make them conform to republican principles. One of the styles they had mastered in the last years of the Old Regime, neoclassicism, was, in its references to the Roman republics and Greek democracies, perfectly compatible with current political views. When those forms were inscribed with revolutionary emblems, they became even more appropriate for politically active producers. Artisans would not, however, have made these goods if no one wanted to buy them. But who would want such things? Although they were far less luxurious than furnishings and decorative items from the late Old Regime or the Directory, the purchase of such durable and encumbering, yet fragile, items in the middle of revolutionary upheaval suggests both means and a very powerful commitment to republican principles. Furniture, porcelain, fans, and wallpaper innocent of explicit political meaning were available, and consumers could have simply continued using their prerevolutionary domestic goods. It would appear, therefore, on the basis of the evidence of material culture that at least some French citizens took the politicization of everyday life further than did those writing revolutionary law and political tracts, making their domestic interiors stylistically compatible with the political moment in which they were participating.

This case demonstrates that the most nuanced and richest account of the symbolic dynamics of the French Revolution will be found by melding the approaches of the historian, the decorative arts historian, and the specialist in material culture. Historians' training in the reading of political treatises and action, knowledge of economic and social transformations, and attentiveness to symbolic manifestations across genres as various as fêtes, songs, and clothing are vital. Equally necessary, however, is the specialist knowledge of individual objects produced by historians of the decorative arts. Finally, those who work in the domain of material culture will lend a concern with embodiment and with the particular work done by each form of the material. A very different moment of transition in French history—between the Occupation and Vichy regimes and the return of republicanism—provides a second example of the relation of the material and the discursive.

ONE OF THE CHALLENGES FACING HISTORIANS OF EUROPEAN JEWRY in the decade following World War II is to understand how survivors who stayed in Europe—particularly those who returned “home,” to polities and societies that had, at minimum, cooperated in their persecution—were able to rebuild their lives. The case of French Jews is particularly striking. French Jews, whether citizens or foreigners, wealthy or poor, religious or secular, had been convinced before the war that their place in France was secure and that the French state would protect them.⁴⁹ That integration into the fabric of French life can be read, in part, from the styles they chose for their literal homes.

Whether bourgeois or poor, modernist or historicist, the homes of Parisian Jews in the immediate prewar period very much resembled the homes of non-Jews of their same class, profession, and neighborhood. Most bourgeois Parisian homes, whether Jewish or not, were furnished largely in the style I have called elsewhere “historicist pastiche.”⁵⁰ For example, the home of Mme Blitz, née Ayoun, at 18, avenue de la République in the 11th arrondissement of Paris, is typical of a certain kind of bourgeois dwelling. Her living room was furnished with a contemporary matched set of upholstered armchairs and sofa, a gaming table, a display cabinet, a set of nesting tables, and a woman's writing desk, all in Louis XV style. The only modernist object was a Lalique vase, and the only non-French items were two Chinese vases and the Oriental carpets. Likewise, M. and Mme Léon Adler's home was almost entirely Old Regime in style, including the engravings on the wall, although they also had a bronze by the Third Republican sculptor and caster Barbedienne, a pair of Empire candlesticks, and one Louis Philippe desk. By

⁴⁹ This section of the essay draws on my ongoing research, some of which has appeared in “Coming Home? Jews in Postwar Paris,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 2 (2005): 237–259, and “‘Jewish Taste’? Jews and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life in Paris and Berlin, 1933–1942,” in Rudy Koshar, ed., *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford, 2002), 299–318.

⁵⁰ Leora Auslander, “After the Revolution: Recycling Ancien Régime Style in the Nineteenth Century,” in Bryant T. Ragan and Elizabeth Williams, eds., *Re-creating Authority in Revolutionary France* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 144–174. This conception of national belonging through everyday aesthetics parallels that of Catherine Palmer in “From Theory to Practice: Experiencing the Nation in Everyday Life,” *Journal of Material Culture* 3, no. 2 (1998): 175–199.

contrast, the Azerman household was (with the exception of the maid's room) modernist from floor to ceiling, from the children's room to the salon. Parisians of all classes who, like the Azermans, were engaged in the decorative, fine, or everyday arts as producers, distributors, or consumers tended to express that engagement through modernist interiors. In all cases, Parisian Jews invested affect, time, and money in the creation of domestic interiors that they judged to be appropriate to their profession, their class, and the nation in which they were making their lives.⁵¹

Given this sense of belonging and attachment to their dwellings, the necessity for virtually all Parisian Jews to leave their homes sometime between 1940 and 1944 came as a great shock. Even more stunning to them was French complicity in their persecution. After the liberation of Paris in the summer of 1944, however, despite that complicity, the vast majority of Parisian Jewish returnees sought to come *home* in the strongest sense of that word. They hoped to be reunited with family and friends, and to recuperate their dwellings, their personal possessions, their employment, and in some cases their citizenship. They dreamt of a return to normalcy, of simply picking up their lives where they had left off. Some also hoped for acknowledgment of the injustice of having been persecuted simply for falling into the category of "Jew."

In many ways, their homecoming proved disappointing. Rather than a warm welcome and compensation for wartime injustices, they found their belonging in their homeland (whether native or adopted) questioned, their passports marked with a large red "R," and their literal homes emptied and occupied by others. Most, nonetheless, tried to make a new place for themselves in France. While retracing their route to economic recovery is possible through the tools of social history, it is more difficult to grasp the mechanisms of their psychological and emotional healing. My research on this question in France has suggested to me, very unexpectedly, that an important step in that process was mourning their lost lives through petitioning the provisional government for restitution of the contents of their homes that had been stolen by the German army during the war. Most of these furnishings had been shipped east, but a substantial portion had been abandoned by the Germans as they left Paris during the spring of 1944. In the autumn of that year, the provisional government, faced with immiserated Jewish returnees and goods clearly confiscated from them, created the Service de Restitution des Biens Spoliés (the Office of Restitution of Pillaged Goods, or SRBS) to attempt to reunite these domestic goods with their erstwhile owners. The warehouses and boxcars of unshipped household goods were installed in display rooms. Returnees were notified of the existence of these furnishings and of the procedures for recuperation by a combination of word of mouth, posters, and circulars. In an effort to prevent fraud, returnees (or their representatives) seeking to reclaim goods were asked to write a letter explaining their situation, to submit a precise inventory of the contents of their home at the moment of their departure, and to provide a confirmation from the concierge, owner, or manager of the building that the goods had indeed been confiscated. At the same time, the SRBS made every effort to avoid false hopes. It stated, in the clearest of terms, that unless the dwelling had been pillaged in late

⁵¹ Archives Nationales, Paris, Series AJ 38, carton 5909 for all these dossiers.

spring 1944, the chances of recovery were minimal; the vast majority of goods seized earlier had been shipped east or were otherwise lost.⁵² Those returnees able to establish satisfactory documentation were granted an appointment to visit the display rooms. If the petitioner recognized an item, it was then compared with the previously established inventory; if it was deemed a match, the object was restored (initially as a loan) to its previous owner.⁵³

Petitioners included the rich and the poor, women and men, French and foreign, literate and not, from all neighborhoods of Paris and its suburbs, and they numbered in the thousands. From the fall of 1944 through the winter of 1945, essentially all of the requests for restitution were written by those directly concerned, or their relatives, and, as far as one can tell, without professional or institutional assistance. Some of the letters and their accompanying inventories were grandiloquent, typewritten in elegant French, on good paper (a rarity in wartime Paris), and included elaborated and beautifully descriptive lists of room after room of precious goods. Some of these, like that of the lawyer Nissim Samama, who had lived in the wealthy suburb of Neuilly, included photographs underscoring the extent of their loss. (See Figure 5.) Other inventories, like that shown in Figure 6, described one- or two-room dwellings that doubled as workshops and were written by those whose mastery of French was minimal, whose handwriting was poor, and who had no access to either ink or paper. These returnees compressed their losses into few words, inscribing them in pencil on crumpled, used paper.⁵⁴ The differences in the material and linguistic quality of these documents, as well as of the homes they describe, combined with the equivalence of effort and desire expressed for the return of lost domestic possessions, highlight the shared sense of loss and impulse to re-create those lost homes through narration and depiction across the social spectrum.

The sheer detail of many of these inventories is breathtaking. In February 1944, for example, Bernard Abramovici-Doroy seems to have produced from his hospital bed in Lyon, where he was recovering from his experience as a prisoner of war for three years, a thirty-page handwritten inventory that lists where china, silver, and other things were purchased and in what model.⁵⁵ In parallel, André Chemoul wrote, with the assistance of the concierge, an extraordinarily detailed account of his sister's home. His sister, Edmond-Benjamin Azoulay, had been arrested and deported along with her husband and children on June 16, 1944. The inventory assembled by her brother included a sketch of some of the furniture and a note on the name of the shop in Algiers that had produced the dining room set.⁵⁶ It was not only those who had had many possessions who attempted to conjure them up through illustration; one petitioner had attempted to safeguard the only pieces of

⁵² As historians Annette Wieviorka and Floriane Azoulay have demonstrated, only about 20 percent of the contents of pillaged homes were ever recovered. Wieviorka and Azoulay, *Le Pillage des Appartements et son indemnisation* (Paris, 2000).

⁵³ This is a simplified narrative. Petitioners often went back several times to the showrooms as new goods were displayed. Some attempted to alter their inventories after seeing something that they recognized and had forgotten to note (or that they wanted). The extensive paperwork generated by this process is now stored in the series AJ 38 in the Archives Nationales in Paris.

⁵⁴ For an example of a sketch, see AN 38 AJ 5912, Berno, File no. 286.

⁵⁵ AN 38 AJ 5909.

⁵⁶ Ibid.



FIGURE 5: Photograph of a salon included in a restitution petition. AN 38 AJ 5923, Archives Nationales, Paris. Photograph by Leora Auslander.

furniture he valued—a pair of sideboards—by entrusting them to a friend. When he returned to find them confiscated, his sole restitution claim was a carefully rendered drawing of his buffets. (See Figure 7.)

Recounting in infinite detail was one strategy of retrieving the memory of stolen things; another was to revisit, room by room, one's home on paper. But even within this mode, there was much variation in the trajectories through the home produced by these narratives. Some authors clearly started at the front door and, either in fact or in their mind's eye, retraced the path they most often took through the apartment or house, recounting all the objects they could remember as they took their real or imaginary walk through their now empty home. Some such accounts group like kinds of objects—all of the furniture, then all of the artwork, then all of the textiles, then all of the contents of the furniture—within each room. Others seem to literally go around a room, listing its contents from floor to ceiling. It is possible that such accounts tended to be produced by refugees whose homes were now standing literally empty and uninhabited and who could take the time to retrace and reimagine everyday trajectories. It is also possible that this was a strategy more often used by those who had lived for a long time in the same dwelling, and whose routines were well-established. In either case, it is a mnemonic strategy that emphasizes the physicality of the dwelling rather than the relationships within it. The dwelling itself determines the ordering of the narrative, and insofar as there is a human author, it seems to be as much the architect as it is the

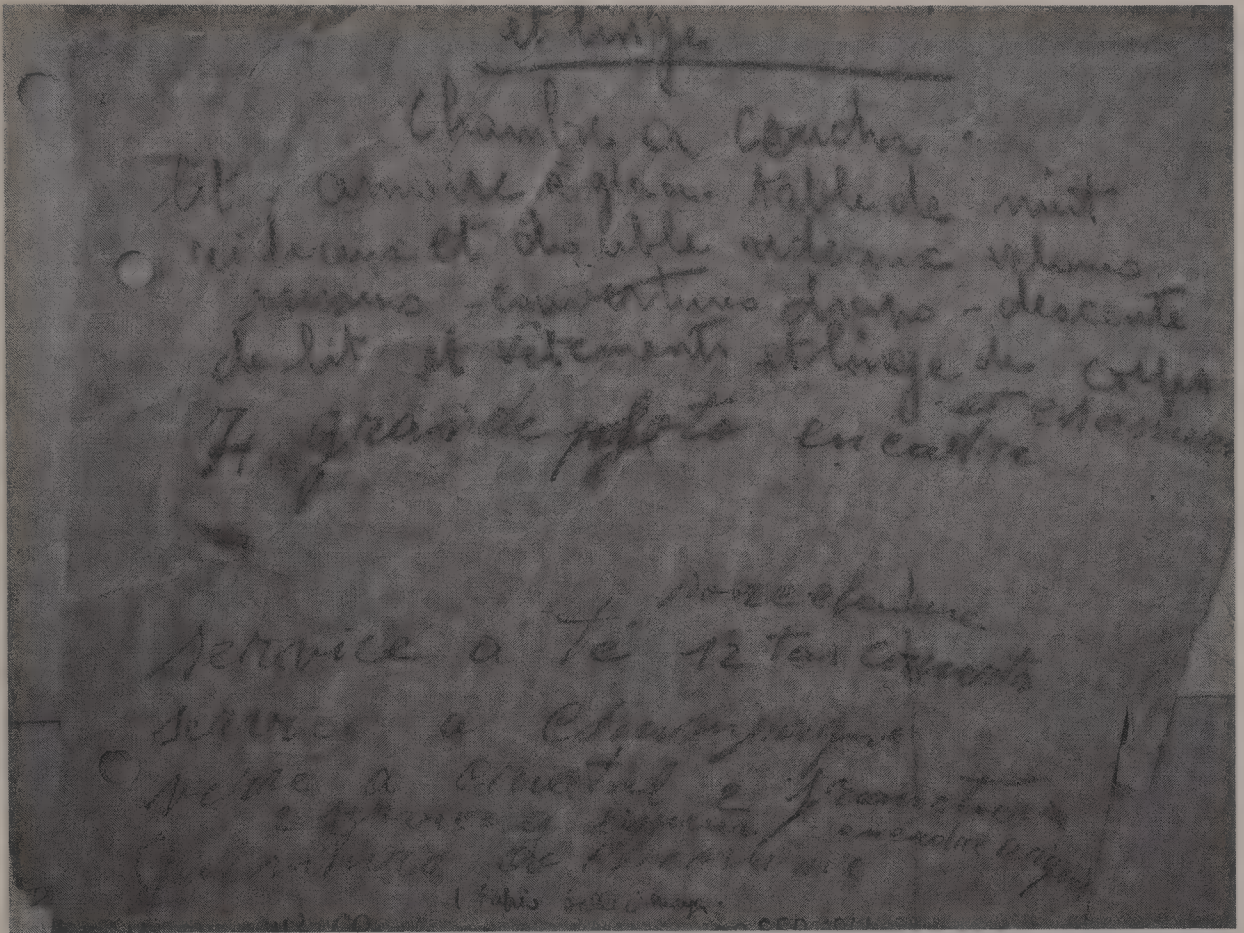


FIGURE 6: Inventory written on scrap included in a restitution petition. AN 38 AJ 5912, Archives Nationales, Paris. Photograph by Leora Auslander.

dispossessed inhabitant. But this kind of narrative, in its tracing of movement through the home, also evokes the repetition in which everyday life is in fact lived. In that evocation of a path trodden several times daily until abruptly it is no longer, one sees the capacity of such a path to be an in some sense all too human memory cue.

A different kind of trajectory, and in fact the more common one, was also organized by room, but seemingly in order of emotional or other priority rather than architectural logic. These narratives are markedly gendered in their ordering. Many of the married women start their accounts in the master bedroom, while many of the married men commence in the dining room. Mme Caracao's inventory, in which she listed the general contents of the master bedroom, second bedroom, study, storage room, and then kitchen (in descending order) on the left-hand side of the paper, while providing more detailed comments about each on the right, provides an example of this mode of remembrance and exposition. (See Figure 8.) Women's greater focus on the bedroom may lie in part in the importance it traditionally played in French dowries. Brides would bring bedroom furniture, particularly the wardrobe, and linens into the household much more often than grooms, while the groom's contribution was more likely to be furniture for the study or dining room. Furthermore, depending on the nature of the marriage contract, the goods the husband and wife each brought into the marriage often remained

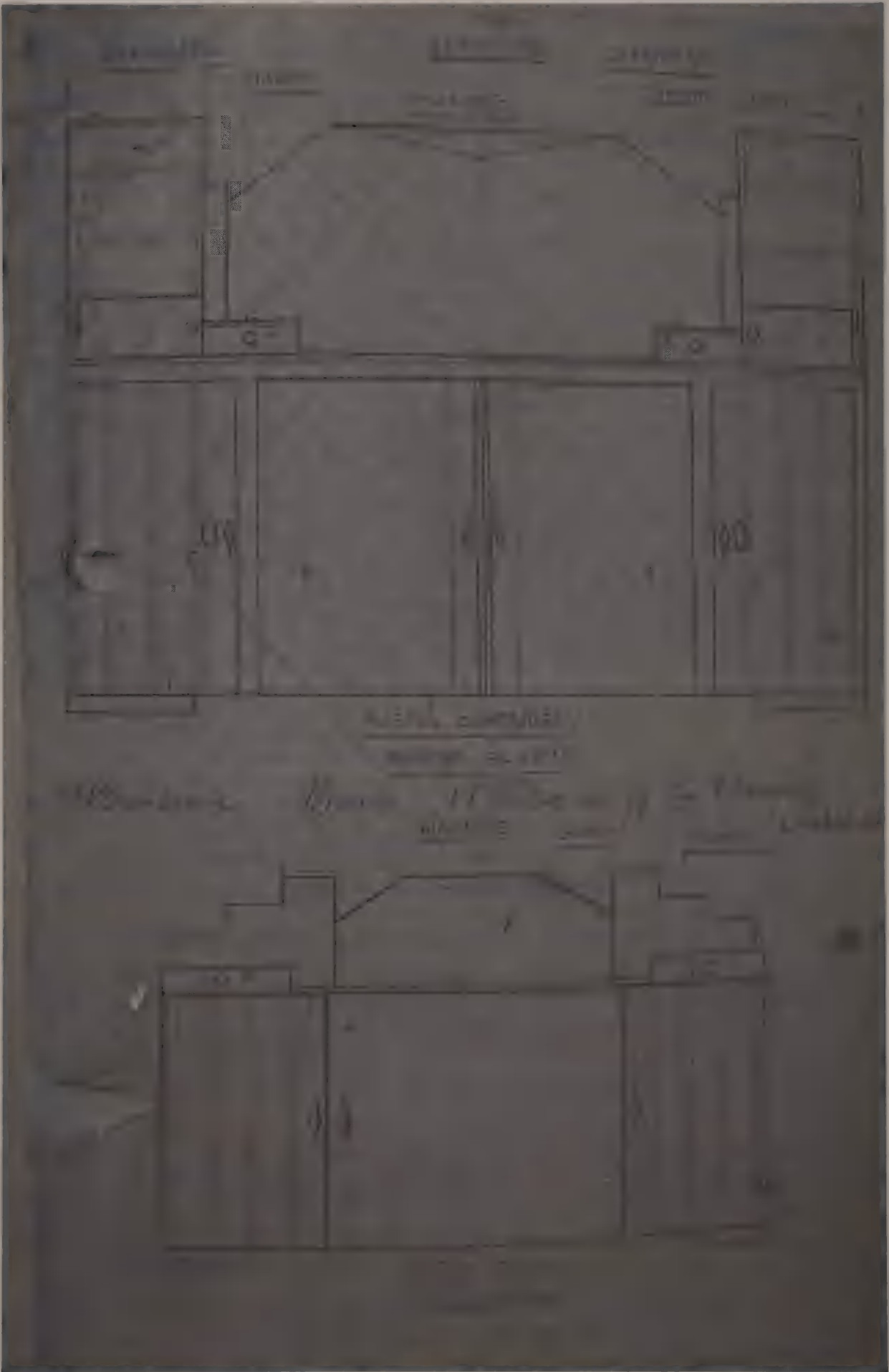


FIGURE 7- Drawing of two sideboards included in a restitution petition. AN 38 AJ 5912, Archives Nationales, Paris. Photograph by Leora Auslander.

Voici mes remerciements. Si vous l'avez agréé
Monsieur. L'assurance de ma haute considération

S. Caracé.

1^{re} Chambre à coucher

- 1 lit avec literie complète
 - 1 armoire à glace
 - 2 fauteuils.
 - 1 tapis.
 - 1 guéridon
 - 1 table à manger
 - 1 table avec tapis.
 - 6 chaises
 - 1 miroir
 - 1 armoire
 - 1 buffet
 - 1 appareil de chauffage électrique
 - 1 grêle de T.S.F
 - 2 tapis ~~de~~ orient
- 2^e Chambre à coucher
- 2 lits garnis
 - 1 armoire à glace
 - 1 table de nuit.
 - 1 fauteuil
 - 1 tapis.

- pièce bureau
- 1 bureau
- 1 lampe de bureau
- 1 fauteuil

pièces de bébé

2 matras et valises

- 1 poussette
- 1 table à cuisine, balais
- 1 fourneau électrique
- 1 fourneau à bois
- 1 réchaud à gaz
- 1 bouilloire électrique
- garnier de réchaud et de
- double vitre

1 armoire à glace contenant de la
lingerie et des vêtements.

dans le buffet se trouvent
de la vaisselle de la cuisine
et un service de table

deux caisses conte-
nant des draps et des lingeries
et un petit lit d'enfant apparten-
nant à mon fils

1 armoire à glace contenant des
draps, des nappes, serviettes
et lingerie

dans les malles se trouvent des
marchandises provenant de la
liquidation de ma boutique
sur le quai St-Jacques

FIGURE 8: Inventory included in a restitution petition. AN 38 AJ 5912, Archives Nationales, Paris. Photograph by Leora Auslander.

legally theirs. The emotional weight of bedrooms may have been increased by the fact that women often embroidered their own linens (stored in the wardrobe) as part of their trousseau, passing hours of their adolescence in that practice in bourgeois families even as late as the 1920s and 1930s. Bedrooms were still often the place both where women gave birth and where the dead were laid out. The fact that the few women listed as single on the inventories tended not to open their reconstruction of their home with the bedroom further underscores its importance as part of a *familial*, rather than individual, construction.

It is possible, however, that men's listing of the dining room before the living room has less to do with their degree of affective connection to the room, and more to do with their sense of privacy. These were, after all, inventories written, at least in the most immediate sense, for the eyes of a state bureaucracy. Given different conventions for the public expression of affectively charged topics, men may have preferred to write, for this public audience, of the most public room in the house. I reached this interpretation after reading Claudine Vegh's introduction to her interviews with adults who as children had lost one or both parents to deportation. She recounts that she was struck by the fact not only that essentially all of her interlocutors chose to conduct the interviews in their homes rather than in a neutral space or in Vegh's apartment, but that they almost always chose to discuss these terribly difficult memories in their bedroom (and not the living or dining room). Almost all also chose to darken the room, only to complain that it was too bright.⁵⁷ It would seem as if both men and women chose the space they found to be the most private, perhaps the most primordial, the most essential to the family, in which to go back to memories of lost parents. Whether the gendered difference in narration was a result of a differing affective charge or a difference in the perception of the appropriateness of public discussion of private matters, it does appear that women's first identification with a space in their home was most often with the bedroom, and men's most often with the dining room.⁵⁸ In neither case does the kitchen, often imagined to be a central site of affect, loom large.

Whether in very large or very small, very rich or very poor dwellings, the kitchen was almost always one of the last rooms to be narrated. The kitchens in working-class households were minimal, often just a corner of a single-room dwelling. Cooking and heating were both accomplished on the same stove. When the kitchen was a separate area, it was a tiny space—a site of production, not sociability. In wealthier homes, kitchens were still occupied almost exclusively by domestic servants and were thus likewise minimal and cramped. One learns from these inventories that in Paris during this period, the significant space connected with food was not where meals were prepared, but where they were consumed.

Dining rooms, therefore, occupy a dominant space in these lists. Married men were most likely to start in the dining room (which also comes first in unmarried women's accounts, but second in most married women's). The dining room and dining room furniture were so important in both men's and women's accounts

⁵⁷ Claudine Vegh, *The ne lui ai pas dit au revoir* (Paris, 1979), 34.

⁵⁸ For a compelling analysis of gendered experiences of objects, see Beverly Gordon, "Intimacy and Objects: A Proxemic Analysis of Gender-Based Response to the Material World," in Katherine Martinez and Kenneth L. Ames, eds., *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture* (Winterthur, Del., 1997), 237, 252.

because that was the principal room for sociability both between the family and guests and within the family. In dwellings that were too small to have two public rooms, the salon was almost always the room to be omitted; single-room dwellings always included some dining furniture.

These “memory maps” were not mere mnemonic devices, however, and these inventories were not simply a response to the possibility of recovery of stolen goods. Such inventories, although generated as a response to a bureaucratic requirement, rarely, in fact, complied with it. The SRBS asked only for the most basic and factual of information—name, date of petition, date of confiscation if known, current address, address during the war, description of objects lost, and attestation of seizure. It was emphatic that goods taken before late spring of 1944 would not be recovered, and that there was no possibility at the time of reparations or granting of a substitute object. Petitioners refused to be limited by either the specific information requested or the warning. Many inventories are far too vague to be of any use in establishing an *exact* identification of a table, lamp, or sewing machine. Others are very detailed and precise, but not usefully so. It did not really help authorities to know that a bed or a set of china had been a wedding gift from one’s great-aunt forty years earlier; nor was it likely that the jam that had been carefully put up in the winter of 1942 was going to be found among the warehoused goods. And more than half the petitions were filed by those whose goods had been stolen well before the late spring of 1944, and whose chances of recovery were therefore nil. These deviations from the mandate suggest that the motivation in filing these claims was only tangentially the possibility of recovery of their lost goods.

These inventories were established for two other pressing reasons, both having to do with trying to heal psychic wounds—the first specific to the loss of personal goods in a democratic polity and consumer society, the second one more universal. The letters accompanying the inventories, as well as memoirs published in later years, make clear that even those who lost “only” their possessions (and not their lives) under the Vichy regime and Occupation felt betrayed by the French state and French society. By failing to protect the property of its inhabitants, the French state had failed to protect their dignity and humanity. The possession of property was central to both individuation and a public existence in three ways: one political, one social, and the last psychological. In the domain of politics, property had long been defined in the French political tradition as necessary for independent adult existence (one of the justifications for the exclusion of servants and, until later, women from the vote, for example, was that they were propertyless and therefore could not freely exercise their judgment).⁵⁹ The social necessity of property was newer, a product of consumer society. The central definition of consumer society is one in which selves and groups are made as much through the goods a person owns as through the way he or she earns a living.⁶⁰ Consumers choose the furnishings of everyday life—clothing, furniture, jewelry, cutlery, dishware—both to reflect back to themselves and to convey to others the person they think they are (or hope to be). Goods were not, then, merely the expression of a preexisting self, but one of

⁵⁹ Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le Sacre du citoyen: Histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris, 1992).

⁶⁰ For an elaboration of this argument and relevant bibliography, see my *Taste and Power* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), especially the introduction.

the means by which the self was constituted. In a consumer society, therefore, the loss of one's possessions entails the partial loss of self. The recounting of every spoon, sock, doll, book, pot, earring, blanket, and chair in a home, the sketching of the sideboard, the recollection of the color of the curtains, the telling of the maker, the model, and the site of purchase of the wedding china—all was a way of trying to reclaim the materiality of life in the abstraction of prose. It was a work of mourning as much as a claim for restitution.

The letters accompanying these inventories support this reading. They, too, did not simply provide the information required by the state; rather, they were used at least to assert rights and often to rage, sometimes at length, against the state and society that had betrayed their authors. In other words, Parisian Jews used the forum inadvertently offered them by the provisional government to start to mourn the passing of lost lives and to imagine the future. They started the process of narrativizing loss. Some of them continued that process for years, in further restitution and then reparations claims, in memoirs, oral histories, research, and fiction.⁶¹

Any effort to understand the wartime and postwar experience of French (and European) Jews that does not take into account the processes by which they were dispossessed of their things and how they lived that dispossession during and after the war will be but a partial and impoverished history. Thus, the apparent incongruity of using this example in which objects exist only in their dematerialized, narrativized form in an essay attempting to persuade historians of the importance of studying objects is not so incongruous after all. That objects can speak so loudly even when they no longer exist is a clear indication of their importance in human lives and histories.

THE TWO EXAMPLES TOGETHER DEMONSTRATE that historians can learn a great deal both from the objects with which people interact every day and from the insights that other disciplines bring to their study. A study of both the contemporary discourse on material culture and a variety of objects themselves in the period of the French Revolution reveals the complexity of the boundary between public and private and the politicization of both during the revolutionary decade. The evidence suggests that those advocating the transformation of the everyday were both more limited in their ambitions and more persuasive than has been thought. "Ordinary" producers and consumers took the mandate for a republican aesthetic seriously and sought not only to experience it in the street, at festivals, or in government buildings, but to live with it in the intimacy of their homes. It further suggests that assumptions concerning both the coercive politicization of everyday life "from above" and the ubiquity of that politicization are in need of additional research and reflection. The second example demonstrates the capacity of material culture both to provide new perspectives on classic questions and to open new domains to historical analysis. A reading, from the standpoint of material culture, of the texts

⁶¹ For a parallel account of the importance of narrating lost homes, see Bahloul, *La maison de mémoire*, particularly chap. 9.

that historical subjects produced about their things and their homes provides insight into the relationship between Jewish returnees and the French state and society and into the relationship between people and their homes as well as processes of mourning and healing.

Finally, these two examples also demonstrate that historians should not understand ourselves to be simply the consumers of other disciplines' theories, analyses, knowledge base, and techniques. We also have, I would argue, a particular contribution to make to interdisciplinary reflection on material culture. That contribution lies in our discipline's capacity to move among object, theory, and a wide variety of texts. While archaeologists often have objects but not texts, art historians representations but not objects, scholars of literature texts but no objects (and generally only texts of a limited kind), historians most often have access to both text and object as well as the craft skill to read wills, inventories, minutes of committee meetings, and tax returns with as much facility as novels or political treatises. Equally important is our discipline's continued commitment, despite the theoretical and methodological challenges such an effort poses, to the goal of understanding, interpreting, and perhaps even explaining the world beyond the text or the object. A willingness to think abstractly about the universal and particular meanings of things, to think technically and precisely about material culture, and to continue to engage in the textual analysis and archival work that is our stock-in-trade will enable us to provide better answers to existing historical questions and to pose new ones, as well as to contribute to ongoing discussions of the material world.

A final step remains. There is, of course, a paradox embedded within this essay. I have argued that historians should include material culture within our range of canonical sources because people use things differently than words, and because such usages are not fully translatable into words. And yet, not only do words play a key role in both of my examples, but the essay is argued in prose and images (and not in objects). This is, in part, a product of the conventions of our profession and of current technical limits; scholarly journals are still produced on paper. Media with three-dimensional imaging are available, however, and may enter mainstream scholarly usage soon. The existence of these technologies will enable and oblige us to think more clearly about the nature of communication and expression, in both the past and the present, by both the subjects/objects of our analysis and ourselves.

Leora Auslander is Professor of Modern European Social History at the University of Chicago. This essay is a product of her long-standing engagement with the question of the meaning of things and the possibilities of material culture as a source for historians. The cases in the essay are drawn from her two current projects, the first on the place of material culture in the English, American, and French Revolutions (to be published by Berg Press in the coming year) and the second on Jews, material culture, and memory in France and Germany in the interwar and postwar years. Among her previous publications on the topic is *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, 1996).

AHR Forum
**The Debate over the Constitutional
Revolution of 1937**

Introduction

ALAN BRINKLEY

MOST HISTORIANS AND LEGAL SCHOLARS AGREE that a major change in constitutional jurisprudence occurred in the 1930s. For decades before the Great Depression, according to this almost uncontested story, the Court had been resolute in its defense of the doctrine of liberty of contract—a position most clearly articulated by the 1905 *Lochner* decision and sustained ever since. The Court had also been generally, if not consistently, committed to a narrow reading of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, exemplified by the *E. C. Knight* decision of 1895. Together, these convictions sustained a constitutional regime that consistently limited the power of the state to intervene in the affairs of the private economy. That regime survived largely unchanged through the first third of the twentieth century and into the early years of the New Deal. By the end of 1936, the Court had struck down a series of legislative efforts by the Roosevelt administration to extend the federal government's role in shaping and regulating economic life. The president and his allies feared that the justices were on the verge of dismantling the New Deal's achievements altogether.

Beginning in 1937, however, the Court appeared conspicuously to change course. Over the next decade and beyond, it dramatically expanded its view of Congress's power over economic activity. The Court also became more active in incorporating new, but far from universal, social and cultural norms into its reading of the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment. Although the Warren Court of the 1950s and 1960s is the most renowned example of a modern "liberal" jurisprudence, the changes in the Court were becoming visible more than a decade before Earl Warren became chief justice.

But if there is relatively little disagreement about the timing and significance of this jurisprudential change, there has been considerable debate in recent years over why it happened. This debate came as something of a surprise to many historians, most of whom had long accepted the arguments of Roosevelt's contemporaries and of the first great historians of the New Deal—most notably William E. Leuchten-

burg¹—that there was a reasonably simple, political explanation for the Court's change of course.

In early 1937, shortly after his landslide reelection victory, Franklin Roosevelt introduced to Congress what became known as the "Court-packing plan," which would have permitted the president to nominate a new justice to the Court for every sitting justice over the age of seventy. Since the Court in 1937 was unusually aged, the plan would have allowed Roosevelt to appoint six new members immediately, and thus decisively shift the ideological balance among the justices. The plan created a political firestorm and did considerable damage to the president's standing within his own party and among the public. But according to more than a generation of scholars, it also frightened the justices themselves, at least one of whom, Owen Roberts, appeared to switch positions in response to the growing political pressure and to begin supporting New Deal legislation. Since many of the anti-New Deal decisions of the Court prior to 1937 had been the result of 5–4 decisions, Roberts's shift proved decisive in changing the balance of the justices. This "switch in time," as a columnist allegedly quipped in the 1930s, had "saved nine," dooming Roosevelt's Court-packing plan, but also removing the Court as an obstacle to New Deal legislation.

Over the last decade or so, this comfortable consensus has come under attack, as a group of historians and legal scholars have argued that the Court's changing positions were not a response to Court packing at all, but a natural and understandable evolution of constitutional thinking that began long before 1937 and continued for many years after. The Court did not change because of politics. It changed because of an intellectual evolution within the judicial world itself over the proper relationship between the state and the national economy, evidence of which was the narrow balance of many of its decisions in the 1930s. Roberts's apparent shift in 1937 was a logical continuation of a change in his legal thinking, and the thinking of others, that had been in progress for some time.²

This Forum brings together several of the leading figures in this lively new debate. Laura Kalman, an eminent legal historian, attempts to reconcile the two arguments, while conceding that the truth behind the motivations of Owen Roberts, the key figure in this story, may never be known. William E. Leuchtenburg, the most eminent proponent of the earlier view of a Court responding to political threats, offers a richly documented picture of a Court stubbornly resisting change until the political pressures on it grew nearly intolerable. And G. Edward White, who is among the group of scholars now challenging the traditional "switch in time" position, offers a portrait of a Court struggling to adapt its positions to changing times, but doing so firmly within the boundaries of "the doctrinal and interpretive edifice of constitutional decisions."

What is at stake in this argument? Not, certainly, the question of whether the

¹ William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York, 1996).

² See, e.g., Barry Cushman, "Rethinking the New Deal Court," *Virginia Law Review* 80 (1994): 201, 260–261; Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution* (New York, 1998); Richard Friedman, "Switching Time and Other Thought Experiments: The Hughes Court and Constitutional Transformation," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 142 (1994): 1891–1984; G. Edward White, *The Constitution and the New Deal* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

Court changed directions in the 1930s. Virtually all scholars accept that it did. Nor is the central question as simple as whether the shift in judicial thinking in 1937 was sudden or gradual. What drives this debate are more basic questions that have been at the forefront of both political and scholarly debate for generations.

One of these questions involves the role of the judiciary in U.S. history. At almost every moment during the more than two hundred years since the adoption of the Constitution, judges and justices have encountered criticism and, at times, organized opposition from those who believe that they have made political rather than legal judgments and that they have exercised undemocratic power by thwarting the will of the people and their elected leaders. In the first decades of the republic, a movement emerged to strip the power of interpretation from judges by codifying common law—transforming legal principles based on careful reading of precedents into statutes written and enacted by legislatures. “In republics,” one critic wrote in the early nineteenth century, “the very nature of the constitution requires the judges to follow the letter of the law.” Judicial interpretation, another argued, was a violation of “the prerogative of the legislature, for those that made the laws ought to give them meaning when they are doubtful.”³ The codification movement failed, but it was only one of many examples of assaults on what some citizens of the early republic called “judge-made law” as an undemocratic force in American life.

As William Novak has shown, community leaders and local judiciaries through much of the nineteenth century felt almost wholly unconstrained by the federal courts in asserting an extensive local police power over speech, behavior, and economic life in ways that were often at odds with national constitutional norms.⁴ Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, Populists, Socialists, progressives, and many others, all at times expressed dismay at the behavior of the courts, and of the federal courts in particular, denouncing them as bulwarks of conservatism and protectors of the interest of moneyed elites.

The New Deal assault on the Court in 1937—although the most legislatively significant challenge to the institution—was only one of many twentieth-century expressions of unhappiness with the seemingly antidemocratic impact of the judiciary. After World War II, when the Court itself moved to the left, the attacks on the justices began to come primarily from the right, but with similar justifications. Since the 1980s, as the Court—and the judiciary generally—have moved to the right, contempt for the institution has emerged again from the left. These consistent criticisms, running throughout U.S. history, have placed a heavy burden on those who believe in the integrity and necessity of an independent judiciary. They have had to struggle against powerful opposition in their efforts first to legitimize and then to defend the role of the courts.

The debate over the courts has, unsurprisingly, closely paralleled the continuing debate over the meaning of the Constitution. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, in particular, skeptics have challenged the long-held belief that the

³ Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 17–18, 257–258.

⁴ William Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

Constitution provides a kind of fundamental law for the United States.⁵ Many have come to argue, instead, that the Constitution is little more than an institutional framework for an ever-changing set of legal norms. The law, such critics have argued, is neither pure nor timeless. It is, and has always been, the product of a political process, in which judges are only a part. The legal realists of the 1930s—many of whom became part of the Roosevelt administration and whose ideas Laura Kalman has so successfully illuminated⁶—provided an early intellectual justification for this view. The critical legal theorists of more recent decades have posed even more radical challenges to the traditional notion that the evolution of the law is a largely internal process, insulated from politics and based on constitutional principles and the gradual accumulation of precedent.

But scholarly debates, particularly when they mirror impassioned political debates, often create sharper differences than historical evidence supports. The impressive scholarly arguments presented here most starkly by William Leuchtenburg and G. Edward White are, in fact, not nearly as incompatible with one another as the rhetoric surrounding this issue suggests. The members of the Supreme Court in the 1930s were surely aware of the power of the New Deal and the threat it had raised in 1937 to their power and traditions. The justices certainly knew, and resented, the savage attacks they were receiving from their critics. But that is not itself conclusive evidence that the *West Coast Hotel* decision, or any other decision, can be understood simply as a pragmatic response to political pressure. Similarly, the doctrinal evolution that White describes—like all doctrinal evolutions—did not exist in a vacuum. It represented, as all political and judicial thinking does, an awareness of changing social and political norms. Judicial decisions are almost always a result of both “internal” constitutional principles and “external” social, cultural, and political influences. Stark disagreements in scholarly discourse, much like stark disagreements in popular political discourse, often mask a far more complex reality in which two seemingly opposed positions are in fact more compatible with one another than they seem.

The debate over the so-called constitutional revolution of 1937 is about a great deal more than what Owen Roberts was thinking when he voted in *West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish* to support a Washington State minimum wage law, thus signaling a significant departure from the 1905 *Lochner* decision and limiting the power of “freedom of contract” to prevent legislatures from regulating economic behavior.⁷ The so-called internalist argument—that the road to *West Coast Hotel* was paved with a gradual series of prior judicial rulings that made the 1937 decision unsurprising and without need of political explanations—is, intentionally or not, a defense of

⁵ In response to the growing demand from the right in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries for a “literal interpretation” of the Constitution, historians have sought to demonstrate that even among the framers themselves, there were many different interpretations of the document—that there is, in fact, no clear “original intent” to which later generations can usefully refer. See, for example, Jack Rakove, *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution* (New York, 1996), and Lance Banning, *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995).

⁶ Laura Kalman, *Legal Realism at Yale, 1927–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986).

⁷ Charles Evans Hughes, in his majority opinion arguing that freedom of contract had to compete against other interests, wrote: “What is this freedom? The Constitution does not speak of freedom of contract.” *West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379 (1937).

a view of the law as a self-regulating process that is not fundamentally shaped by the politics of the moment. The so-called externalist argument—that the “constitutional revolution of 1937” was a product of political pressure from the New Deal, and from the particular threat that the Court-packing plan raised—is, again intentionally or not, part of the long-standing claim that the courts and the law have always been part of the political world, and that the claim of judicial insulation from the hurly-burly of a constantly changing society is a mythological construct with no basis in reality.

Rather than choosing between these two well-developed arguments (a choice that Laura Kalman maintains is virtually impossible to make on the basis of the available evidence), scholars might do better to consider how these seemingly conflicting claims are really two complementary parts of the complex process by which the Constitution is, and has always been, interpreted by the Courts.

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"SAY! I'M FLYIN' THIS KITE!"



"Say! I'm Flyin' This Kite!" Drawing by unknown artist, originally published in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* on March 11, 1937. Reproduced courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

AHR Forum
The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal

LAURA KALMAN

The central problem of modern constitutional law is how to reconcile the idea of fundamental law with the modernist insight that meanings are fluid and historically changing.¹

THE “CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION OF 1937” MAKES FOR DRAMATIC LECTURES. According to the abridged story line, first the Court led liberals to hope for the best by upholding state legislation aimed at fighting the Depression in 5–4 opinions in *Blaisdell* and *Nebbia* in 1934. Then it vitiated the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act—the centerpieces of the early New Deal—in *Schechter* and *Butler* in 1935–1936, and struck down the Railroad Retirement Act as well in *Alton*. Soon afterward, a bare majority bent on protecting property rights and privileging the market routinely struck down New Deal and state redistributive legislation designed to cope with the Depression. Thus Justice Owen Roberts joined the “conservative” Willis Van Devanter, George Sutherland, Pierce Butler, and James McReynolds to invalidate a state minimum wage law for women and children in the June 1936 *Tipaldo* decision as an unconstitutional violation of the “liberty” interest in the Fourteenth Amendment’s due process clause—just as five justices had struck down a state law establishing a ten-hour day for bakers in the 1905 *Lochner* case and a federal minimum wage statute for women and children in the 1923 *Adkins* case. But suddenly, a year after *Tipaldo*, “it became clear that *Lochner* and progeny were dead or dying.” On March 29, 1937, the justices stupefied many by handing down *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, a 5–4 decision by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, joined by Roberts, overruling *Adkins* and sustaining a state minimum wage statute for women virtually identical to the one invalidated in *Tipaldo*. Although the Court did not overrule *Lochner* in *Parrish*, it began the process of laying “the *Lochnerian* Constitution” to rest, breaking with the liberalism of the Progressive Era and apparently constitutionalizing the New Deal—a process

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¹ Morton Horwitz, Foreword, “The Constitution of Change: Legal Fundamentality without Fundamentalism,” *Harvard Law Review* 107 (1993): 32–117, 116.

completed by Memorial Day. An amazed Felix Frankfurter said that Roberts's "somersault" bore no relation to the judicial process.²

When did the Court shift and why? In the 1930s, most Court watchers agreed with Frankfurter. They looked to political pressures. They pointed out that *Parrish* was announced five months after Franklin Delano Roosevelt had won his huge victory in 1936, and seven weeks after the president had announced his plan to add one justice to the Supreme Court for each one over the age of seventy who did not retire, up to fifteen justices. Further, two weeks after *Parrish*, Hughes and Roberts joined just three colleagues to uphold the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act in *Jones & Laughlin*, a decision that took an expansive view of the commerce clause and national power seemingly at odds with their recent positions in *Carter Coal* and, additionally, for Roberts, in *Alton*. Six weeks later, on May 24, with Roberts again in the majority, the Court upheld the unemployment insurance and old age insurance provisions of Social Security, apparently taking a broader view of the taxing and spending power than Roberts had in *Butler*.³

The cumulative effect was to convince many that Hughes and Roberts had "gone over" to join the three "liberal" justices acceptant of the New Deal. It was the Court, it seemed, that had somersaulted, signaling its willingness to uphold the

² *Home Building & Loan Assn. v. Blaisdell*, 290 U.S. 398 (1934) (upholding the Minnesota Moratorium Law of 1933, which provided for a conditional moratorium on debtors' mortgage payments against a charge that it violated the contracts clause); *Nebbia v. New York*, 291 U.S. 502 (1934) (upholding emergency New York legislation during the Depression that set milk prices against the claim that it violated due process); *A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. U.S.*, 295 U.S. 495 (1935) (invalidating the National Industrial Recovery Act because the statute unconstitutionally delegated legislative power to the president, and the poultry code at issue had only an indirect connection to interstate commerce); *U.S. v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1 (1936) (striking down the processing tax at the heart of the Agricultural Adjustment Act); *Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton Railroad Company*, 295 U.S. 330 (1935) (striking down the Railroad Retirement Act of 1934 as a violation of the Fifth Amendment's due process clause and the commerce clause); Daniel Farber, "Who Killed Lochner? The Constitution and the New Deal," *Georgetown Law Journal* 90 (2002): 985–1005, 985 ("progeny"); *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45 (1905); *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525 (1923) (invalidating the District of Columbia's minimum wage for women and children); *Morehead v. New York ex rel. Tipaldo*, 298 U.S. 587 (1936) (applying *Adkins* to strike down a New York minimum wage law for women); *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379 (1937) (upholding the Washington State minimum wage law for women); Bruce Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 342 ("Lochnerian"); James Henretta, "Charles Evans Hughes and the Strange Death of Liberal America," *Law and History Review* 24 (forthcoming, 2006) (developing the argument about the break with progressivism); Barry Friedman, "The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part Four: Law's Politics," *Pennsylvania Law Review* 148 (2000): 971–1064, 1026, n. 247 (Frankfurter). The phrase "constitutionalizing the New Deal," of course, leaves unanswered the questions of what the New Deal and its constitutional vision were. See Colin Gordon, "Rethinking the New Deal," *Columbia Law Review* 98 (1998): 2029–2053, 2033–2036; William Forbath, "The New Deal Constitution in Exile," *Duke Law Journal* 51 (2001): 165–221.

³ *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1 (1937) (upholding the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which guaranteed collective bargaining rights to employees producing goods for interstate commerce, and one of a series of cases involving the National Labor Relations Act; the others were *NLRB v. Fruehauf Holding Trailer Co.*, 301 U.S. 49 [1937]; *NLRB v. Friedman-Harry Marks Clothing Co.*, 301 U.S. 58 [1937]; *Associated Press v. NLRB*, 301 U.S. 103 [1937]; *Washington, Virginia & Maryland Coach Co. v. NLRB*, 301 U.S. 142 [1937]); *Carter v. Carter Coal Co.*, 298 U.S. 238 (1936) (striking down the Guffey Coal Act's wage, hours, and price regulation provisions; see especially the majority opinion at 302 insisting that "[m]ining is not interstate commerce, but like manufacturing, is a local business, subject to local regulation and taxation"); *Steward Machine Co. v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 548 (1937) (unemployment insurance); *Helvering v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 619 (1937) (old-age insurance); and see *Carmichael v. Southern Coal & Coke Co.*, 301 U.S. 495 (1937) (upholding an Alabama state unemployment insurance act).

same sweeping national/state economic regulation under the due process clause, the commerce clause, and the taxing and spending power that it had previously invalidated. And this flip-flop drained public and congressional support for Court packing. Indeed, the Court's behavior seemed calculated to undermine that support, since it became harder for FDR to claim that he needed additional justices to protect his program. The Court had engaged in "self-salvation by self-reversal," realizing that if it "balked, the court bill would surely pass." It beat the president "by surrendering to him," particularly after Van Devanter's resignation in May 1937—another step planned by Roosevelt's opponents to defeat Court packing—gave the president his first judicial vacancy. Thus Court packing failed. The tangled skeins of legal doctrine, the New Dealers crowed, in a judgment echoed at the time by political scientists Edward Corwin and Benjamin Wright, had capitulated to political exigency. A "constitutional revolution" had occurred.⁴

But that was hardly the last word. Once on the Court, Frankfurter himself somersaulted. He grew close to Justice Roberts, who wrote a memorandum insisting that he had been unswayed by politics. Roberts maintained that his positions in *Tipaldo* and *Parrish* were actually reconcilable. The Court had not been asked to overrule *Adkins* in the former, as it had been in the latter. Further, he had originally cast his vote in *Parrish* to overturn *Tipaldo* in December 1936, before Roosevelt announced his Court-packing plan; the normal business of the Court delayed announcement of *Parrish* until afterward. Frankfurter published the document when Roberts died in 1955, at a time when the Court was under attack—this time for "liberal" judicial activism, as opposed to the "conservative" judicial activism of the 1935–1936 Court. Frankfurter hoped to prove that his colleague had remained true to "law." Meanwhile, Hughes and his authorized biographer maintained that the chief justice had also demonstrated consistency throughout the controversy, and that "[t]he Court acted with complete independence." Predictably, some found Frankfurter, Roberts, and Hughes unpersuasive, pointing out, for example, that while Roberts did indeed cast his vote in *Parrish* before Roosevelt's announcement of his plan, he did so after the 1936 election. Thus it was that a vigorous debate occurred about the timing of, and reasons for, the Court's behavior.⁵

Instead of dying down, the controversy has, of late, been reignited. Today there is even a shorthand by which those involved in it often identify our position. We are either "externalists" or "internalists." Externalists argue for the importance of politics, making the case that Roberts and Hughes, and therefore the Court,

⁴ Joseph Alsop and Turner Catledge, *The 168 Days* (New York, 1938), 147, 143, 206; Leonard Baker, *Back to Back: The Duel between FDR and the Supreme Court* (New York, 1967), 179 ("defeated"); Edward Corwin, *Constitutional Revolution, Ltd.* (Claremont, Calif., 1941), 12, 64; Benjamin Wright, *The Growth of American Constitutional Law* (New York, 1942), 200–208, 256–258.

⁵ Felix Frankfurter, "Mr. Justice Roberts," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 104 (1955): 311–317; and see Michael Ariens, "A Thrice-Told Tale, or Felix the Cat," *Harvard Law Review* 107 (1994): 620–676, coming close to suggesting that Frankfurter himself wrote the Roberts memorandum, a theory that Richard Friedman has disputed in "A Reaffirmation: The Authenticity of the Roberts Memorandum, or Felix the Non-Forger," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 142 (1994): 1985–1995; Charles Evans Hughes, *The Autobiographical Notes of Charles Evans Hughes*, ed. David Danelski and Joseph Tulchin (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 313 ("independence"); Merlo Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes*, 2 vols. (New York, 1951), 2: 766–772; John Chambers, "The Big Switch: Justice Roberts and the Minimum-Wage Cases," *Labor History* 10 (1969): 44–73.

dramatically changed course during the “constitutional revolution of 1937” because of the threat posed by the 1936 election and/or the Court-packing plan. Internalists highlight the primacy of law over politics, pointing to doctrinal changes that began well before 1937 and continued afterward, to say that there were plausible intellectual reasons for the Court’s journey and that no sudden shift took place.

In this article, I explore the debate’s recent history. To make the case for the desirability of interdisciplinary scholarship, and despite the risk of reifying disciplinary boundaries, I stress how participants’ disciplinary homes affect their contentions. First I consider the case made by externalist political historians for the Court’s “switch” under political pressure. Then I show how constitutional law professors and the Supreme Court itself became increasingly interested in the Court-packing episode and its significance during the 1980s and 1990s. Next I examine the internalist case made by historians in law schools during the 1990s. I then maintain that internalists, externalists, and law professors ignored evidence from political science casting Court packing in a different light. I conclude that the “externalist” and “internalist” categories are useless and intertwined and do not describe our approaches, and that we should adopt the standard postrevisionist tactic of aiming for synthesis.

BY THE 1980s, THE DEBATE ABOUT whether “law” or “politics” caused what happened on the Court was losing steam. Despite Paul Murphy’s insistence on the timeliness of reclaiming it, constitutional history was as unfashionable as its sibling political history. Insofar as there was interest in the Court, the focus was on the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. Historians demonstrated that the justices whom Charles Beard and other Progressives had vilified as the willing servants of the rich were in fact defending older U.S. constitutional values of individualism, liberty, economic opportunity, state neutrality, federalism, and free labor. Like Charles Warren before them, they stressed that *Lochner* was the exception rather than the rule, and that the “old Court” Progressives so despised had actually upheld a great deal of regulation. But revisionists left the New Deal alone.⁶

⁶ Paul Murphy, “Time to Reclaim: The Current Challenge of American Constitutional History,” *AHR* 69 (October 1963): 64–79. Early revisionists included Alan Jones, Charles McCurdy, and Michael Les Benedict. Alan Jones, “Thomas M. Cooley and the Interstate Commerce Commission: Continuity and Change in the Doctrine of Equal Rights,” *Political Science Quarterly* 81 (1966): 602–627; “Thomas M. Cooley and the Michigan Supreme Court, 1865–1885,” *American Journal of Legal History* 10 (1966): 97–121; “Thomas M. Cooley and ‘Laissez-Faire Constitutionalism’: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of American History* 53 (1967): 751–771; Charles McCurdy, “Justice Field and the Jurisprudence of Government-Business Relations: Some Parameters of Laissez-Faire Constitutionalism, 1863–1897,” *Journal of American History* 61 (1976): 970–1005; “American Law and the Marketing Structure of the Large Corporation, 1875–1890,” *Journal of Economic History* 38 (1978): 631–649; “The Knight Sugar Decision of 1895 and the Modernization of American Corporation Law, 1869–1903,” *Business History Review* 53 (1979): 304–342; Michael Les Benedict, “Laissez-Faire and Liberty: A Re-evaluation of the Meaning and Origins of Laissez-Faire Constitutionalism,” *Law and History Review* 3 (1985): 293–331. For Warren, see William Novak, “The Legal Origins of the Modern American State,” in Austin Sarat, Bryant Garth, and Robert Kagan, eds., *Looking Back at Law’s Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), 249–283, 262; for *Lochner* as an exception, see John Semoneche, *Charting the Future: The Supreme Court Responds to a Changing Society, 1890–1920* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 181, 429–430, 434; Melvin Urofsky, “Myth and Reality: The Supreme Court and Protective Legislation in the Progressive Era—A Reinterpretation,” 1983 *Yearbook of the Supreme Court Historical Society*, 53–72; and Urofsky, “State

At this point, most historians of the Constitution and the New Deal probably agreed that the Court had changed course quite suddenly in 1937 because of political pressure. William Leuchtenburg had convinced us that such was the case. In a dazzling series of essays based on exhaustive research in the most out-of-the-way archives, Leuchtenburg showed how the battle lines between FDR and the Court hardened before the 1936 election; the long gestation of the Court-packing plan; why FDR did not confront the Court sooner; why, when he did, he launched a disingenuous and frontal attack, initially requesting additional justices to help the Court handle its overcrowded docket, rather than because the Court was overturning the New Deal, and instead of a constitutional amendment limiting judicial power; how FDR ingeniously paved the way for a compromise plan that would have permitted the appointment of new justices just when his fortunes were lowest; and the consequences of the failure of Court packing.⁷

While the president lost the skirmish with the Court, he won the battle. The election of 1936 may have played a role. After reviewing Van Devanter's papers, Leuchtenburg was convinced that "he and men like him seriously thought a Republican victory possible in 1936," and although FDR stayed silent about the Court during the 1936 campaign, others did not. But the real threat, in Leuchtenburg's view, came after the election. In 1970, Leuchtenburg said that the Court, led by Chief Justice Hughes, "a very adroit politician and also a man with a sense of the need to preserve the integrity of the Court as an institution," beat "a strategic retreat . . . largely in response to the Court-packing plan." The result was the Court's "astonishing about-face" and the "constitutional revolution of 1937," which

Courts and Protective Legislation in the Progressive Era," *Journal of American History* 72 (1985): 63–91. For excellent surveys of this literature, which discusses later revisionist work as well, see William Wiecek, *The Lost World of Classical Legal Thought: Law and Ideology in America 1886–1937* (New York, 1998), 254–270; Gary Rowe, "The Legacy of *Lochner*: *Lochner* Revisionism Revisited," *Law & Social Inquiry* 24 (1999): 221–252; Barry Friedman, "The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part Three: The Lesson of *Lochner*," *New York University Law Review* 76 (2001): 1383–1455; Stephen Siegel, "The Revision Thickens," *Law and History Review* 20 (2002): 631–637.

⁷ The most important of these were Leuchtenburg, "The Origins of Franklin D. Roosevelt's 'Court-Packing' Plan," *The Supreme Court Review*, 1966, 347–399; Leuchtenburg, "FDR's 'Court-Packing' Plan," in Harold Hollingsworth and William Holmes, eds., *Essays on the New Deal* (Austin, Tex., 1969), 69–115; and Leuchtenburg, "FDR's Court-Packing Plan: A Second Life, a Second Death," *Duke Law Journal* 1985 (1985): 673–689. Versions of these essays were included in Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York, 1995). Michael Parrish provided an excellent survey of the earlier literature about Court packing in history and political science, while noting the tendency of revisionist political historians of the New Deal to ignore it, in "The Hughes Court, the Great Depression, and the Historians," *The Historian* 40 (1977): 286–308. Parrish himself made the case for a "constitutional revolution of 1937," while also crediting the Hughes Court with important advances in civil liberties and civil rights, in "The Great Depression, the New Deal, and the American Legal Order," *Washington Law Review* 59 (1984): 723–750, 728–735. Parrish has reevaluated the evidence more recently in light of the internalist evidence in *The Hughes Court: Justices, Rulings, and Legacy* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 2002). He suggests that the Court-packing plan and "external" political events, such as "rising Democratic majorities in Congress, Roosevelt's decisive reelection, [and] mounting evidence of real class warfare," including the sit-down strikes of December 1936–1937, may have influenced the Court's 1937 decisions, while maintaining that neither Hughes nor Roberts engaged in "a dramatic jurisprudential leap. The evidence is considerably stronger in this regard for Hughes than for Roberts, but the behavior of both justices remains something of a mystery." *Ibid.*, 178–179, 183, 38. In the disagreement over the Hughes Court, its expansion of civil liberties and civil rights is not in contention. See, e.g., Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 245–252; Barry Cushman, "The Secret Lives of the Four Horsemen," *Virginia Law Review* 83 (1997): 559–584; Parrish, *The Hughes Court*, 128, 177.

transformed the Court's business, "ended, apparently forever, the reign of laissez faire," and legitimated the arrival of "the Leviathan State."⁸

Yet although the battle was won, the war was lost. As Leuchtenburg also demonstrated, Court packing divided Democrats and undermined middle-class and bipartisan support for the New Deal. It shattered FDR's aura of invincibility, helped "blunt the most important drive for social reform in American history," and "squandered" the president's 1936 triumph by welding together a coalition of conservative Southern Democrats and Republicans that blocked reform in Congress until 1964.⁹

These essays appeared between the late 1960s and the mid-1980s as offshoots of Leuchtenburg's two-volume constitutional history of the 1930s in progress. In 1995, he collected them in *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt*. Among historians, the timing was good. Political history was just beginning to rebound.¹⁰ The emphases on ideology, thought, institutions, language, politics, and culture in the profession proved more compatible with political history than social history had been. Most of Leuchtenburg's fellow twentieth-century political historians, such as Alan Brinkley, were inclined to accept his conclusions. Their books, textbooks, and biographies have continued to maintain that the Court prudently shifted its "ideological ground" under pressure.¹¹ Historians in law schools reacted more skeptically.

BY THIS TIME, LEGAL HISTORY IN LAW SCHOOLS had expanded to include constitutional history. G. Edward White and others like him, who had received their Ph.D.s in history or American Studies and gone to law school as the job market for historians collapsed, had revived American legal history when they became law professors.

⁸ William Leuchtenburg, "The Great Depression and the New Deal," reprinted in Leuchtenburg, *The FDR Years: On Roosevelt and His Legacy* (New York, 1995), 208–235, 222–223 (Van Devanter, "adroit," "strategic"); Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 216, 235–236.

⁹ Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 157.

¹⁰ Ibid., ix. See Mark Leff, "Revisioning U.S. Political History," *AHR* 100 (June 1995): 829–853. One indicator of the rebound was a 1995 OAH panel on the fortunes of political history, organized by Steven Gillon, in which Brinkley, Elizabeth Cohen, Sara Evans, Leuchtenburg, James Patterson, and I participated. The room was full. One had the feeling that political historians were celebrating our return from the wilderness. "Scholars Pack Historians' Meeting," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 14, 1995. But only Leuchtenburg and I showed any interest in Court packing. Consequently, I disagree with G. Edward White, who suggests that externalists' defensiveness is a function of both the rise of "revisionist work in constitutional jurisprudence and the disaffection of current political historians with mainstream versions of the conventional account." G. Edward White, *The Constitution and the New Deal* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 22. The point is not that contemporary political historians lack interest in *mainstream* versions of the account. It is that they lack interest in the constitutional account, whether "mainstream" or "internalist," because "mainstreamers" and "internalists" have been so busy lobbing criticisms at each other that we have not taken the time to try to convince political historians of the relevance of New Deal constitutional history for their work.

¹¹ Roger Corley, "Was There a Constitutional Revolution in 1937?" in Stephen Shaw, William Pederson, and Frank Williams, eds., *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Transformation of the Supreme Court* (Armonk, N.Y., 2004), 36–59, 36. See, e.g., David Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War* (New York, 1999) ("ideological ground"), 337 ("ideological pressure"); Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York, 1995), 19; James Davidson, William Gienapp, Christine Heyrman, Mark Lytle, and Michael Stoff, *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic* (New York, 2001), 844; Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (New York, 2003), 413.

Most such individuals originally stayed away from constitutional history, perhaps because constitutional scholarship in the 1970s was “relentlessly ahistorical,” and perhaps because, except during Watergate, constitutional history had joined political history in the dumpster. Legal historians were having enough trouble making their own field less marginal without teaching constitutional history, which would have been dismissed as irrelevant and old-fashioned. Most historians who landed in law schools wrote about private law.¹²

But in the 1980s, there was a resurgence of interest in history in the academy. “Interdisciplinarity” became a buzzword in law schools, with history seen as indispensable to constitutional scholarship. For one example, Bruce Ackerman turned from political philosophy to constitutional law in the 1980s and drew upon history to advocate a theory of popular sovereignty, which allegedly empowered a mobilized “we the people” to engage in creative “higher lawmaking” during the Founding, Reconstruction, and the New Deal, and which had the practical effect of amending the Constitution. In such “constitutional moments,” Ackerman said, the judiciary fulfilled the function that Alexander Hamilton envisioned for it in *Federalist* 78 by serving as the voice of the people.¹³

Such work reflected constitutional scholars’ sense that their field had reached a dead end for which history offered a fix. For liberals, it also arguably reflected an effort to fight the fire of the Reagan administration’s politically conservative celebration of original intent with fire—or liberal originalism.¹⁴ It all meant that legal history could no longer be relegated to the children’s table in law schools, and constitutional history got to sit with the grownups, too.

Another key moment occurred in 1992, when the Supreme Court handed down *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, which reaffirmed the constitutional right to abortion upheld in *Roe v. Wade*. The joint opinion by Justices Sandra Day O’Connor, David Souter, and Anthony Kennedy and the dissents by Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justice Antonin Scalia addressed the “lessons” of “1937.” All the Reagan-Bush appointees had obviously thought about the “constitutional revolution of 1937” and, like Leuchtenburg, concluded that the Court had changed direction because of political pressure and to save itself as an institution. And all seemed emphatically grateful that their New Deal predecessors had “switched.”¹⁵

That was not to say that the Rehnquist Court endorsed the New Deal agenda or

¹² G. Edward White, “Cabining the Constitutional History of the New Deal in Time,” *Michigan Law Review* 94 (1996): 1392–1421, 1394, n. 6 (marginalization); White, “The Arrival of History in Constitutional Scholarship,” *Virginia Law Review* 88 (2002): 485–632, 560 (“relentlessly”). White links the ahistorical nature of constitutional scholarship during this period to the triumph of modernism during the 1930s, *ibid.*, 558–570; I discuss the approach of the legal academy to history during this period in Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 68–77. See also Harry Scheiber, “Introduction: The Bicentennial and the Rediscovery of American Constitutional History,” *Journal of American History* 74 (1987): 667–674. While White has shown interest in constitutional thought, law, and judging throughout his career, he wrote at length about private law at the beginning. G. Edward White, *Tort Law in America: An Intellectual History* (New York, 1980).

¹³ Bruce Ackerman, *Social Justice in the Liberal State* (New Haven, Conn., 1980); Ackerman, “The Storrs Lecture: Discovering the Constitution,” *Yale Law Journal* 93 (1984): 1013–1072. I discuss Ackerman’s intellectual journey throughout Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*.

¹⁴ For my version of this story, see Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 132–163; for White’s, see “The Arrival of History in Constitutional Scholarship,” 570–614.

¹⁵ *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, 505 U.S. 833, 862, 961–962, 998 (1992); *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973).

a broad vision of constitutional change. Simultaneously and suddenly, it struck a blow for federalism. In 1995, in *U.S. v. Lopez*, and for the first time since “1937,” the Court stunned many by invalidating the Gun-Free School Zones Act on the grounds that Congress had exceeded its power under the commerce clause. The decision augured poorly for Congress and the regulatory state. The Supreme Court struck down twenty-three congressional statutes in the next five years in a “constitutional counterrevolution” that, at least in terms of the number of times the battle was joined, proved more vigorous than that launched by any other Court over a comparable period. “All of the sudden, the talk *among progressives* is of complaints about judicial supremacy and the hegemony of the Supreme Court,” one progressive law professor noted. It was “the early 1900s all over again, and one might as well forget that the Warren Court happened in the middle.” Progressives became even more alarmed in 1995, when Judge Douglas Ginsburg of the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals spoke wistfully of restoring “the Constitution in Exile” that had existed before the Supreme Court constitutionalized the federal and state regulatory legislation of the New Deal. Consequently, the legacy of the New Deal came under attack by the Court at just the moment that the Court signaled its interest in constitutional change during the New Deal.¹⁶

So New Deal scholarship became hot in the early 1990s—not just for political historians, but for constitutional law scholars, too. But as one of the latter said, the externalist approach seemed “too historically contingent.” Did law professors really want to believe that the big questions could be “answered primarily by what Owen Roberts was thinking in 1937”? Perhaps not, but the *Casey* opinions showed that “1937” had become a parable for those who sought to make claims about the relationship between law and politics. Where Leuchtenburg had focused on their interrelationship during the New Deal, some would extrapolate, using the evidence about the Court’s behavior during the 1930s as a building block toward the argument that it always acted politically. At such charged moments, revisionist historians who challenge the consensus often receive considerable attention. Thus it was that 1937 became “a battleground.”¹⁷

¹⁶ *New York v. U.S.*, 505 U.S. 144 (1992) (ruling that certain provisions of the Low-Level Radioactive Waste Policy Amendments, enacted by Congress to rationalize radioactive waste disposal, exceeded congressional power and violated the Tenth Amendment); *U.S. v. Lopez*, 413 U.S. 549 (1995); Neal Devins, “Congress as Culprit: How Lawmakers Spurred On the Court’s Anti-Congress Crusade,” *Duke Law Journal* 51 (2001): 435–464, 440 (“counterrevolution”); Thomas Keck, *The Most Activist Supreme Court in History: The Road to Modern Judicial Conservatism* (Chicago, 2004), 40, 203–208; Barry Friedman, “The Cycles of Constitutional Theory,” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 67 (2004): 149–174, 162 (“All” [emphasis in the original], “early”); Jeffrey Rosen, “The Unregulated Offensive,” *New York Times*, April 17, 2005, sec. 6, col. 1, 42 (“Constitution in exile” movement); see also Randy Barnett, *Restoring the Lost Constitution: The Presumption of Liberty* (Princeton, N.J., 2004). Of course, there were also progressive “shadow constitutions or constitutions-in-exile.” Mark Graber, “Rethinking Equal Protection in Dark Times,” *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law* 4 (2002): 314–339, 334; Forbath, “The New Deal Constitution in Exile”; Mark Tushnet, *Taking the Constitution Away from the Courts* (Princeton, N.J., 1999); Larry Kramer, *The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review* (New York, 2004).

¹⁷ Friedman, “The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part Four,” 1048, 972; and see Morton Horwitz, address at the 1998 Association of American Law Schools Annual Meeting, Law & Interpretation: “Interpreting ‘1937,’” January 1998, tape 182.

THE TURN TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE NEW DEAL by historians teaching in law schools became apparent in 1994, when the University of Virginia held a symposium on the topic. It showcased the work of Barry Cushman, a thirty-four-year-old Virginia J.D.-Ph.D. His dissertation director had been Charles McCurdy, one of the few in a history department who had continued writing constitutional history during its lean years and whose work challenged the Progressive understanding of the Gilded Age Supreme Court as the agent of the trusts, while underlining how attorneys for big business had nonetheless manipulated the Court to their advantage. Cushman had not chosen his dissertation to be trendy. In fact, he had originally set out to write about the constitutional culture of the 1920s. But the developments described here may have helped to create interest in Cushman's work, which argued for the same kind of investigation of ideology and the "internal component" of the New Deal cases that revisionists had undertaken of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. "The initial conceptualization of the 1937 decisions in externalist terms—as a political response to political pressures—has deflected scholars from inquiring into the plausibility of an internal component to a more comprehensive explanation of the New Deal Court's behavior," Cushman maintained. He criticized "externalist[s]," such as Leuchtenburg, for "substitut[ing] the language of political science for the legal language in which the Justices discussed these issues" and reducing "constitutional jurisprudence to a political football."¹⁸

Cushman blamed "our stalled and impoverished understanding of the New Deal Court" on externalists who attributed it to the 1936 election and/or to Court packing. Instead of laying out a full alternative explanation, he launched a detailed challenge against "anachronistically unsophisticated" externalism. "For the past fifty years, we have heard reiterated a constitutional bedtime story with a happy ending for New Deal liberals," he concluded. "Unfortunately, it has put us to sleep."¹⁹

Those were fighting words. Responding, Leuchtenburg charged in *The Supreme Court Reborn* that Cushman had "contemptuously dismissed the conclusion of two generations of scholars." And, he said, Cushman "reached that judgment without the benefit of any original research in the papers of the Justices, . . . without scrutinizing most of the cases of the era and, in particular, without coping with the arguments of Justices such as Stone who had no doubt" that the Court had suddenly switched direction.²⁰

Leuchtenburg and Cushman would write about each other's work more respectfully later, but in the meantime, others poured oil on the flames. I entered the fray with a four-page footnote hailing Leuchtenburg's narrative and characterizing Cushman's as "unpersuasive." Then G. Edward White, a University of Virginia Law School legal and constitutional historian, published a review of *The Supreme Court Reborn* contending that Leuchtenburg provided "a conventional, traditionalist

¹⁸ Barry Cushman, "Rethinking the New Deal Court," *Virginia Law Review* 80 (1994): 201–261, 205–206, 257; Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution* (New York, 1998) (1920s).

¹⁹ Cushman, "Rethinking the New Deal Court," 208, 261.

²⁰ Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 317–318, n. 95.

view” that did not even attempt “the task of any new history, that of cabining a historical era in time.”²¹

The full statement of what would be considered the “internalist” case—despite the fact that it was not completely “internalist”—came in 1998, with publication of Cushman’s revised dissertation, *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution*. It turned out that Cushman had done a great deal of research indeed. He argued that the “constitutional revolution” began not in 1937 but in 1934, in *Nebbia v. New York*. Central to Roberts’s 5–4 opinion for the majority, there was a rejection of the “public/private distinction,” which had characterized classical legal thought since the 1870s, with law supposedly relegated to the public sphere, and the Court insisting that the state could regulate private property only when it was “affected with the public interest.” Roberts abandoned the “affected with the public interest” doctrine in *Nebbia*, announcing that regulations of private property would violate due process only if they were arbitrary or discriminatory. He pulled the doctrinal thread that eventually unraveled the old jurisprudence in *Parrish*. Using battle metaphors, Cushman concluded: “The empire of substantive due process was already in a state of collapse when the *Parrish* decision officially lowered the flag over its last colony.”²²

What was more, Cushman said, the Social Security cases, which were handed down in May when “backing for the Court-packing plan was at its ebb,” were easy and marked no real reversal in taxing and spending power jurisprudence. Some of the supposedly most conservative justices approved of the unemployment insurance provisions of the Social Security Act. In his dissent, Justice Sutherland, joined by Justice Van Devanter, objected “only to certain easily correctable provisions of the Act.” Sutherland and Van Devanter were part of the seven-person majority voting to uphold the act’s old-age provisions. *Jones & Laughlin*, too, was consistent with what had gone before. The real transformation in commerce clause doctrine, according to Cushman, did not come until FDR put new justices on the Court who decided *Darby* and *Wickard* in the early 1940s. Here was the “jurisprudential Rubicon”: small wonder that the Court upheld every economic regulation enacted pursuant to the commerce clause until *Lopez*. Thus the three externalist landmarks of 1937—*Parrish*, *Jones & Laughlin*, and the Social Security cases—were no milestones. The “constitutional revolution of 1937” was an act of doctrinal evolution occurring between 1934 and 1942.²³

Neither FDR’s 1936 triumph nor Court packing had much to do with this evolution. The Court had gutted New Deal legislation after “the Democrats’

²¹ Kalman, “Law, Politics, and the New Deal(s),” *Yale Law Journal* 108 (1999): 2165–2213, 2165–2166, n. 3 (Leuchtenburg and Cushman’s subsequent discussions of each other’s work); Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 348–351, n. 70; White, “Cabining the Constitutional History of the New Deal in Time,” 1392.

²² The book won the AHA’s Littleton-Griswold Prize.

²³ Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 22, 20, 217; *U.S. v. Darby*, 312 U.S. 100 (1941) (upholding the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which provided wages and hours regulation for all employees in industries involving products shipped in interstate commerce, to the hours and wages of workers in a Georgia lumberyard, whose operations were exclusively intrastate, and overruling *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U.S. 251 [1918]); *Wickard v. Filburn*, 317 U.S. 111 (1942) (upholding the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 against the challenge that federal power to regulate commerce did not extend to a farmer who produced and consumed wheat he never marketed). See note 28 for discussion of Cushman’s analysis of *Jones & Laughlin*.

spectacular success in 1934.” Why would Roosevelt’s landslide have changed the Court’s behavior? Law moved the Court. Cushman blamed the Court’s 1935–1936 decisions on the fact that, unlike the 1935 legislation that the Court upheld in 1937, the early New Deal statutes were badly drafted, and the government chose bad test cases and argued them poorly.²⁴

Fear of Court packing could not have explained the Court’s actions in 1937 any more than the election did, according to Cushman. Despite the timing of their announcement, the 1937 decisions that externalists fetishized were reached either before FDR announced his Court-packing plan, in which case Court packing could not have caused them, or after it became clear that Congress would not sustain it. According to Cushman, the justices knew by late February “that the opposition had the votes to sustain a successful filibuster, if not to defeat the bill outright.” If true, this might have persuaded some that the justices were anything but inattentive to politics and congressional tea leaves. But for Cushman, it supported the conclusion that since the justices had “ample reason” to doubt FDR’s success, the Court-packing plan was “unlikely to have been the proximate cause of the Constitutional Revolution of 1937,” which was not a constitutional revolution anyway. The externalist hypotheses about 1936 and Court packing, he insisted, were as implausible as the theory “that the Court decided cases the way it did . . . because the Yankees won the 1936 World Series.”

Thus Cushman brilliantly poked holes in the externalist hypothesis. He said that the Court’s regulatory decisions were more complicated and the jurisprudential changes more subtle than the externalists maintained. And in a surprising twist, while criticizing the externalists for equating law with politics, Cushman maintained that politics helped explain the Court’s behavior. Ultimately, his explanation for jurisprudential change focused on Hoover’s appointment of Roberts, Hughes, and Benjamin Cardozo and FDR’s eight appointments to the Court, who transformed commerce clause jurisprudence after the Court-packing crisis ended. So, Cushman concluded, ironically, the Supreme Court *had* followed election returns and law followed politics, just not the way externalists claimed.²⁵

CUSHMAN HAD COMPANY. BEGINNING IN 1994, Richard Friedman, a University of Michigan law professor whose Oxford dissertation had focused on Hughes’s chief justiceship, also called “the constitutional revolution of 1937” into question. Friedman’s tone was measured and experimental, and he thanked Leuchtenburg for reading his work in manuscript. Yet like Cushman, Friedman said that the significance of Roberts’s opinion in *Nebbia* had been overlooked. He also agreed that the Social Security cases reflected no major change in taxing and spending jurisprudence. As Friedman pointed out, Roberts had approved a broad, Hamiltonian approach to the general welfare clause in *U.S. v. Butler* even as he attacked

²⁴ Ibid., 25, 36–40. Oddly, Cushman relied on Schlesinger’s distinction between the “First New Deal” of 1933 and the “Second New Deal” of 1935 here, although it had long since been complicated by historians. See Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston, 1960), 393–395; Kalman, “Law, Politics, and the New Deal(s),” 2196, n. 217.

²⁵ Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 20, 23, 32, 224–225.

federal legislation for the majority. When he became part of the majority that upheld Social Security, Roberts was simply implementing that view, which, as both Friedman and Cushman observed, had conservative support.²⁶

Unlike Cushman, however, Friedman did not agree that Court packing was so obviously doomed from the outset that the justices had no reason to fear it, although he subscribed to Cushman's "weaker conclusion, that the Justices had reason to believe that total and immediate surrender was not necessary." Friedman conceded, though, that there might have been *some* odd shifts, even acknowledging the possibility that Roberts's vote in *Parrish* might have been explained by the hostile reaction outside the Court to *Tipaldo*. But as he observed, Roberts would not have required the 1936 election results to understand the unpopularity of *Tipaldo*, which Democrats and Republicans reviled upon release.²⁷

The two scholars also disagreed over the commerce clause, with Friedman suggesting that Hughes's *Carter Coal* vote had been an anomaly corrected in *Jones & Laughlin*, while Roberts's *Jones & Laughlin* vote reflected a "legitimate change . . . in his views," which may have reflected his capacity for growth, rather than his surrender to political pressure. More significantly, Friedman and Cushman differed over *Jones & Laughlin*'s significance. Where Cushman did not find the case extraordinary, Friedman maintained that it represented the "climactic moment in the development of Commerce clause doctrine," while observing that it did not change everything. Even *Darby* and *Wickard*, Friedman said, "continued to articulate a demand that there be a real nexus between the matter regulated and interstate commerce," which meant "there was always a possibility that, sooner or later, a majority of the Court would rule that Congress had transcended the broad limits on its power," as it did in *Lopez*. Cushman remained certain that Thermidor did not occur until *Darby* and *Wickard* and maintained that "over time, *Wickard* came to be understood as standing for the proposition that there were no judicially enforceable federalism limitations on the commerce power." That was why *Lopez* stunned Court watchers.²⁸

²⁶ Richard Friedman, "Charles Evans Hughes as Chief Justice, 1930–1941" (D.Phil. diss., Oxford, 1979); Friedman, "Switching Time and Other Thought Experiments: The Hughes Court and Constitutional Transformation," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 142 (1994): 1891–1984, 1955–1957. Friedman is at work on the Holmes Devise volume about the Hughes Court.

²⁷ Richard Friedman, "Taking Decisions Seriously: A Review of *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution*," *Journal of Supreme Court History* 24 (1999): 314–324, 316 ("weaker"); Friedman, "Switching Time," 1947–1953. In explaining why Roberts did not seize on *Nebbia* at the close of the 1935–1936 term in *Tipaldo*, however, Cushman pointed not just to the Roberts memorandum (see note 5), but to the different approaches of Roberts and Hughes toward precedents they disliked (here, *Adkins*); Hughes's insistence on short conferences as chief justice and uneasiness about lobbying colleagues outside them; and the difficult and exhausting nature of the 1935–1936 term, which might well have made Hughes and Roberts even less inclined to communicate with each other about the desirability of disposing of *Adkins*, as opposed to distinguishing it, at its end. Cushman also suggested that the Roberts memorandum could have reflected an attempt by Roberts to protect Hughes from embarrassment by casting blame elsewhere. Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 92–104.

²⁸ Friedman, "Switching Time," 1973 ("legitimate"); Friedman, "Charting the Course of Commerce Clause Challenge," *Arkansas Law Review* 55 (2003): 1055–1096, 1056 ("climactic"); Friedman, "The Sometimes-Bumpy Road of Commerce Clause Doctrine," *ibid.*, 981–1007, 1004, 1005 ("continued," "possibility"); Cushman, "Small Differences?" *ibid.*, 1097–1148, 1146 ("time"); Cushman, "Continuity and Change in Commerce Clause Jurisprudence," *ibid.*, 1009–1054, 1043–1046.

How to explain the behavior of Hughes and Roberts in *Jones & Laughlin*? For Cushman, again, it

At bottom, as Friedman said, what united him and Cushman was more important than what divided them: "Like him, I believe that there is no persuasive evidence that the 1936 election or the Court-packing plan produced the celebrated decisions of the spring of 1937, and like him I believe that changes in the personnel of the Court were the principal cause of constitutional transformation." Beyond that, they agreed on the importance of "treating the work product of the Justices seriously." Indeed, Friedman cautioned readers against "chortling" over the disagreements and reaching the "weak inference" that if Cushman and Friedman differed about "why Hughes and Roberts acted as they did, it apparently makes more likely the hypothesis that political pressure accounted for their behavior. But that would be the wrong inference. The strongest reason for rejecting the overt political explanation is that there is no support for it other than a brief and not unprecedented flurry of liberal decisions while the Court-packing plan was pending."²⁹

comes back to *Nebbia*. He focuses on Hughes's "deformalization of the direct/indirect distinction" in commerce clause doctrine in *Jones & Laughlin*, "the first current of commerce case the Court saw in the post-*Nebbia* era." There, according to Cushman, Hughes drew on Roberts's "deformalization of the public/private distinction" in *Nebbia* and synthesized it with "the current of commerce" doctrine articulated in the Progressive Era case of *Swift & Co. v. United States* (196 U.S. 375 [1905]), making *Jones & Laughlin* consistent with what had gone before. Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 170, 174–175. Friedman, though, maintains that the chief justice's opinion in *Jones & Laughlin* was consistent with his "long-held views," characterizing his concurrence with the majority in *Carter Coal* as "mysterious." Friedman, "The Sometimes Bumpy Road," 995. He speculates that the concurrence may have reflected the chief justice's desire "to ask the public to consider changing the Constitution rather than blame the Court if it did not like the Court's decisions," perhaps intended as "more a public plea than a statement of legal conclusion." Friedman, "Charting the Course of Commerce Clause Change," 1083.

Roberts is another story. Friedman contends that Roberts's willingness to join the majority in *Jones & Laughlin* indicated "a sharp break in his thinking about national powers" and is difficult to reconcile with his previous "very right-wing opinion" in *Alton* striking down the Railroad Retirement Act. Friedman, "The Sometimes Bumpy Road," 995; "Switching Time," 1968. But he maintains that Roberts's behavior in *Jones & Laughlin* was largely unaffected by Court packing or the 1936 election. Friedman, "Switching Time," 1967–1974. Cushman remains confident that Hughes "meant what he appears to have meant" in *Carter Coal* and that *Jones & Laughlin* did not represent a major break for either Hughes or Roberts. Cushman, "Small Differences," 1124. Although he acknowledges that Justice Roberts "pummeled the Act to a bloody pulp" in *Alton*, Cushman nevertheless reminds us that Roberts's opinion left open the possibility that what the Court could not achieve through the Commerce Clause, it might nevertheless achieve through other means, as Congress subsequently did through the Carrier Taxing Act and Railroad Retirement Act. Cushman, "The Hughes Court and Constitutional Consultation," *Journal of Supreme Court History* 1 (1998): 79–111, 89; Cushman, "Lost Fidelities," *William and Mary Law Review* 41 (1999): 95–145, 130–131. More generally, Cushman contends that in striking down so many early New Deal statutes, the Hughes Court "was in fact cooperating with the political branches in seeking to formulate constitutional solutions to the economic crisis of the 1930s." Cushman, "The Hughes Court and Constitutional Consultation," 80. Of course, in the case of measures sponsored by the Roosevelt administration, as opposed to the Railroad Retirement Act, Cushman's argument is consistent with his point that the 1933–1934 legislation was poorly drafted. See Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 42, for a discussion of the importance that the administration nevertheless attached to *Alton*, and its sense, from Roberts's opinion, that he was "permanently lost" and had gone over to "the Conservative Four."

²⁹ Friedman, "Taking Decisions Seriously," 315, 323 ("Like," "treating"); Friedman, "Charting the Course of Commerce Clause Challenge," 1095–1096.

ANOTHER CRUCIAL ENTRY IN THE INTERNALIST BIBLIOGRAPHY followed in 2000 with White's *The Constitution and the New Deal*. To view this book as another attempt to puncture the externalist balloon echoing Cushman's is to underestimate its significance. White acknowledged that only "an eccentric" would deny the major doctrinal changes between 1933 and 1943. He situated them among others stretching back to the early twentieth century. The shifts occurred, he wrote, not because of politics, but because of "modernism," a world view that "elevates human agency . . . to a position of causal primacy in the universe" and assumes that humans can control their environment and shape "their collective destinies."³⁰

Some might consider White's modernism synonymous with politics. Indeed, it bears some resemblance to some of the definitions of Progressivism we heard when we still thought that Progressivism existed and that we could define it. And interestingly, in law, modernism might take the name of legal realism, an early-twentieth-century jurisprudential movement that exposed the role of idiosyncrasy in judicial decision making and was inaccurately caricatured as proposing that judges made decisions on the basis of what they ate for breakfast. But oddly, given his own importance in explaining the emergence of legal realism and his emphasis on its centrality to the New Deal and legal thought, White largely avoided the phrase "legal realism" in his book.³¹ Legal realism was identified with the "political" approach to judging, and White may have chosen the term "modernism" because he saw modernism as prior to politics.

It was modernism, White said, that created a jurisprudential crisis between the early 1920s and World War II. The law of foreign affairs and administrative law had changed long before Court packing, and in some cases before the New Deal. The same was true of free speech, as Mark Graber and David Rabban had shown. Further, it was during the 1920s, White observed, that the "living Constitution" theory of constitutional interpretation emerged. Thus Hughes could say in his 1934 *Blaisdell* opinion for himself, Roberts, and the three "liberals" that "the Contracts Clause meant something different in the interdependent, depressed American economy of the 1930s from what it previously had meant."³²

At bottom, what happened, according to White, was "an interpretive revolution" that celebrated the "living constitution," a Constitution that changed to keep pace with the times and transformed the judge's role in constitutional interpretation. As Howard Gillman powerfully demonstrated, after 150 years, the New Deal witnessed

³⁰ White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 199, 5.

³¹ See Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10 (1982): 113–132. See, e.g., G. Edward White, "From Sociological Jurisprudence to Realism: Jurisprudence and Social Change in Early Twentieth-Century America," *Virginia Law Review* 58 (1972): 999–1028; White, "The Evolution of Reasoned Elaboration," *Virginia Law Review* 59 (1973): 279–302; White, "From Realism to Critical Legal Studies: A Truncated Intellectual History," in White, *Intervention and Detachment: Essays in Legal History and Jurisprudence* (New York, 1994), 274–298. Legal realism makes an appearance in *The Constitution and the New Deal* on pp. 167–170, 188–196, and 210, but only on p. 210 does it seem to become central to White's fundamental argument. Perhaps White avoids the term because of its association with the behaviorist approach to judging that he dislikes. I have written about legal realism as movement and caricature in Kalman, *Legal Realism at Yale, 1927–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986); Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*; and Kalman, *Yale Law School and the Sixties: Revolt and Reverberations* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005).

³² White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 213; Mark Graber, *Transforming Free Speech: The Ambiguous Legacy of Civil Libertarianism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); David Rabban, *Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years* (Cambridge, 1997).

“the collapse of constitutional originalism.” White masterfully made Court packing the symptom, not the cause, of that interpretive revolution, which went, he pointed out, “far deeper and wider than any ‘switch in time.’” In assuming that the Court “could be ‘packed’ with persons who sympathized with the New Deal,” he reminded us, “New Dealers took it as a given that America was a government of men, not laws.”

So the “constitutional revolution” was one of epistemology. And as winners, those taking the modernist “living constitution” view had so many followers, White alleged, that no one remembered that “there was even a crisis of adaptivity.” White faulted externalist historians Leuchtenburg and Kalman with viewing the “constitutional issues” of the early twentieth century “from . . . their purported resolution” during the 1930s. We had branded the justices who lost out as “jurisprudentially obsolescent or ‘reactionary,’” while saluting the winning justices as “modern” or “progressive.” We had written winners’ history, ignoring the world that was lost because we could not imagine it. We focused on judicial behavior instead of judicial opinions. We had also popularized the view of judges as politicians, uninfluenced by legal doctrine.³³

The triumph of modernism proved pernicious for constitutional scholarship, too, White observed. It brought us the problem “of a Supreme Court composed of unelected human political actors serving as the final arbiter” of key constitutional issues. That problem came to obsess constitutional commentators after World War II, many of whom had reached maturity during the 1930s and who had dedicated their lives to an anxious celebration of legal modernism.³⁴

Constitutional scholars’ anxiety was easily understood. The dominant account of “1937,” White stressed, taught us that judges were “political actors” who showed creativity in constitutional interpretation, and that most constitutional provisions were indeterminate. Consequently, White wrote, the “lodestar in constitutional interpretation . . . [became] conformity to the principles of democratic theory, which requires deference in many cases, as well as aggressive scrutiny, against a backdrop of normal deference, in a few.” Federal judges read the Constitution to grant broad legislative and administrative authority over the economy and broad executive power over foreign policy. But the few cases that judges subjected to aggressive scrutiny involved the most important issues, civil rights and civil liberties. This post-New Deal settlement caused anxiety because the Germans’ reduction of “their courts to tools of the Nazi party” showed what could happen when law became overtly intertwined with politics. In sum, the externalists had projected the New Deal backward and demonized the “conservative” justices of the 1930s, while also projecting it forward. We had made the New Deal “an inspirational example for twentieth-century governance.” Instead of treating it as a period with “time-bound constitutional issues,” we lauded it as one in which “new essentialist constitu-

³³ White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 234–236, 14–15, 19–20, 29–31; Howard Gillman, “The Collapse of Constitutional Originalism and the Rise of the Notion of the ‘Living Constitution’ in the Course of American State-Building,” *Studies in American Political Development* 11 (1997): 191–247.

³⁴ White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 307, 311, 309; Barry Friedman, “The Birth of an Academic Obsession: The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part Five,” *Yale Law Journal* 112 (2002): 153–259; Barry Cushman, “Clerking for Scrooge,” *University of Chicago Law Review* 70 (2003): 721–749, 739–743.

tional principles” were grasped. And here White seemed to want to drain law of politics, for he charged that externalists’ blindness prevented us from imagining a world in which legal actors did not adopt “behavioralist theories of law, judging, and constitutional interpretation.” White did not advance a normative theory of judging, but his implicit theory seemed antibehavioralist, even, at times, exclusively internalist.³⁵

MORE THAN ANY OTHER PARTICIPANT IN THE DEBATE, White linked Court packing to the central concern of constitutional scholarship: Should the Supreme Court possess such power in a democracy? *Lochner* continued to encapsulate that question. For despite the continued flowering of revisionist scholarship maintaining that *Lochner* and the rest of the output of the turn-of-the century Court “had a coherence and an inner logic—that should be understood not as an exercise of class justice but as an attempt to explicate and protect the constitutional ideal of liberty,” scholars in the late twentieth century still saw the *Lochner*-era Court as backward-looking, overly activist, and/or prohibiting “the government from altering common law entitlements or wealth redistribution.” As William Novak said, the Progressive critique of law as hindrance to politics between the end of Reconstruction and 1937 remained intact. Further, constitutional scholars, in particular, remained uneasy that the Court in *Lochner* struck down Progressive legislation arguably embodying “the will of the people.” Consequently, despite the apparent “death” of *Lochner* in 1937, the case still “hover[ed] over constitutional law like a ghost, . . . haunt[ing] every judge’s chambers and every constitutional law classroom.” Liberals dominated elite law school faculties until the 1970s, and many law professors who taught and wrote about *Lochner* and the anti-New Deal activism of the Supreme Court in the 1930s worried whether the “liberal judicial activism” of the Warren Court they so admired also defied majority will.³⁶

Brown v. Board of Education particularly tested such individuals. On the one hand, liberal law professors awarded iconic status to the decision declaring school segregation unconstitutional, maintaining that the Court had heroically shown the nation the future. On the other, many believed that the *Brown* Court defied the wishes of the majority, as articulated by both Eisenhower and Congress. While some academics celebrated Warren Court activism in *Brown* and its expansion of

³⁵ White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 307, 309; Robert Gordon, “Introduction: J. Willard Hurst and the Common Law Tradition in American Legal Historiography,” *Law and Society Review* 10 (1975): 9–56, 38 (“tools”). See Edward Purcell, *The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism and the Problem of Value* (Lexington, Ky., 1979), 159–178. White discussed behavioralist political science scholarship more specifically and at greater length in G. Edward White, “Unpacking the Idea of the Judicial Center,” *North Carolina Law Review* 83 (2005): 1089–1185, 1097–1117, 1127–1134.

³⁶ Owen Fiss, *Troubled Beginnings of the Modern State, 1888–1910* (New York, 1993), 19 (“coherence”); Howard Gillman, *The Constitution Besieged: The Rise and Demise of Lochner Era Police Powers Jurisprudence* (Durham, N.C., 1993); David Bernstein, “Lochner’s Legacy’s Legacy,” *Texas Law Review* 82 (2003): 1–64, 16 (“government”); Novak, “Legal Origins of the Modern American State,” 253–260; Rowe, “Legacy of Lochner,” 223 (“hover”). Whether the legislation in *Lochner* did represent “the will of the people,” and whether legislation ever does, remains open to question. See Paul Kens, *Lochner v. New York: Economic Regulation on Trial* (Lawrence, Kans., 1998), 47–66, 87–88; Daniel Farber and Philip Frickey, *Law and Public Choice: A Critical Introduction* (Chicago, 1991); Maxwell Stearns, *Public Choice and Public Law: A Commentary* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1987).

civil rights and civil liberties, others worried that activism detracted from the Warren Court's integrity, and that the Court they had despised in *Lochner* and when it was striking down New Deal legislation was usurping the power of federal and state lawmakers to legislate from the bench for "our crowd." In short, law professors worried that judicial review was antidemocratic, a fear that Alexander Bickel famously dubbed "the counter-majoritarian difficulty."³⁷

POLITICAL SCIENCE PROVIDED A POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO THAT DIFFICULTY, which, oddly, most law professors and historians ignored. Corwin's generation of political scientists both studied the Court's role in public life and took its opinions seriously. Yet, as White said, because of the perception that the Court had suddenly switched direction in 1937, many of those political scientists who continued to study it adopted behaviorist approaches to judging that focused on its political aspects.³⁸

Among them, Glendon Schubert laid the groundwork for what scholars working on law and courts would later variously call rational choice, social choice, public choice, or positive political theory, depending on their disciplines and methodologies. Applying game theory to the Court's 1936 term, Schubert devised the "Hughberts Game," which made Hughes and Roberts a sole player and examined how "Hughberts" would behave if he wished to heighten his authority on the Court, increase its unanimity, and move it in a direction designed to stave off Court packing. Given a bloc of three "liberals" and four "conservatives," a rational Hughberts could maximize the power of two. "Hughberts has a pure strategy, which in essence requires that he form a coalition with the Left when possible, that he form a coalition with the Right when splintering or non-participation makes it impossible for him to form a winning coalition with the Left, and that he always join the coalition of the Left, and the Right when other players do not choose to adopt conflicting strategies. In fact, the voting behavior of Hughes and Roberts conforms very closely to the prescriptions of the game model." Schubert believed that "both Hughes and Roberts switched, in order to protect the institutional integrity and authority of the Supreme Court from the threatened much greater danger presented by the President's proposal to subject the Court to *external* political

³⁷ *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954); Robert Harrison, "The Breakup of the Roosevelt Court: The Contribution of History and Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1987), 333 ("crowd"); Alexander Bickel, *The Least Dangerous Branch: The Supreme Court at the Bar of Politics* (Indianapolis, 1962), 16. Among the revisionists, Fiss, a political liberal, explicitly linked *Lochner* to *Brown*. Fiss, *Troubled Beginnings of the Modern State*, 19; and see Stephen Siegel, "Let Us Now Praise Infamous Men," *Texas Law Review* 73 (1995): 661–708, 707–708. On *Brown* and the legal academy, see generally Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*; Friedman, "The Birth of an Academic Obsession."

³⁸ Among those who noted the influence of the events of 1937 on political science as a discipline were Walter Murphy, C. Herman Pritchett, and Glendon Schubert. Murphy and Pritchett, *Courts, Judges, and Politics: An Introduction to the Judicial Process* (New York, 1961), 9; Schubert, "Academic Ideology and the Study of Adjudication," *American Political Science Review* 61 (1967): 106–129, 106–107. For an informative overview of political scientists' approaches to judicial behavior, see Nancy Maveety, "The Study of Judicial Behavior and the Discipline of Political Science," in Maveety, ed., *The Pioneers of Judicial Behavior* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2003), 1–51, and the valuable individual essays on each political scientist in *ibid.*, including Pritchett, Schubert, Harold Spaeth, Murphy, David Danelski, Edward Corwin, Robert McCloskey, and Robert Dahl.

domination.” But as he implied in his 1960 textbook, Frankfurter’s memorandum denying that Roberts had caved to political pressure cast a long shadow.³⁹

While Schubert himself obviously paid due attention to group dynamics and the Court’s relationship to other branches of government, “attitudinalists” inspired by him were less likely to do so. They used quantitative data and modeling to portray the Court as insulated and autonomous—a place where individual judges’ policy preferences, not law, explained outcomes. In the words of Jeffrey Segal and Harold Spaeth, “Rehnquist votes the way he does because he is extremely conservative; [Thurgood] Marshall votes the way he does because he is extremely liberal.” Between the 1960s and 1990s, the “attitudinalists” came to dominate the constitutional law subfield of political science.⁴⁰

This was not to say that all political scientists who studied courts became attitudinalists. Some behavioralists reacted against attitudinalism by pointing to the role of strategic decision making when the justices interacted with each other and when the Court considered its relationship with other branches of government. Princeton’s Walter Murphy, another forerunner of rational/public choice, highlighted “the most dramatic and important reversal in Court history,” along with Hughes’s “attack against President Roosevelt’s Court-packing proposal,” as “the neatest example of judicial intervention in the legislative process to kill a bill.” Fusing the strategic approach with social psychology, David Danelski focused on the different forms of leadership a skilled chief justice such as Hughes could provide, particularly given his determination that the Court “maintain public confidence and not suffer ‘self-inflicted wounds,’” a phrase Hughes himself had coined. Traditional institutionalist approaches to public law also survived, although Corwin’s successor at Princeton, Alpheus Mason, who used his nearly unprecedented and completely unrestricted access to a Supreme Court justice’s papers and private correspondence to examine Court packing through the prism of judicial biography, came in for rough sledding from law professors. (Their favorite political scientist was probably Harvard’s Robert McCloskey, who combined doctrinal analysis with intellectual and institutional history, and who saw 1935–1936 as the time when the Court “finally and dangerously overstepped the line that marks the limits of its authority.”) Nevertheless, academic lawyers were probably correct to assume attitudinalism’s hegemony.⁴¹

³⁹ Glendon Schubert, “The Study of Judicial Decision-Making as an Aspect of Political Behavior,” *American Political Science Review* 52 (1958): 1007–1025, 1022–1023; Schubert, *Constitutional Politics: The Political Behavior of Supreme Court Justices and the Constitutional Policies That They Make* (New York, 1960), 165 (“both,” emphasis in the original) (Schubert reprinted the Frankfurter memorandum in *ibid.*, 168–171).

⁴⁰ Jeffrey Segal and Harold Spaeth, *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model* (Cambridge, 1993), 64 (“Rehnquist votes”); Symposium, “The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model,” *Law & Courts: Newsletter of the Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association* 4 (Spring 1994): 3–12; and see Segal and Spaeth, *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model Revisited* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁴¹ Walter Murphy, *Congress and the Court: A Case Study in the American Political Process* (Chicago, 1962), 247, 59–61 (“dramatic”); Murphy, *Elements of Judicial Strategy* (Chicago, 1964), 162 (“attack,” “neatest”); David Danelski, “The Influence of the Chief Justice in the Decisional Process,” reprinted in abridged form in Murphy and Pritchett, *Courts, Judges, and Politics*, 497–508, 500; Danelski and Tulchin, “Editors’ Introduction,” in Hughes, *The Autobiographical Notes*, xxv (“maintain”); Alpheus Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York, 1956), 437–464; Clyde Spillenger, “Lifting the Veil: The Judicial Biographies of Alpheus T. Mason,” *Reviews in American History* 21 (1993): 723–734;

And despite the accuracy of attitudinalism in predicting final judicial votes, law professors and political scientists were disinterested. While acknowledging that “there is something to this kind of argument,” even those on the left associated with the “law is politics” view of critical legal studies accused “the vote-counters” of “unbearable simple-mindedness” and of ignoring “the richness of the systems of legal rules and institutions.” So, too, in the early 1990s, Martin Shapiro bemoaned the existence of “the marginalized constitutional law-Supreme Court ghetto of little interest to other political scientists.”⁴²

Help was on the way. Gerald Rosenberg, a lawyer with a Ph.D. in political science, would attack left-of-center law professors’ idea of a transformative Court bringing social justice with his 1991 book *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* Rosenberg found that liberal lawyers wrongly counted on courts to do so: “At best, they can second the social reform acts of other branches of government.” Rosenberg maintained, for example, that in *Brown*, the Court reflected, rather than created, social, economic, and political pressures for change, and that the decision had little immediate impact until Congress and the executive accepted desegregation in the 1960s because of “the fear of violence, not the inspiration of Court action.” Courts acted “as ‘fly-paper’ for social reformers who succumb to ‘the lure of litigation.’” Rosenberg insisted that “the broad and untested generalizations offered by constitutional scholars about the role, impact, importance, and legitimacy of courts and court opinions . . . must be rejected.”⁴³

More important for Court packing, just as some younger political scientists were “bringing the state back in,” recognizing its importance as an actor in its own right and creating the field of American political development, so “new institutionalists” in political science began “bringing the law back in.” Like Rosenberg, they situated the distinctive story of the Court in the context of “regime politics” and “a more general set of stories about how regimes organized, exercise, and protect their power.” They highlighted the Court’s usefulness to governing elites in promoting

Robert McCloskey, *The American Supreme Court* (Chicago, 1960), 174 (“finally”); McCloskey, “Economic Due Process and the Supreme Court: An Exhumation and Reburial,” in Philip Kurland, ed., *Supreme Court Review* (Chicago, 1962), 34–62; McCloskey, “The Supreme Court, 1961 Term, Foreword: The Reapportionment Cases,” *Harvard Law Review* 76 (1962): 54–74.

⁴² The critical legal scholar was Mark Tushnet. Tushnet, “Post-Realist Legal Scholarship,” *Wisconsin Law Review* 1980 (1980): 1383–1401, 1398. As Cornell Clayton said, “The ultimate irony is that as political science sought more predictive, ‘scientific’ ways of understanding judicial decision-making, it became of less utility and notice to those actually engaged in the practice of law and to those elected officials who appoint judges. Political scientists, who in the days of Corwin and Haines were considered the leading experts on the Supreme Court and the Constitution, have been increasingly pushed to the sidelines by academic lawyers.” Cornell Clayton, “The Supreme Court and Political Jurisprudence: New and Old Institutionalisms,” in Cornell Clayton and Howard Gillman, eds., *Supreme Court Decision-Making: New Institutional Approaches* (Chicago, 1999), 15–41, 29. See also Howard Gillman, “What’s Law Got to Do with It? Judicial Behavioralists Test the ‘Legal Model’ of Judicial Decision Making,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 26 (2001): 465–498. For a positive view of attitudinalism and what it can offer academic lawyers, see Frank Cross, “Political Science and the New Legal Realism: A Case of Unfortunate Interdisciplinary Ignorance,” *Northwestern University Law Review* 92 (1997): 251–326; for a more critical one, see Michael Gerhardt, “Attitudes about Attitudes,” *Michigan Law Review* 101 (2003): 1733–1763. Shapiro is quoted in Howard Gillman, “Martin Shapiro and the Movement from ‘Old’ to ‘New’ Institutional Studies in Public Law Scholarship,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (2004): 363–382, 374.

⁴³ Gerald Rosenberg, *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* (Chicago, 1991), 338, 169, 123, 341, 342.

their aims while they were in power, “entrenching” their most vulnerable policies after they had lost that power, bringing regional outliers into line, and resolving difficult issues that divided the public. Calling for “post-attitudinalism,” the new institutionalists also challenged externalism: they stressed the Court’s concern with its institutional integrity, its need to legitimize and justify its behavior to the legal profession, the significance of ideology, as well as the role of “regime-sustaining scholars.” With law professors, historians, and other social scientists, many new institutionalists in political science also made the interpretive and “historic turns.”⁴⁴

Building on a 1957 essay by Robert Dahl pointing out that it was “unrealistic to suppose that a Court whose members are recruited in the fashion of Supreme Court justices would long hold to norms of Right or Justice substantially at odds with the rest of the political elite,” Mark Graber observed how much the Court could do for governing regimes. “Rather than treat judicial review as a practice that either sustains or rejects the measures favored by lawmaking majorities, theoretical and descriptive studies of the Supreme Court should pay closer attention to the constitutional dialogues that take place between American governing institutions on crosscutting issues that internally divide the existing lawmaking majority,” he contended. “Historically, the justices have most often exercised their power to declare state and federal practices unconstitutional only when the dominant national coalition is unable or unwilling to settle some dispute” and then “foist[ed] disruptive political debates on the Supreme Court,” as, for example, in *Roe v. Wade*.⁴⁵

In fact, according to Graber, there generally was no countermajoritarian difficulty. Bickel and Dahl had belonged to a luncheon group of law professors and political scientists at Yale, but it devoted no attention to the Court. Had it done so

⁴⁴ Keith Whittington, “Once More into the Breach: Postbehavioralist Approaches to Judicial Politics,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 25 (2000): 601–634, 619 (“bringing”); Howard Gillman, “Elements of a New ‘Regime Politics’ Approach to the Study of Judicial Politics” (paper presented at the American Political Science Association, 2004) (“regime,” “stories”); Gillman, “The New Institutionalism, Part I: More and Less than Strategy—Some Advantages to Interpretive Institutionalism in the Analysis of Analysis of Judicial Politics,” *Law & Courts* 7 (Winter 1996–1997): 6–10; Cornell Clayton and Howard Gillman, “Introduction,” in Gillman and Clayton, *The Supreme Court in American Politics: New Institutional Approaches* (Lawrence, Kans., 1999), 1–11, 3–5; Ken Kersch, *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law* (Cambridge, 2004), 360 (“regime-sustaining”); Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 101–163; Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Search for American Political Development* (Cambridge, 2004); Terence McDonald, *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996); James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, 2003).

⁴⁵ Robert Dahl, “Decision-Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as a National Policy-Maker,” *Emory Law* 50 (2001): 563–582, 578, reprinting the original article from *Journal of Public Law* 6 (1957): 279–295; Mark Graber, “The Nonmajoritarian Difficulty: Legislative Deference to the Judiciary,” *Studies in American Political Development* 7 (1993): 35–73, 36, 37, 56; and see George Lovell, *Legislative Deferrals, Statutory Ambiguity, Judicial Power, and American Democracy* (Cambridge, 2003) (demonstrating Graber’s point in a series of case studies drawn from the history of twentieth-century labor law); Charles Epp, *The Rights Revolution: Lawyers, Activists, and Supreme Courts in Comparative Perspective* (Chicago, 1998) (examining the relative strength of the rights revolution in the United States, Canada, Britain, and India, and pointing to the importance of a broader support structure from below in creating pressure for, and making meaningful, judicial declarations of rights). Rogers Smith is credited with launching the movement to apply the new institutionalism to public law in Smith, “Political Jurisprudence, the ‘New Institutionalism,’ and the Future of Public Law,” *American Political Science Review* 82 (1988): 89–108; Clayton, “The Supreme Court and Political Jurisprudence,” 30–31. See also Rogers Smith, *Liberalism and American Constitutional Law* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 6–7.

and had Bickel been won over, he might have turned constitutional theory in different directions. For the mantra of the new institutionalists was that “judicial review is politically constructed,” not antidemocratic.⁴⁶

Yet while the work of law professors during the 1990s occasionally reflected the arrival of the new institutionalism in political science beginning in the 1990s, the new institutionalists showed little interest in revising the account of the 1937 constitutional crisis for obvious reasons. As Graber explained it, the Supreme Court of 1935 and 1936 was the exception rather than the rule, its behavior understandable because, unusually, there was only one appointment to the Court between 1930 and 1937. “When the Court is temporarily dominated by ‘holdover[s] from the old coalition,’ justices ‘perform the counter-majoritarian functions ascribed to it by traditional theory.’” And even here, the record of the New Deal, once affirmed by the electorate in 1936, indicated that resistance was futile. “The Supreme Court is simply not structured to impede a determined majority for any length of time.”⁴⁷

At the same time that they exploded the countermajoritarian difficulty, then, political scientists who adopted “the historical/interpretivist ‘new institutionalism’” and risked their colleagues’ disapproval by eschewing models and cautiously embracing historical contingency lent credence to the concept of the “constitutional revolution of 1937.” Indeed, whatever their approaches, virtually all political scientists and public/rational choice experts who focused on the period from the Bicentennial onward did. Michael Nelson explained the failure of Court packing as the classic overreaching of a two-term president elected by an extraordinary majority. Kevin McMahon, however, maintained that Court packing failed not so much because of FDR’s missteps, but because his opponents saw it as part of his effort to strengthen the power of the presidency and administrative state. But

⁴⁶ That was the memory of John Blum, the lone historian in the group. See Richard Merelman, *Pluralism at Yale: The Culture of Political Science in America* (Madison, Wis., 2003); Geoffrey Kabaservice, *The Guardians: Kingman Brewster, His Circle, and the Rise of the Liberal Establishment* (New York, 2004); Warren Goldstein, *William Sloan Coffin Jr.: A Holy Impatience* (New Haven, Conn., 2004); and Kalman, *Yale Law School and the Sixties*, for discussion of the atmosphere at Yale during this period. “Constructed” is from Mark Graber, “Constructing Judicial Review,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005): 425–451, 446.

⁴⁷ Graber, “The Nonmajoritarian Difficulty,” 68, 72. Constitutional law professors influenced by the new institutionalism included Barry Friedman, Michael Klarman, Mark Tushnet, and Darren Hutchinson. Friedman drew on it to remind law professors that “the judicial process tends to ratify popular preference” in many articles. See, e.g., Friedman, “The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part One: The Road to Judicial Supremacy,” *New York University Law Review* 73 (1998): 333–433, 338. Klarman won the Bancroft Prize for insisting, with Rosenberg, that *Brown v. Board of Education* reflected an emerging national consensus. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Equality* (New York, 2004). Tushnet explained that the Rehnquist Court’s “economic conservatives won and . . . cultural conservatives lost” through 2005 because in the larger political arena, “economic conservatives were winning and cultural conservatives were losing.” Tushnet, *A Court Divided: The Rehnquist Court and the Future of Constitutional Law* (New York, 2005), 10. Hutchinson addressed the majoritarian nature of the Rehnquist Court’s recent decisions about affirmative action and gay rights in “The Majoritarian Difficulty: Affirmative Action, Sodomy, and Supreme Court Politics,” *Law & Inequality* 23 (2005): 1–93. And while he denounced political scientists, Lucas Powe maintained that the Warren Court was the judicial arm of Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society. Powe, *The Warren Court and American Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), xii–xvi. For a critical reaction to Powe’s treatment of political scientists, see Mark Graber, “Constitutional Politics and Constitutional Theory: A Misunderstood and Neglected Relationship,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 927 (2002): 309–333. For discussion of the citation of political scientists in law reviews, see Keith Whittington, “Crossing Over,” *Law & Courts* 14 (Spring 2004): 5–10.

Nelson and McMahon, both political scientists, alluded to “the switch in time.” Business school professors Pablo Spiller and Rafael Gely demonstrated that the chance of a constitutional amendment constraining the Court became increasingly apparent after the 1936 presidential election, and it was important that “the shift in Justice Roberts’s position occurred *after* the election of 1936 but *before* Roosevelt’s announcement” of his plan to pack the Court. From another public choice perspective, that of political scientists Jamie Carson and Benjamin Kleinerman, on the other hand, “Roosevelt, as the initiator of the court-packing plan, obtained what he wanted politically (a shift in policy direction on the Court), while allowing both Congress and the Court to believe they had successfully outmaneuvered him.” Meanwhile, Gregory Caldeira’s analysis of public opinion showed that support for Court packing dropped in the aftermath of *Jones & Laughlin* and Justice Van Devanter’s resignation, although “[i]t is not at all clear what the public would have done if the Court had insisted on continuing its opposition to the New Deal.” But like Gely and Spiller and Carson and Kleinerman, Caldeira treated 1937 as a “watershed.” The internalist-externalist debate was left to historians.⁴⁸

AMONG HISTORIANS, OF COURSE, the “ahistorical” label that internalists pinned on externalists stung.⁴⁹ The “my way or the highway” tone of the debate is unfortunate. Especially since I have contributed to it, I may just make matters worse by calling

⁴⁸ Rogers Smith, “If Politics Matters: Implications for a ‘New Institutionalism,’” *Studies in American Political Development* 6 (1992): 1–36, 3 (“historical/interpretivist”); Gillman, “The Court as an Idea, Not a Building or a Game: Interpretive Institutionalism and the Analysis of Supreme Court Decision-Making,” in Clayton and Gillman, *Supreme Court Decision-Making*, 65–87, 67, 87 (contingency). For example, Gillman explained that “the *Lochner* era is the story of how a changing social structure exposed the conservatism and class bias inherent in the dominant ideological structures first formulated and institutionalized by the framers of the U.S. Constitution; it is the story of how an ideology that was fairly (albeit not completely) inclusive around the time of the founding became more and more exclusive as the century progressed and capitalist forms of production matured; and it is the story of how the Court, loyal to a historically defined conception of political legitimacy, struggled to maintain the coherence of this authoritative ideology in an era that witnessed an unprecedented intensification of class conflict.” He recognized the autonomous influence of legal ideology as understood by interpretive communities existing in particular historical contexts, as well as the interdependence of law and politics. But Gillman still maintained that “the United States underwent a true constitutional revolution” in 1937, “the moment when the founders’ conception of a faction-free American Republic collapsed under the onslaught of corporate capitalism.” Gillman, *The Constitution Besieged*, 199–201. And see Michael Nelson, “The President and the Court: Reinterpreting the Court-Packing Episode of 1937,” *Political Science Quarterly* 103 (1988): 267–293, 293; Kevin McMahon, *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Way for Brown* (Chicago, 2004), 65, 84; Rafael Gely and Pablo Spiller, “The Political Economy of Supreme Court Constitutional Decisions: The Case of Roosevelt’s Court-Packing Plan,” *International Review of Law and Economics* 12 (1992): 45–67, 57, 65, n. 63; Jamie Carson and Benjamin Kleinerman, “A Switch in Time Saves Nine: Institutions, Strategic Actors, and FDR’s Court Packing,” *Public Choice* 113 (2002): 301–324, 302; Gregory Caldeira, “Public Opinion and the US Supreme Court: FDR’s Court-Packing Plan,” *American Political Science Review* 81 (1987): 1139–1153, 1150, 1148.

⁴⁹ I would not presume to answer the charge for Leuchtenburg, but I note that for him, scholarship and politics stay separate. And certainly he has kept his eye trained on the 1930s, avoiding grand claims about judicial behavior. William Leuchtenburg, “The Historian in the Public Realm,” *AHR* 97 (February 1992): 1–18. White is correct that I am a liberal and that I also believe one’s politics affects one’s scholarship. I have also adopted a behavioralist approach to judging. In my view, however, he exaggerates the extent of behavioralism’s triumph on the Supreme Court during the 1930s and afterward. While an Abe Fortas and his biographer might show little regard for legal doctrine and treat judging as political, not every post-1937 judge was a Fortas, and many of their biographers have taken

attention to it. Yet surely style can affect substance, even prevent scholars from taking each other's positions seriously and perhaps finding common ground.

One factor contributing to the polemics may be that those in law schools and history departments employ different standards of criticism. To a historian, legal argumentation may seem at once too confident and insecure, overly tendentious and footnoted. Yet while strong attacks typically undermine the credibility of historians' work, such critiques mean that a law professor's scholarship is "provocative" and "important." Those historians in law schools who did embrace the internalist view approached Court packing as they would any controversy. Although those historians in history departments who advocated externalism sometimes treated Roberts sarcastically—I once speculated that he had undergone a "jurisprudential lobotomy"—externalists may have expected more respect from other scholars. Kicking a dead historical figure is one thing; kicking a live historian is another. The debate reminds us that even those in the same disciplines residing in different academic homes write differently.⁵⁰

Beyond that, political, legal, and constitutional historians, political scientists, and professors of constitutional law take different approaches to the New Deal. Why not? "Interdisciplinary work is also disciplinary work." Our locations and interests are not identical. When Friedman observes that externalists cannot "effectively respond" to Cushman "unless, like him, they are willing to get their hands very dirty, delving very deeply into the details from which any sound understanding on the grand scale must emerge," he implies that there is only one way to get dirty. But there are many: Glendon Schubert said that the law professors who criticized attitudinalism also "ought to be willing to get their hands dirty (with empirical, perhaps even quantitative, labor)." The variety of ways to dirty hands, along with the fact that each generation must write its own history, keeps everybody employed. There should be more occasions like this where we exchange points of view instead of, or at least in addition to, taking potshots at each other.⁵¹

What would come out of such exchanges? We could drop the "internalist" and "externalist" tags, which obscure more than they clarify. The categories collapse into each other. When a judge uses an "externalist" opinion, such as *Brown*, as a precedent in a subsequent case, does it become "internalist"? Assume, alternatively, a president and congressional majority who hammer home the evils of "judicial activism," which presumably includes, among other things, doctrinal infidelity. When the president's nominee to the Supreme Court plays to the Senate by declaring his opposition to "judicial activism" in confirmation hearings, is that "internalist" or "externalist"? The labels perpetuate a false dichotomy. As Friedman has said in disputing my characterization of him as an internalist, to un-

their decisions more seriously. Compare, for example, Laura Kalman, *Abe Fortas: A Biography* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), 271–276, with Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes*.

⁵⁰ Kalman, "Law, Politics and the New Deal(s)," 2188. Leuchtenburg was more polite. For discussion of different disciplinary standards of criticism, see Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 216–219; William Nelson, "Standards of Criticism," *Texas Law Review* 60 (1982): 447–493.

⁵¹ Mark Graber, "Thick and Thin: Interdisciplinary Conversations on Populism, Law, Political Science, and Constitutional Change," *Georgetown Law Journal* 90 (2001): 233–251, 243 ("Interdisciplinary"); Friedman, "Taking Decisions Seriously," 323; Glendon Schubert, "Ideologies and Attitudes, Academic and Judicial," *Journal of Politics* 29 (1967): 3–40, 20.

derstand constitutional change, we must examine doctrinal constraints and the world outside the Court.⁵²

The statement seems transparently obvious. Yet Friedman rightly makes it, because the concentration on whether law or politics was paramount during the constitutional crisis of the New Deal has helped to create the erroneous impression that we see the debate in terms of either/or, law or politics. It has pushed “externalists” and “internalists” into corners. And to quote my favorite tragic figure, William Howard Taft, “Even a rat in a corner will fight.”⁵³ We should speak in terms of law *and* politics. We should remember that the Court can be at once a legal and a political institution. We should stop arguing about which account is correct and see how both together are. Our accounts are not mutually exclusive. Just as some speak of life in terms of body and soul, so law and politics create the life of the Court. Like objectivity and subjectivity, form and substance, public and private, law and politics are interdependent.⁵⁴

Yet acknowledging the interrelationship takes us only so far. How did it work for “1937”? Reasonable people disagree, as would each person involved in the debate. A full account is beyond the scope of this essay. In my view, the case for the proposition that, doctrinally speaking, the constitutional revolution preceded 1937 and lasted beyond it is strong. It seems stronger than Cushman’s case against the possibilities that the 1936 election and/or the Court-packing plan influenced Hughes and Roberts. As Edward Purcell has said, “[t]o show that a doctrinal passageway existed . . . is important, but it is not to show why the individual Justices . . . chose to walk through it,” especially when other indicators suggest that “Roberts was responsive to outside criticism.”⁵⁵

I have previously argued the externalist case in terms of the history of events, as if the 1936 election and the Court-packing plan were the only way that politics might influence judicial decision making.⁵⁶ Yet political historians and scientists today speak in terms of political phenomena, electoral behavior, structures of the state, and ideology. The new institutionalists are surely correct that judicial review is politically constructed. The Court’s unique mission affects and constrains the way its members speak. Its voice also reflects ideology, which is as important to political

⁵² Richard Friedman, “A Rendezvous with Kreplach: Putting the New Deal Court in Context,” *Green Bag* 5 (2002): 453–462, 454–455, 459.

⁵³ Henry Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft: A Biography*, 2 vols. (New York, 1939), 2: 783.

⁵⁴ See Mary Dudziak, “The Court and Social Context in Civil Rights History,” *University of Chicago Law Review* 72 (2005): 429–454, and Stephen Feldman, “The Rule of Law or the Rule of Politics? Harmonizing the Internal and External Views of Supreme Court Decision Making,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 30 (2005): 89–129.

⁵⁵ Edward Purcell, “Rethinking Constitutional Change,” *Virginia Law Review* 80 (1994): 277–290, 280, 290.

⁵⁶ This is my third attempt in print to account for “1937,” and each time, I move closer to the internalist account. Thus White writes that I have used “a strategy of confession and avoidance . . . to buttress the conventional externalist account in the face of revisionist criticism.” White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 29–30. Compare Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 348–351, n. 70, with Kalman, “Law, Politics, and the New Deal(s),” 2185–2188. My chorus has indeed become one of “Yes, but.” I also here suggest that we bury the very debate I have previously called “vibrant.” *Ibid.*, 2186.

history as it is to legal and constitutional history, along with social, economic, and political context and other interrelated and interreacting considerations.⁵⁷

The new institutionalists rightly treat the “old Court” of the 1930s as time-bound. The lack of vacancies on the Court between 1932 and 1937 was significant: Jimmy Carter and George W. Bush were the only other twentieth-century presidents who did not have spots to fill during their first terms. Unlike lawyers, historians have the luxury of being able to appreciate the Hughes Court’s historicity.

In the context of the 1930s, I agree with Ackerman: the internalists “are right in insisting that the New Deal did not reconstruct constitutional law out of thin air,” while the externalists “are right in insisting the doctrinal revolution would not have happened without sustained Presidential leadership.” If the externalists have it entirely right, which I doubt, the internalists usefully focus our attention on doctrinal evolution. If the internalists have it entirely right, which I doubt, externalists must change our dating of the “constitutional revolution.” My own current account of constitutional change would therefore highlight the significance of the Hughes, Roberts, and Cardozo appointments to the Court in 1930–1932 and the lack of vacancies afterward; the greatness of the Great Depression and the sense of emergency at home and abroad, along with the specter of dictatorship that some thought Hitler, Mussolini, and Roosevelt evoked; the difficulty of New Dealers, corporate lawyers, and the Court as they struggled to manage the legal uncertainty that created and was created by the times; Roberts’s *Nebbia* opinion and Hughes’s embrace of “a living Constitution” for himself and Roberts in *Blaisdell*; Roberts’s literal approach to constitutional interpretation in *Butler* and his shrill 1935 *Alton* opinion taking “almost medieval” conception of “the relationship of employer and employee”; the New Dealers’ disappointment in *Carter Coal*, despite the bone thrown to them by “Hughes’ prophetic citation of *Nebbia*” in his separate opinion; popular constitutionalism; the 1936 election; the waiting period of December–January, when many anticipated that Roosevelt would propose some remedy for the Court; the Court’s anxiety about the possibility that Congress would try to curb it (although I would give the 1936 election more purchase than the Court-packing bill); the sit-down strikes of 1936–1937; the importance of Roosevelt’s appointments of New Dealers to the Court between 1937 and 1941; and the end point of *Darby* and *Wickard*.⁵⁸

Why did the Court treat New Deal legislation and state minimum wage

⁵⁷ See Kersh, *Constructing Civil Liberties*, 132–133.

⁵⁸ Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations*, 29 (I discuss Ackerman’s approach to the New Deal in Kalman, “Law, Politics, and the New Deal[s],” 2165–2213); Sanford Levinson, “Constitutional Norms in a State of Permanent Emergency” (forthcoming, *University of Georgia Law Review* [pointing to the national and international sense of emergency at the time of *Blaisdell*]); Ronen Shamir, *Managing Legal Uncertainty: Elite Lawyers and the New Deal* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 39 (“medieval,” “relationship”); Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 162 (“prophetic”). With respect to *Nebbia*, see Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn* (querying the importance of Roberts’s position), 231; David Pepper, “Against Legalism: Rebutting an Anachronistic Account of 1937,” *Marquette Law Review* 82 (1998): 63–154 (maintaining that Cushman overrated the case’s contemporary impact); for Cushman’s reply, see “Lost Fidelities,” 103–141. On the Court’s reaction to the Court-packing bill, see William Leuchtenburg, “The Nine Justices Respond to the 1937 Crisis,” *Journal of Supreme Court History* 1 (1997): 55–76; Richard Friedman, “Chief Justice Hughes’ Letter on Court-Packing,” *ibid.*, 76–86.

legislation so poorly before November 1936 and so well afterward? Some early New Deal legislation was sloppy, but not all was. Further, a bitter current of antagonism to the New Deal runs through many 1935–1936 majority opinions that poor draftsmanship alone cannot explain. Perhaps the “journalists and academics with acid-dipped pens” who attacked the Court in 1936, along with the presidential election, played a role in explaining why later New Deal measures fared so much better, beginning in December. Although FDR said nothing explicit about the Court while running for reelection, the 1936 campaign was replete with discussion of it. After the president carried every state but Maine and Vermont, all three branches of government may have recognized that “the people” had, in some way or another, spoken, although there is room for disagreement about what they said.⁵⁹

Thus, while Roberts would have been aware of the widespread dissatisfaction with *Tipaldo* earlier, the 1936 campaign and results would have made him still more conscious of it. Hughes may have, too. When Hughes and his wife invited themselves to the Robertses’ Pennsylvania farm in the summer of 1936, the chief justice and his host closeted themselves together so long they seemed rude. “What they said to one another over these many hours at a critical moment for the Court, subjected to savage condemnation for several of its decisions and with rumors brewing about reprisals Roosevelt was hatching, we have no way of knowing.”⁶⁰ But the Depression, the threat to the Court, and legal uncertainty, Roberts may have now decided, mandated change. And perhaps that was one reason he risked charges of inconsistency by joining the *Parrish* majority in December. Still, he could take comfort in the fact that the Court had not been asked to overrule *Adkins* in *Tipaldo*, and *Nebbia* might have made Roberts’s position in *Parrish* more acceptable to him intellectually. Roberts had joined the majority in *Blaisdell*, and although his literal approach to constitutional interpretation in *Butler* and his opinion in *Alton* sound like battle cries for an older United States, *Parrish* adopted *Blaisdell*’s idea of a living constitution.

⁵⁹ In addition to Cushman, Neal Devins adopts Schlesinger’s “poor draftsmanship” argument as the reason for the failure of the early New Deal before the Court. Devins, “Government Lawyers and the New Deal,” *Columbia Law Review* 96 (1996): 237–267, 241, 251. Parrish has little use for the poor draftsmanship argument in “The Hughes Court, the Great Depression, and the Historians,” 289–290, n. 13, and the same is true of Leuchtenburg in *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 231–232, 318 n. 99, and in his essay in this forum. “[J]ournalists” is from Michael Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself* (New York, 1987), 274. Ackerman argues that in 1935 and 1936, “the Court put Americans on notice that the New Deal was shaking the foundations—and that it was not too late to withdraw their mandates.” Yet when the people responded by overwhelmingly saying yes to the New Deal in 1936, judicial conservatives realized that the “switch in time” was required. Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations*, 303, 381. But see Leuchtenburg, “When the People Spoke, What Did They Say? The Election of 1936 and the Ackerman Thesis,” *Yale Law Journal* 108 (1999): 2077–2114, 2114 (cautioning that while it was not “unreasonable to assume that ‘the People’ would not long tolerate a Court that persisted in striking down legislation they cherished,” the people nevertheless viewed Constitution and the Court with “reverence”), and Barry Cushman, “Mr. Dooley and Mr. Gallup: Public Opinion and Constitutional Change in the 1930s,” *Buffalo Law Review* 50 (2002): 7–100, 66–74 (analyzing polling data and suggesting that it would be unwise to read the 1936 election results as a mandate for constitutional revolution); Gregory Caldeira, “FDR’s Court-Packing Plan in the Court of Public Opinion,” Version 4, August 2004, <http://epstein.wustl.edu/research/courses.LAPSCaldeira.pdf> (analyzing polling data in the 1936 election, questioning whether public reverence for the Court caused elite opposition to Court packing, and challenging the scholarly consensus that FDR’s promotion of Court packing caused a major change in Roosevelt’s base or a large-scale shift away from him).

⁶⁰ William Leuchtenburg, “Charles Evans Hughes: The Center Holds,” *North Carolina Law Review* 83 (2005): 1187–1203, 1199.

More generally, after the election, the four justices who had consistently opposed the New Deal stopped treating “government lawyers as though they were thieving schoolboys.” Although George Creel’s December 1936 *Colliers* report suggesting that FDR intended to deal with the Court did not spark a popular reaction, the justices may well have focused on it, and Creel’s article may have received so little attention because of the general expectation that Roosevelt would take action. FDR’s confrontational remarks about the Court in his January State of the Union address may have led the Court to anticipate a rebuke, perhaps a proposed constitutional amendment.⁶¹

Roosevelt did something even more dramatic in February: he called for changing the Court. Unlike Cushman, I doubt that Hughes, Roberts, or anyone else on the Court had “ample reason” to anticipate the president’s failure. I follow Leuchtenburg in concluding that some version of the Court-packing bill might have been enacted well into the spring. Even if, as Cushman maintains, Hughes and Roberts had cause to believe that Congress would reject it—an assumption that may itself be “winner’s history” in projecting the outcome back on those 168 days—surely they harbored a residue of doubt. Quite aside from Court packing, more than twenty-five bills somehow regulating the Court were introduced between January 8 and May 20, 1937. And certainly Hughes, who was indeed an adroit political strategist, and other justices fought the Court-packing bill tooth and nail. Of course, the fact that he and other justices detested Court packing and may have feared its enactment does not prove that they changed their votes in the hope of defeating Roosevelt’s plan, but it makes those possibilities more likely. Although “we have stubbornly held onto a myth of the Court as some sort of institution that time forgot, the one public body that somehow managed to remain immune from pressures that remolded every other public institution,” Roberts would later say publicly that “the Court took cognizance of the popular will” and testify before Congress that the Court-packing plan caused “tremendous strain and threat to the existing Court of which I was fully conscious.”⁶²

Again, however, the legal story also reads as one of doctrinal evolution. Although Social Security and the National Labor Relations Act were a big deal to the New Deal, Cushman and Friedman rightly point to the behavior of the

⁶¹ Alsop and Catledge, *The 168 Days*, 139 (“government lawyers”). Leuchtenburg discusses the lack of popular reaction to Creel’s report in *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 94, 122; Marian McKenna discusses the State of the Union speech in McKenna, *Franklin Roosevelt and the Great Constitutional War: The Court-Packing Crisis of 1937* (New York, 2002), 258–263. While Roosevelt said that a constitutional amendment had no chance of passage, David Kyvig argues that Congress might have enacted a constitutional amendment, which would have had a more “strong and solid . . . constitutional foundation” under the New Deal. Kyvig, *Explicit and Authentic Acts: Amending the U.S. Constitution, 1776–1995* (Lawrence, Kans., 1996), 305, 314, 481–483.

⁶² Gely and Spiller list the bills introduced to regulate the Court during 1937 in “The Political Economy of Supreme Court Constitutional Decisions,” 58–59. Yet the large number of bills introduced may have indicated liberal disarray and an inability to agree on a solution, which may have augured poorly for the Court-packing bill. William Ross, *A Muted Fury: Populists, Progressives, and Labor Unions Confront the Courts, 1890–1937* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 309. “[M]yth” is from Kramer, *The People Themselves*, 240; Roberts is quoted in Charles Leonard, *A Search for Judicial Philosophy: Mr. Justice Roberts and the Constitutional Revolution of 1937* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1971), 144, 180.

“conservative” justices in the Social Security cases. And like Cushman, I see *Darby* and *Wickard* as a giant doctrinal step forward from *Jones & Laughlin*.⁶³

In the end, what scholars conclude about “1937” may depend on which pair of disciplinary glasses they choose to bring to the table, and many today possess more than one. Thus the larger the table we set, the better. Where Friedman concludes that “[t]he strongest reason for rejecting the overt political explanation is that there is no support for it other than a brief and not unprecedented flurry of liberal decisions while the Court-packing plan was pending,” someone else will focus on “the flurry” and the astonished reaction to it. As Cushman reminds us, there is no “utterly irrefutable smoking gun,” and we all draw different inferences from the circumstantial evidence.⁶⁴

Ultimately, that is, the constitutional crisis of 1937 underscores the vexed problems of causation and interpretation. Serena Mayeri asks what we might make of a hypothetical newly discovered diary entry by Justice Roberts indicating that the 1936 election results moved him to side with the majority in *Parrish*. Would it resolve the debate? Unlikely. It might be that “the forces shaping his decision were . . . just too complex to express.”⁶⁵

This uncertainty we accept when we decide to become historians. However much we study, we will never know. Yet as we learn more, we can always change our minds. And we are optimists; that we can never be sure what happened and why does not deter us from embarking on the voyage of discovery. Perhaps, however, we might tentatively advance our conclusions about what we see along the way, even if that means using the vertical pronoun. In the case of “1937,” we should try to reconstruct the political *and* legal worlds of the justices. By re-creating both, we may better understand, at least in the context of the New Deal, how law and politics feed on each other.

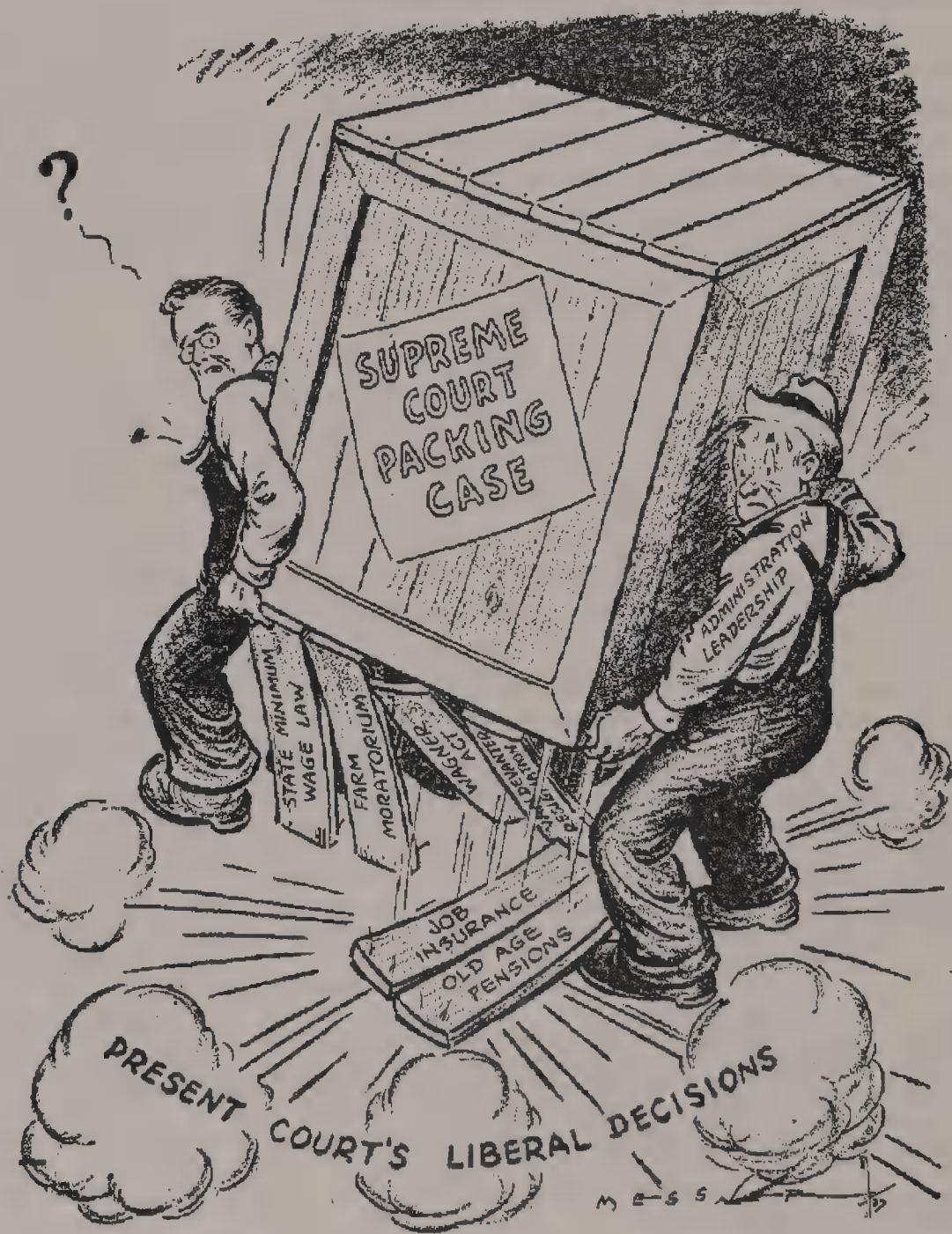
⁶³ Extrapolating from Rosenberg’s *Hollow Hope*, however, we might ask ourselves how much the National Labor Relations Act and judicial interpretation of it mattered and when. While its constitutionality was unclear and the National Labor Relations Board cases were pending, employers hostile to unions ignored it, and the shift toward mass-production unionization was due in large part to the tactics of workers themselves. David Brody, *Workers in Industrial America: Essays on the Twentieth Century Struggle* (New York, 1980), 103–107. Even so, perhaps a majority of the Court regarded the NLRA as a possible balm for the rash of sit-down strikes and was more inclined to uphold it for that reason. Jim Pope, “Worker Lawmaking, Sit-Down Strikes, and the Shaping of American Industrial Relations, 1935–38,” *Law and History Review* 24 (forthcoming, 2006). The Court also could have been moved by “the inherited Commerce Clause jurisprudence, the particular facts of the NLRB cases, and the arguments advanced by government attorneys.” Parrish, *The Hughes Court*, 179. And in the case of *Darby* and *Wickard*, of course, context also remains important. In part, *Wickard* reflected the changed personnel on the Court and the need to increase food production during World War II. Mary Dudziak, “Wheat Farmers and the Battle for Democracy: Another Look at *Wickard v. Filburn*” (unpublished paper, Association of American Law Schools, 1993). The larger and more general point is that “[b]y any criteria, . . . the major issues in the explanation of judicial behavior are far from settled.” Lawrence Baum, *The Puzzle of Judicial Behavior* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997), 125.

⁶⁴ Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 5.

⁶⁵ Serena Mayeri to Laura Kalman, American Legal History Final, Yale Law School, May 2001.

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The Bottom's Practically Out of It



"The Bottom's Practically Out of It." Drawing by Elmer R. Messner, originally published in the *Rochester Times Union* on May 25, 1937. Reproduced courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

AHR Forum
Comment on Laura Kalman's Article

WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

LAURA KALMAN'S ARTICLE IS SPLENDID. She lays out the internalist and externalist arguments thoroughly and fairly; shows her impressive command of the literature and of the fields of both history and law; advances cogently her own point of view; and ends with a plea for civility that I heartily endorse. I share, too, her discomfort with the terms "externalist" and "internalist," which are unfair to most scholars consigned to either compartment, but I follow her in employing them because they are convenient.

In only one respect would I modify slightly what she has said, and that is not to differ with her but to underscore what she has written. She notes, quite rightly, that a controversy about how to interpret the constitutional history of the 1930s has heated up. Dwelling on the emergence of that dispute, though, may inadvertently leave the impression that only in recent years has there been a challenge to what is now characterized as the orthodox view. In fact, there has never been a time when there has not been an alternative perception. When I first began serious work on the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962, the contention that the Court had not altered its position in 1937 was ancient doctrine.

One aspect of Justice Owen Roberts's alleged switch had long been established. The Court in *Morehead v. New York ex rel. Tipaldo* had struck down a state minimum wage law, with Roberts in the 5–4 majority, in June 1936;¹ President Roosevelt sent his message on reorganizing the judiciary in February 1937;² the Court handed down *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*³ upholding minimum wage legislation, with Roberts in a new 5–4 majority, in March. Ergo, it initially seemed reasonable to assume, Roberts had shifted in response to the Court-packing threat. But we have known for decades that, though the *Parrish* decision was announced in March, the vote had been taken prior to FDR's thunderbolt, and hence Court-packing legislation could not have influenced Roberts on that case. Only three days after *West Coast Hotel* was handed down, the columnist David Lawrence published an account asserting that Roberts had recorded his changed attitude in December.⁴ Furthermore, in 1962, the Frankfurter essay in the *University*

¹ 298 U.S. 587 (1936).

² *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, ed. Samuel I. Rosenman, 13 vols. (New York, 1938–1950), 5: 51–66.

³ 300 U.S. 379 (1937).

⁴ David Lawrence, "Minimum Wage Edicts," April 1, 1937, copy in Joseph Pulitzer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 76. Another prominent correspondent wrote in the same vein. See Franklyn Waltman in the *Washington Post*, May 30, 1937.

of *Pennsylvania Law Review*,⁵ with the Roberts memo, was already seven years old. I stated in my book on Roosevelt and the New Deal published in 1963: "There has been a good deal of speculation about why Roberts joined the liberal majority. It is clear that Roosevelt's Court message was not responsible, for the minimum-wage decision was reached before the President sent his message."⁶

I have never regarded myself as an externalist—although I suppose that label is a sort of promotion from being called a "consensus historian" or a "born-again New Dealer." If being characterized as an externalist implies that I believe that the Court is simply an institution that registers the mindsets of the justices, nothing could be more mistaken. I have never thought that. How could anyone who has worked as often as I have in the papers of Harlan Fiske Stone possibly think that judges are ideological automatons? Stone, who so emphatically upheld the constitutionality of the Agricultural Adjustment Act's processing tax in his *Butler* dissent,⁷ wrote a New York lawyer, "You do not dislike the A.A.A. any more than I do. I think probably not as much." He added: "That perhaps was what made me emphasize the fact that our function is not to get rid of laws merely because we don't like them. If that were the criterion I should have been on the other side."⁸ Nor have I ever supposed that simplistic political explanations are credible. Any historian with the remotest familiarity with this period knows that the justice who gave FDR the most trouble was James McReynolds, appointed by the Democrat Woodrow Wilson, and the justice who was the most articulate defender of the constitutionality of most of the New Deal was Stone, nominated by the Republican Calvin Coolidge. As recently as 1995, I took issue with a scholar who attributed the ruling in the Washington minimum wage case to "Franklin D. Roosevelt's appointments" by writing, "In fact, the decision in *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish* was reached before Roosevelt had made even one appointment."⁹

Those who do maintain that the Court is merely a political instrumentality would cite first and foremost the behavior of the justices in the disputed elections of 1876 and 2000, when their positions largely followed party lines. But when Linda Greenhouse, who was writing an article on *Bush v. Gore*¹⁰ for the *New York Times*, interviewed me on the telephone, I told her that although the most obvious explanation of the split decision was political, I did not like to think of the Court that way and was struggling to reconcile its intervention, which seemed so untethered doctrinally, with the record of the Court in rulings such as *Alden v. Maine*¹¹ that showed such deference to the states.

Far from taking a reflexively externalist attitude, I started out with the as-

⁵ Felix Frankfurter, "Mr. Justice Roberts," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 104 (1955): 311–349.

⁶ William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940* (New York, 1963), 236n.

⁷ *United States v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1 (1936) at 78–88.

⁸ Harlan Fiske Stone to C. C. Burlingham, January 9, 1936, Box 7, Stone Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹ William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York, 1995), 311.

¹⁰ *Bush v. Gore*, 531 U.S. 98 (2000).

¹¹ 119 S. Ct. 2240 (1999). I have discussed the Rehnquist Court's federalism decisions in "The Tenth Amendment over Two Centuries: More than a Truism," in *The Tenth Amendment and State Sovereignty: Constitutional History and Contemporary Issues*, ed. Mark R. Killenbeck (Lanham, Md., 2002), 41–105.

sumption that the Roberts memo should be accepted. In the 1963 book, I wrote with respect to FDR's fear that the minimum wage ruling foredoomed New Deal legislation: "In fact, the situation was not quite this serious, for Roberts had joined the majority in the *Morehead* case on technical grounds."¹² It was only after years of study that I came to a contrary conviction, which was reinforced by one of my students. The well-known article by John Chambers was written in my doctoral seminar at Columbia, and I do not see how the Roberts memo can anymore be taken as gospel after the trenchant argument that Chambers mounts.¹³

In seeking to understand the Court's behavior in the 1930s, I find the externalist explanation more cogent than the internalist, not because I think that justices are always political agents who write elaborate opinions as glosses for their preconceptions, but because in this particular instance—a highly unusual instance, one called nothing less than a "revolution"¹⁴—external influences are more congruent with the evidence.

Internalists trace the origins of the change in the 1930s to *Nebbia*¹⁵ in 1934, and I agree that that was a remarkable decision and an even more remarkable opinion. The New York law at issue must have been a difficult one for the Court to abide. At a time in the Great Depression when millions were not sure where their next meal was coming from, the act boosted the price of milk and punished any grocer who sold milk cheaper. Benno Schmidt, with whom I taught at Columbia Law School for a number of years, once told me that when he was a student at Yale Law School, Robert Bork taught that this was a truly nutty statute. Leo Nebbia, a Rochester grocer, had run afoul of the law by selling a customer two quarts of milk at the price set by a state board but then tossing in a loaf of bread, thereby, it was said, undercutting the mandatory price. If there was any way for the Court to validate such a law, it was presumably by saying that milk could be incorporated into the "affected with a public interest" doctrine enunciated in 1877 by Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite.¹⁶ Instead, in a bold opinion by Roberts, it upheld the act without relying on that rationale but by advancing a broad-gauged acceptance of governmental power.

Why, then, am I unpersuaded that *Nebbia* is a watershed? Quite simply because of what followed. Only a year after Roberts spoke in *Nebbia*, he wrote his benighted opinion in *Rail Pension*.¹⁷ Over the next thirteen months, he sided with the Four Horsemen in every case in which they were united, which is to say virtually every New Deal case. During that period, the Court struck down more important laws,

¹² Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 232n. "Morehead" was an alternative shorthand for *Tipaldo*.

¹³ John W. Chambers, "The Big Switch: Justice Roberts and the Minimum-Wage Cases," *Labor History* 10 (Winter 1969): 44–73. See, too, the perceptive comments of Michael E. Parrish in *Felix Frankfurter and His Times: The Reform Years* (New York, 1982), 270–271.

¹⁴ The term "constitutional revolution of 1937" is commonplace. As early as 1938, E. S. Corwin used the rubric "*constitutional revolution*," which he italicized, to encapsulate the 1937 revamping. Corwin, *Court over Constitution: A Study of Judicial Review as an Instrument of Popular Government* (Princeton, N.J., 1938), 124. For a later example, see Bernard Schwartz, *The Supreme Court: Constitutional Revolution in Retrospect* (New York, 1957).

¹⁵ *Nebbia v. New York*, 291 U.S. 502 (1934).

¹⁶ *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U.S. 113 (1877).

¹⁷ *Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton R. Co.*, 295 U.S. 330 (1935). I devoted a chapter to this case in *The Supreme Court Reborn*.

federal and state, than at any time in its over two centuries' history, before or since. Nothing about that performance indicates a slow evolution of doctrine toward a more expansive view of the powers of the state.

Certainly Franklin Roosevelt's experience did not suggest that *Nebbia* should have given him comfort. In January 1935, less than a year after *Nebbia*, the Supreme Court, ruling on a New Deal statute for the first time in the "hot oil" cases, invalidated a section of the National Industrial Recovery Act.¹⁸ Six weeks later, the Court reprimanded the government for repudiating gold clauses in Liberty Bonds and came within one vote of throwing the financial markets into chaos.¹⁹ Roberts's opinion in *Rail Pension* came down in early May, and in late May, on "Black Monday," the Court ruled 9–0 against the government in three cases.²⁰ The most important of these decisions, *Schechter*, knocked out one of the two foundation stones of the New Deal, the National Industrial Recovery Act, and at the start of the new year, in January, *Butler* destroyed the other, the Agricultural Adjustment Act.²¹ The rest of 1936 was no less dismal. In *Jones v. SEC*, Justice George Sutherland likened a not unreasonable stipulation by the Securities and Exchange Commission to the "intolerable abuses of the Star Chamber" in Stuart England.²² The Court ended its term with adverse decisions on government action on three successive Mondays: *Carter*, which ruled that a "little New Deal" regulating the bituminous coal industry invaded states' rights, even though seven states had filed *amicus* briefs asking that the law be sustained;²³ *Ashton*, which invalidated a municipal bankruptcy act intended not to aggrandize national authority but to preserve the integrity of local governments;²⁴ and *Tipaldo*, which shocked the nation by striking down a New York minimum wage law for women and children.²⁵

Little wonder that Roosevelt, far from expressing contentment with *Nebbia* and its offspring, concluded after *Tipaldo* that the Court had created a "'no-man's land' where no Government—State or Federal—can function."²⁶ Stone did not deny this. "Our latest exploit was a holding by a divided vote that there was no power in a state to regulate minimum wages for women," he reported. "Since the Court last week said that this could not be done by the national government, as the matter was local, and now it is said that it cannot be done by local governments, even though it is local, we seem to have tied Uncle Sam up in a hard knot."²⁷ One cannot find in these words the shadow of a hint that *Nebbia* had transformed the judicial landscape.

¹⁸ *Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan*, 293 U.S. 388 (1935).

¹⁹ *Perry v. United States*, 294 U.S. 330 (1935).

²⁰ *Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States*, 295 U.S. 495 (1935); *Louisville Joint Stock Land Bank v. Radford*, 295 U.S. 555 (1935); *Humphrey's Executor v. United States*, 295 U.S. 602 (1935). The opinion in *Schechter*, which turned on the issue of improper delegation, took a very narrow view of the commerce power, an attitude that had been foreshadowed by *Chassaniol v. City of Greenwood*, 291 U.S. 584 (1934), handed down just one week after *Nebbia*.

²¹ 297 U.S. 1 (1936).

²² 298 U.S. 1 (1936).

²³ *Carter v. Carter Coal Co.*, 298 U.S. 238 (1936).

²⁴ *Ashton v. Cameron County District*, 298 U.S. 513 (1936).

²⁵ *Morehead v. New York ex rel. Tipaldo*, 298 U.S. 587 (1936).

²⁶ Roosevelt, *Public Papers*, 5: 191–192.

²⁷ Mason, *Stone*, 426.

I altogether agree with the internalists that we should place the decisions of 1935 and 1936 in the context of a longer line of rulings, but I have a different read on which cases are pertinent. I see the decisions of 1935 and 1936 as the climax of a sequence that begins with *Hammer v. Dagenhart*²⁸ in 1918, which struck down the first Child Labor Act. Over the next decade, there ensued *Duplex Printing Press Co. v. Deering*,²⁹ which emasculated the Clayton Act's safeguards for labor unions; *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.*,³⁰ which invalidated the second Child Labor Act; *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*,³¹ which struck down a District of Columbia minimum wage law for women as infringing freedom of contract; *Burns Baking Co. v. Bryan*,³² which found that a state law regulating the weight of bread denied due process; *Tyson & Brothers v. Banton*,³³ which invalidated a New York statute regulating the resale of theater tickets; and *Ribnik v. McBride*,³⁴ which struck down a state law monitoring employment agencies.

I also agree that we should not confine ourselves to the textbook cases such as *Schechter* but should look at the whole corpus of rulings in Roosevelt's first term. But scrutinizing less-noticed decisions such as *Mayflower Farms*³⁵ and *Great Northern*,³⁶ in both of which Justices Charles Evans Hughes and Owen Roberts joined the Four Horsemen, only weakens the internalist argument. Roberts and Hughes, said Felix Frankfurter, "reached terrible depths in the *Mayflower* case."³⁷

If we were to single out one of the less familiar cases, it might well be *Colgate v. Harvey*³⁸ in 1935. There, in ruling against a Vermont tax law, the Court resurrected the privileges-and-immunities clause, which had never before been used to invalidate a law and had been regarded as having been "read out" of the Constitution. Forty-four times, counsel had raised the privileges-and-immunities clause, and forty-four times it had been rejected.

The *Colgate* decision left Frankfurter beside himself. That evening, he wired Stone: "Gosh it is unbelievable. Apparently history and precedents mean nothing."³⁹ Three days later, he unburdened himself to Stone at greater length:

Being an extrovert, I sleep very easily as a rule, but last night I woke twice and each time I went over in my mind the decisions of your Court during the last thirty years to think of one that was more unjustifiable than the *Colgate* case. I thought of all the stock mishaps—*Lochner*, *Burns Baking*, *Ribnik* . . . and all the rest. But honestly, the disinterment of "privileges and immunities" and their perversion to the use put in the *Colgate* decision, seems to me the end of the limit.⁴⁰

²⁸ 247 U.S. 251 (1918).

²⁹ 254 U.S. 443 (1921).

³⁰ 259 U.S. 20 (1922).

³¹ 261 U.S. 525 (1923).

³² 264 U.S. 504 (1924).

³³ 273 U.S. 418 (1928).

³⁴ 277 U.S. 350 (1928).

³⁵ *Mayflower Farms, Inc. v. Ten Eyck*, 297 U.S. 269 (1936).

³⁶ *Great Northern Railway v. Weeks*, 297 U.S. 135 (1936).

³⁷ Felix Frankfurter to Harlan Fiske Stone, February 12, 1936, Box 13, Stone Papers.

³⁸ 296 U.S. 404 (1935).

³⁹ Felix Frankfurter to Harlan Fiske Stone, December 16, 1935, Box 105, Frankfurter Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴⁰ Felix Frankfurter to Harlan Fiske Stone, December 19, 1935, *ibid.* In *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45 (1905), the Court, divided 5–4, struck down a New York state law limiting the hours of labor

Three weeks later, he was still steaming. *Colgate*, Frankfurter told James Landis, was “the most indefensible decision, on any Court, in my lifetime.”⁴¹

Frankfurter’s distinguished Harvard Law School colleague Thomas Reed Powell expressed no less dismay. He wrote the president of a bank in Vermont’s largest city:

We are intellectually outraged here at the Supreme Court’s decision in the *Colgate* case. In invoking the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment the Court has for the first time opened a door that many times before it had refused to open, and there seems to be no telling where the Court can go now that the door is open. If the Court is going to pick new, strange clubs out of the air to swat anything that it doesn’t like, the subject of constitutional law will be as stable as a kaleidoscope operated by an electric battery.⁴²

Where, then, is the long period of incubation that the internalists see?

Far from thinking we should look only at external political pressure and dismiss the reasoning of judges, I believe we should pay the closest attention to what judges say. If *Nebbia* in 1934 marked the beginning of a doctrinal shift on the Court, how does one account for Stone’s accusation that in *Butler* Roberts had engaged in a “tortured construction of the Constitution”⁴³ and that in *Tipaldo* the Court had given way to “personal economic predilections”?⁴⁴ On yet another occasion, Stone wrote Frankfurter: “You doubtless have read by this time the Court’s opinion in the Jones (Securities Act) case. It was written for morons, and such will no doubt take comfort from it. But I can hardly believe that intelligent people, trained in the law, will swallow such buncombe.”⁴⁵ How does one explain Cardozo’s saying of that same opinion, in which Hughes as well as Roberts joined the Four Horsemen, that the Court had given comfort to “clever knaves”?⁴⁶ Or Cardozo, speaking also for Louis Brandeis and Stone, rebuking justices in the majority in *Carter* by stating, “A great principle of constitutional law is not susceptible of comprehensive statement in an adjective,” and “The opinion of the court begins at the wrong end”?⁴⁷ Finally, if *Nebbia* in 1934 was a milestone in a doctrinal transmutation, why did Justice Stone write his sister at the end of the session in 1936, “We finished the term of Court yesterday, I think in many ways one of the most disastrous in its history”?⁴⁸

Furthermore, if there was a slowly evolving paradigm shift, how does one explain that not one of the most distinguished law professors of the day recognized it? “The Hoosac Mills [*Butler*] case will live to torment the defenders of judicial supremacy long after the issue of farmers’ relief has become a historical episode,”

of bakers. The opinion by Justice Rufus Peckham was long regarded as the high-water mark of usurpation by the courts of legislative authority.

⁴¹ Felix Frankfurter to James M. Landis, January 9, 1936, Box 10, Frankfurter Papers.

⁴² Thomas Reed Powell to Levi P. Smith, April 6, 1936, January 3, 1936, Powell Papers, Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

⁴³ 297 U.S. 1 at 87.

⁴⁴ 298 U.S. at 633.

⁴⁵ Stone to Frankfurter, April 7, 1936, Box 105, Frankfurter Papers.

⁴⁶ 298 U.S. 1 at 32.

⁴⁷ 298 U.S. 238 at 327, 341.

⁴⁸ Alpheus Thomas Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York, 1956), 425. In a trenchant essay, David A. Pepper has demonstrated how problematic is any attempt to present *Nebbia* as the fountainhead of the constitutional changeover in the 1930s. “Against Legalism: Rebutting an Anachronistic Account of 1937,” *Marquette Law Review* 82 (1998): 63–154.

declared Howard Lee McBain, Ruggles Professor of Constitutional Law at Columbia, in a feature article in the *New York Times*. "It is a shining and warning example of judicial supremacy at its worst."⁴⁹ And from Harvard Law School, Frankfurter wrote, "'They know not what they do,' these bunnies on the Court."⁵⁰

Some writers insist that the Court struck down so many laws in the 1930s for two reasons: they were badly drafted, especially during the frenzy of the First Hundred Days, and they were poorly argued. I understand why that is said. The first laws were hastily drawn, and the first solicitor general, who came, I am sorry to say, from my adopted state of North Carolina, was incompetent. But there are two problems with these contentions. One is that the most notorious decision of this period, *Tipaldo*, fell on a New York law that had been exquisitely drafted by two of the finest practitioners in the country, Ben Cohen and Felix Frankfurter, who had taken pains to work around Justice Sutherland's opinion in *Adkins*. And it did not matter. (When Roberts, who voted to strike down that law, approved another minimum wage statute in *West Coast Hotel*, that law was not nearly so well drafted.) The second is that after the initial bungling, Roosevelt, as early as March 1935, found a first-rate solicitor general in Stanley Reed. And again it did not matter. In arguing one of the New Deal farm cases, Reed was harried so relentlessly from the bench that he fainted in the courtroom. As Michael Parrish has written, the claim that sloppy draftsmanship and inept argument explain FDR's travail is "not a reasonable interpretation of the administration's misfortunes in cases such as *Butler*, *Carter Coal*, and *Jones*," and "is a preposterous explanation for the Court's behavior with respect to the state laws invalidated in *Morehead*, *Colgate*, *Great Northern*, and *Mayflower*."⁵¹

It has been asserted that FDR's Court-packing venture could not have impelled the Court to switch in 1937 because the justices were unflustered. In fact, Roosevelt's message of February 5 badly rattled them. The Scripps-Howard columnist Raymond Clapper set down in his diary after the Court convened the following Monday: "Veterans around court said they never saw such [an] irregular day." The chief justice fumbled the orders of the Court, Clapper noted. Brandeis popped through the curtain ahead of cue, then scurried back. "Potter, press room clerk, said, 'My God, the court is punch drunk.'"⁵² Several of the justices were uncharacteristically indiscreet in letting their disapproval of Roosevelt's plan be known. McReynolds, in particular, aroused strong criticism by attacking the president for poor sportsmanship in a speech at a fraternity gathering in a Washington hotel.⁵³

It is further said that the Court could not have switched under pressure in 1937 because there never was any chance that FDR's proposal would be enacted, and that the justices knew this. The evidence against these premises is formidable. Con-

⁴⁹ Howard Lee McBain, "The Issue: Court or Congress?" *New York Times Magazine*, January 19, 1936, 1, 22.

⁵⁰ Frankfurter to James M. Landis, January 9, 1936, Box 10, Landis Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵¹ Parrish, *Felix Frankfurter and His Times*, 319.

⁵² Raymond Clapper MS. Diary, February 8, 1937, Clapper Papers, Library of Congress. I have discussed this matter at length in "The Nine Justices Respond to the 1937 Crisis," *Journal of Supreme Court History* 1 (1997): 55-75.

⁵³ *Washington Post*, March 17, 1937, 1; *Baltimore Sun*, July 15, 1937, clipping, Joseph T. Robinson Scrapbooks, Robinson Papers, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.

sider the political situation. Roosevelt had just won an overwhelming victory and had pulled scores of grateful Democrats into office with him. Of the ninety-six seats in the Senate, the Republicans held only sixteen. There were so many Democrats that several had to sit on the GOP side of the aisle. In the House, Democrats outnumbered Republicans four to one. Early in April, a week before the Wagner Act rulings were announced, *Time* concluded, "Last week the sta[u]nchest foes of the President's Plan were privately conceding that . . . the necessary votes were already in his pockets."⁵⁴

Even after the Court's decisions in *West Coast Hotel*, *Jones & Laughlin*, and the *Social Security* cases,⁵⁵ and after the retirement of one of the Four Horsemen, a revised Court-packing measure that would give Roosevelt three appointments in the next six months commanded substantial support. On July 12, the floor leader of the opposition, Senator Edward Burke of Nebraska, sent the publisher Frank Gannett, who headed the chief lobby against the plan, a confidential memo giving his estimate of the likely outcome. Alongside each name on an official U.S. Senate tally sheet, he checked the vote he expected and then scrawled the total: 52 ayes, 44 nays.⁵⁶

On some important issues, I doubt that there is any disagreement between internalists and externalists. I do not think anyone is suggesting that in foreign affairs there was a conflict between the president and the Court, especially in light of Sutherland's opinion in *Curtiss-Wright*.⁵⁷ And I do not know of anyone who believes that the incorporation of the Bill of Rights in the Fourteenth Amendment began in 1937. Unquestionably, it started earlier—in the dictum in *Gitlow*⁵⁸ and the 1931 decisions in *Stromberg*⁵⁹ and *Near*.⁶⁰

We *are* divided, though, about the paradigm shift on the Court in the 1930s. If someone asks me, "What brought about that change?" I give what I think is the only reply that anyone can give: "I don't know for certain." Nobody does. And we do not know in good part because crucial material is unavailable. There are papers, ample or thin, for eight of the nine justices, and I have been to all of them. The one missing is the one we want most: Owen Roberts's. Paul Freund once told me that he had gone with Roberts's widow up into the loft of a barn in Pennsylvania in hope that they might be there. No luck. Not only are there no Roberts papers, but there are almost no Roberts letters of the 1930s in any other collection. It is as though some malevolent Orwellian figure went from archive to archive plucking them out. Moreover, Felix Frankfurter's diary for 1937, which might have been revealing, was stolen from the Library of Congress. For many years, scholars have been hoping that the thief will have an attack of conscience and return the diary and other Frankfurter papers, but so far that desire has been unrewarded.

Since there is no smoking gun, we have to sift the evidence to find the most

⁵⁴ *Time*, April 5, 1937, 13.

⁵⁵ *Carmichael v. So. Coal & Coke Co.*, 301 U.S. 495 (1937); *Steward Machine Co. v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 548 (1937); *Helvering v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 619 (1937).

⁵⁶ Memo, Box 16, Frank Gannett Papers, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

⁵⁷ *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.*, 299 U.S. 304 (1936).

⁵⁸ *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

⁵⁹ *Stromberg v. California*, 283 U.S. 359 (1931).

⁶⁰ *Near v. Minnesota*, 283 U.S. 697 (1931).

plausible scenario. Four possible explanations, or some combination of them, are the most probable. One is that Roberts and, to an extent, Hughes reconsidered because of the hammering inflicted on them by the legal community. After Roberts's opinion in *Butler*, Fleming James of Yale Law School wrote Stone: "You may be interested to know a dictum that has been going about among the students of the Law School here—a dictum attributed to a certain colorful member of the faculty, who says he didn't say it, but it's true—viz—that Owen's decision would not get a D in any course in constitutional law in any first class law school."⁶¹ When McReynolds delivered an opinion for the Court in *Ashton* to which Roberts signed on, Frankfurter wrote Stone: "I am bound to say that his decision in the Municipal Bankruptcy Case is intellectually . . . contemptible . . . You will agree, I know, what Holmes, J., would have said to the argument that the acceptance of a voluntary bankruptcy by a municipality necessarily leads to recognition of the right to impose involuntary bankruptcy. He would have said, 'It makes me puke.'"⁶² Over a stretch of nearly two years, critiques in law journals echoed these harsh indictments. Of thirteen law journals that expressed judgments on *Colgate*, twelve were unfavorable, many of them lacerating.

The justices might also have become responsive to mounting popular discontent. Although the Court continued to command considerable respect, rulings by the "nine old fossils"⁶³ riled so many Americans that drastic legislative action seemed increasingly likely. On the night of the *Butler* decision, alongside a highway near the Iowa State University campus in Ames, police came upon life-size black-robed effigies of the six justices who had voted to strike down the AAA; each had been hanged.⁶⁴ A North Carolina congressman wrote a constituent, "You actually have no idea how many people would like to get a crack at at least six of the old boys."⁶⁵ As the Court mulled over the fate of the Tennessee Valley Authority, a Montana congressman introduced a bill stipulating that if the TVA law was invalidated, the seat of every justice who voted to kill it would automatically be vacated.⁶⁶ These assaults on the Court coincided with a wave of labor militancy, highlighted by sit-down strikes, that whipped up still more fury at the Supreme Court, which was expected to invalidate the National Labor Relations Act. "The years 1935–1937," Michael Nelson has observed, "saw more 'Court-curbing' bills introduced in Congress than in any other three-year (or thirty-five-year) period in history."⁶⁷ While the country was still raging about the 5–4 *Tipaldo* decision and before *West Coast Hotel* was considered, Hughes spent many hours as a guest at Roberts's Pennsylvania farm absorbed in talk—afternoon, evening, and morning—and it is con-

⁶¹ Fleming James to Harlan Fiske Stone, January 23, 1936, Box 82, Stone Papers. See also John H. Clarke to Newton D. Baker, February 11, 1936, File 3, Folder 24, Clarke Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

⁶² Frankfurter to Stone, May 28, 1936, Box 105, Frankfurter Papers.

⁶³ *New York Times*, February 11, 1936, 15.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, January 8, 1936, 15.

⁶⁵ Anthony J. Badger, *Prosperity Road: The New Deal, Tobacco, and North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 122.

⁶⁶ *New York Times*, February 10, 1936, 4.

⁶⁷ Michael Nelson, "The President and the Court: Reinterpreting the Court-Packing Episode of 1937," *Political Science Quarterly* 103 (1988): 273, citing Stuart S. Nagel, "Court-Curbing Periods in American History," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 18 (1965): 925.

ceivable that the chief justice was counseling his younger colleague that the Court as an institution was in jeopardy and needed to be responsive.⁶⁸ There is one particularly arresting testimonial to the potency of popular opinion articulated by a retired jurist in 1951: "Looking back, it is difficult to see how the Court could have resisted the popular urge for . . . what in effect was a unified economy." The author of that statement? Owen Roberts.⁶⁹

A third script focuses on the presumed impact of the 1936 election. Some scholars have scoffed at that notion, since the Court was so unaffected by the big Democratic gains in the midterm elections in 1934, but the situation in 1936 was very different. In 1934 the Court had yet to strike down a single piece of New Deal legislation, so the contests that year could not possibly be seen as a referendum on its behavior. In addition, the 1934 races did not begin to have the prominence of the 1936 election, when the American people were being asked whether they wanted to keep Franklin Roosevelt in the White House.

The 1936 returns delivered a seismic shock. The most highly regarded public opinion poll, that of the *Literary Digest*, which in 1932 had come within one point of predicting FDR's percentage of the popular vote, had forecast on the eve of the 1936 election that Roosevelt would be trounced.⁷⁰ On the day before the election, Justice Willis Van Devanter foresaw a close race, and that summer Justice McReynolds had written his brother, "There seems a growing feeling that Roosevelt will be defeated."⁷¹ No judge anticipated the staggering dimensions of FDR's landslide as, carrying all but two of the states, he ran up the biggest electoral victory since 1820, when James Monroe ran unopposed. The justices could well have believed in 1935 and 1936 that in striking down New Deal legislation, they were not balking the popular will but were preserving the republic until the people got the opportunity to oust Roosevelt. After the torrent of ballots for FDR in 1936, no one could any longer think that.

A final hypothesis is that the threat of Court packing influenced the justices. Although FDR's message could not have been responsible for Roberts's switch in the minimum wage cases, foreboding that the president would soon go on the offensive may have contributed. Despite Roosevelt's determination to quiet the Court issue in the 1936 campaign, newspaper readers encountered numbers of warnings that if elected, FDR might pack the Court. The *New York Post* wrote, "He may add four liberals in order to insure a sympathetic approach by the Court to the New Deal Program," and a nationally syndicated columnist asserted, "You can mark it down as a strong possibility that some time within the next year there will be more than nine justices . . . Strategists whisper that it is more than a tentative proposal."⁷²

⁶⁸ Frances Perkins, Columbia Oral History Collection, 71–74.

⁶⁹ Owen J. Roberts, *The Court and the Constitution: The Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1951, 1969), 61.

⁷⁰ *Literary Digest*, October 31, 1936, 5–6.

⁷¹ Willis Van Devanter to Mrs. John W. Lacey, November 2, 1936, Volume 52, Van Devanter Papers, Library of Congress; James C. McReynolds to Dr. Robert P. McReynolds, July 4, 1936, McReynolds Papers, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

⁷² *New York Evening Post*, January 8, 1936, clipping, PPS Box 70, Herbert Hoover Papers, West Branch, Iowa; Rodney Dutcher, "Behind the Scenes in Washington," *Brownsville (Tex.) Herald*, May 27, 1936.

When Roosevelt did, in fact, announce his judiciary reorganization scheme on February 5, 1937, the menace to the Court as an institution became so palpable that it is unlikely that it had no consequence, as internalists maintain. Contemporary observers did not question what brought about the surprising ruling in *Jones & Laughlin*.⁷³ A national columnist reported: "If you ask the average well informed authority on the Supreme Court the 'why' of its decision in the Wagner labor cases, you will be informed: 'Chief Justice Hughes wanted to save the court.'"⁷⁴ Charles Beard wrote an editor, "F.D. sure did scare the old boys,"⁷⁵ and a Philadelphia newspaper declared:

Lloyd George put over the British New Deal of 1909 by threatening to pack the House of Lords.

Mr. Roosevelt has won another major battle for our own New Deal by a similar threat against our own House of Lords—the Supreme Court.⁷⁶

The foremost scholars of the day, and of subsequent generations, have found the same connection. "The logic of history is chronologic," asserted E. S. Corwin. "One cannot be blind to the . . . simple fact that February 5, 1937, came before April 12."⁷⁷ Students of the subject had no trouble parsing that sentence. April 12 was the day the fate of the Wagner Act was announced. In his classic monograph on the NLRB litigation, Richard Cortner concluded, "There seems to be little doubt that the views of Chief Justice Hughes and Justice Roberts on the power of Congress to regulate labor relations were affected by three major factors—the overwhelming re-election of Roosevelt in 1936, the sit-down strikes, and the attack on the Court, with the latter probably the most important." He added: "The Wagner Act cases marked the end of the 'old Constitution' . . . The Wagner Act cases opened the floodgates of national power."⁷⁸

Across a broad spectrum, the Supreme Court today takes as a given that 1937 was the great divide. In his fierce dissent in *Lopez*, Justice David Souter said the ruling "tugs the Court off course" by veering toward "the old judicial pretension discredited and abandoned in 1937."⁷⁹ Concurring in that case, Justice Clarence Thomas also saw a turning point; he cited the 1936 *Carter* decision approvingly and maintained that the Court had taken a wrong turn thereafter.⁸⁰ As recently as 2000, in *United States v. Morrison*, Souter accused the majority of "adherence to . . . formalistically contrived confines of commerce power" that "in large measure pro-

⁷³ *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1 (1937).

⁷⁴ Paul Mallon, "Purely Confidential," *Detroit News*, April 14, 1937.

⁷⁵ Charles Beard to Irving Brant, April 13, 1937, Box 2, Brant Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷⁶ "Congratulations, Mr. President," *Philadelphia Record*, April 13, 1937, clipping, Box 357, W. Jett Lauck Papers, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. See also J. F. T. O'Connor MS. Diary, April 12, 1937, O'Connor Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; M. M. Logan to Samuel Wilson, April 13, 1937, Wilson Papers, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

⁷⁷ Gerald Garvey, "Edward S. Corwin in the Campaign of History: The Struggle for National Power in the 1930's," *George Washington Law Review* 34 (1965): 219, 230.

⁷⁸ Richard C. Cortner, *The Wagner Act Cases* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1964), 188. "President Roosevelt's New Deal," Cass Sunstein has observed, "marked a fundamental change in American legal and political culture." Cass R. Sunstein, *The Partial Constitution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 349.

⁷⁹ *United States v. Lopez*, 514 U.S. 549 (1995) at 604, 614.

⁸⁰ *Id.* at 589.

voked the judicial crisis of 1937.”⁸¹ He did not allude to a long period of doctrinal evolution. Instead, he not only pinpointed the crisis at 1937 but put the blame on the justices of the 1930s for provoking it. “One might reasonably have doubted,” Souter scolded his brethren, “that Members of this Court would ever again return to the days before *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin* . . . brought the earlier and nearly disastrous experiment to an end.”⁸²

The greatest change in jurisprudence in the twentieth century came not gradually but abruptly. In March 1937, the Court legitimated minimum wage standards for women that had been *ultra vires* only nine months earlier. In April 1937, it ruled that the commerce power extended to a small Virginia clothing firm,⁸³ in contrast to its insistence less than a year before that it did not reach as vast an industry as coal mining. A month later, it gave a reading to the spending power that would have astonished Court-watchers in the aftermath of Roberts’s opinion in *Butler*, despite his embrace of the Hamiltonian exegesis. Never again would the Court, which had demolished so much of Roosevelt’s program in 1935–1936, strike down a New Deal law, and nearly sixty years would go by before it found any act of Congress beyond the scope of the commerce power. The rubric “Constitutional Revolution of 1937” is no misnomer.

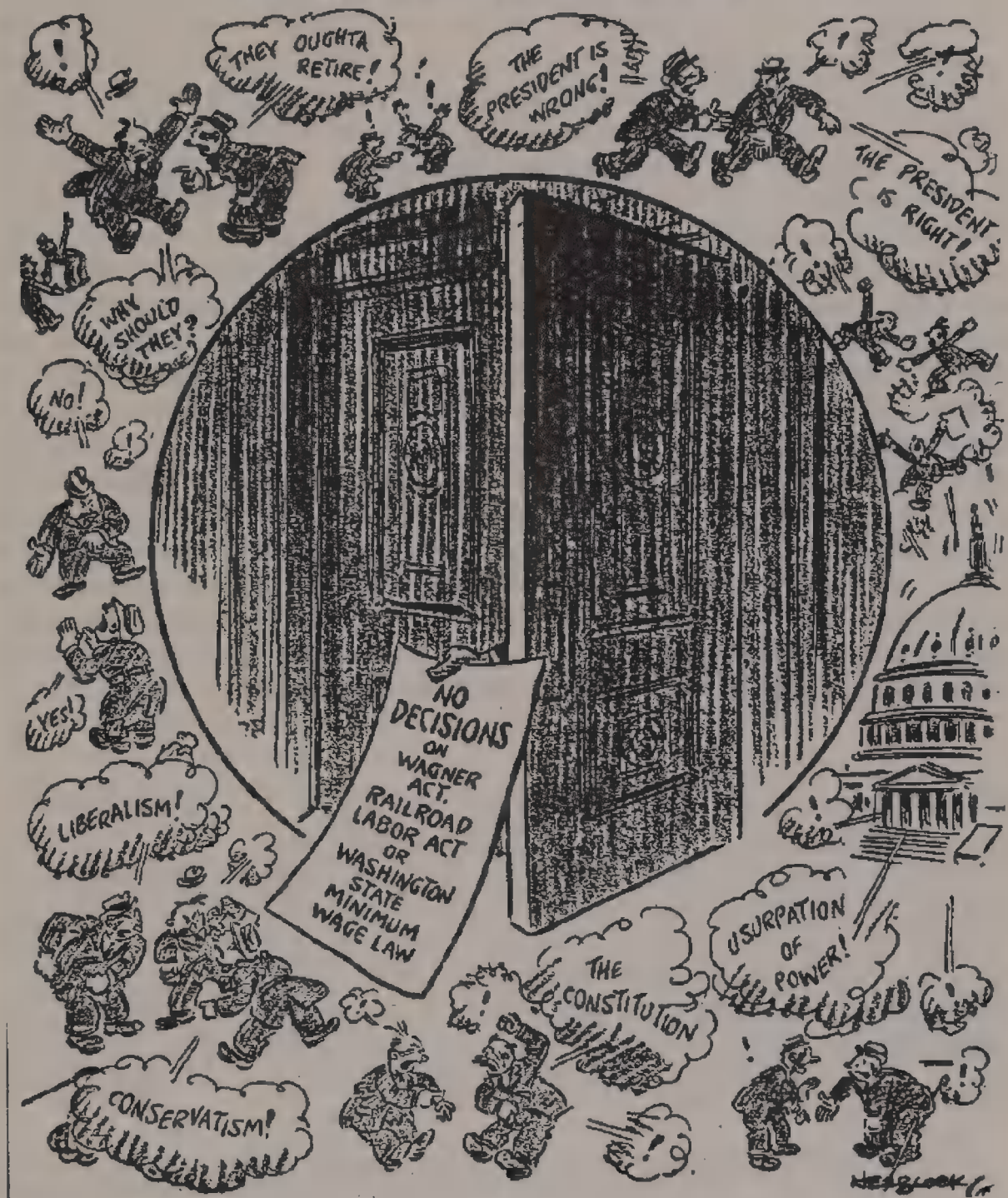
⁸¹ 120 S. Ct. 1740 (2000) at 1767.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *NLRB v. Friedman-Harry Marks Clothing Co.*, 301 U.S. 58 (1957).

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SILENCE IN THE COURTROOM



“Silence in the Courtroom.” Drawing by Herblock, originally published in the *Meriden Journal* on March 4, 1937. Reproduced courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

AHR Forum
**Constitutional Change and the New Deal:
The Internalist/Externalist Debate**

G. EDWARD WHITE

THE SO-CALLED "INTERNALIST"/"EXTERNALIST" DEBATE about the relationship of the New Deal to early- and mid-twentieth-century changes in constitutional jurisprudence has tended to obscure some assumptions shared by its participants.¹ My analysis of the debate begins with a description of those shared assumptions.

The areas of agreement between the two sides in the debate are larger than one might think. Both sides acknowledge the authoritative status of the Constitution in U.S. government, the power of justices of the Supreme Court to make "final" interpretations of the meaning of the Constitution, and the fact that Supreme Court justices have life tenure and few direct political checks on their conduct. Further, both sides recognize that the meaning of the Constitution appears to change over time: prior Supreme Court interpretations of constitutional provisions can be overruled by subsequent interpretations. The major disagreement between externalists and internalists involves *how* and *why* constitutional change takes place.

THE ISSUE OF CAUSATION IN CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE is closely connected to the issue of what constraints exist on Supreme Court justices as they interpret constitutional provisions. Both sides in the internalist-externalist debate acknowledge the significance of constraints on justices as constitutional interpreters, but differ on the nature of the constraints. The significance of constraints comes from the fact that the Constitution is the supreme authoritative source of law in the United States, Supreme Court justices play a decisive role in interpreting the Constitution, and those justices are not subject to direct political checks. Accordingly, in a constitutional democracy there must be some important constraints on

¹ The terms "internalist" and "externalist," this article suggests, connote a good deal more than the simple claims that judicially induced changes in constitutional law are produced primarily by forces inside or outside the Supreme Court. The term "internalist," long established in philosophy, began to be applied to historiographical debates in legal history in the 1980s. See Lawrence M. Friedman, "Law, Lawyers, and Popular Culture," *Yale Law Journal* 98 (1989): 1579, 1582; N. E. H. Hull, "The Perils of Empirical Legal Research," *Law & Society Review* 23 (1989): 915, 916. By 1994, Barry Cushman had applied the term "externalist" to one line of historical work on constitutional change in the 1930s. Cushman, "Rethinking the New Deal Court," *Virginia Law Review* 80 (1994): 201, 205–206. By the late 1990s, the idea of an internalist/externalist debate was well established. See Laura Kalman, "Law, Politics and the New Deal(s)," *Yale Law Journal* 108 (1998–1999): 2165, 2170–2178.

the power of justices as constitutional interpreters to guard against the risk that their interpretive authority may incline them to act as arbitrary tyrants.

Internalists and externalists assign importance to quite different sets of constraints on justices as constitutional interpreters. Externalists treat Supreme Court justices as being affected in their decision making by factors very similar to those that affect publicly elected officials. They see justices as asking themselves how a particular outcome in a case squares with their preexisting ideological perspectives, and what the immediate political and social implications of a particular outcome may be. They see their decision making as being affected, as is the decision making of other publicly elected officials, by short-run political considerations.

In explaining judge-induced changes in constitutional law, externalist accounts signal the importance they attach to political constraints by using labels associated with the world of elective politics to describe the jurisprudential perspectives of Supreme Court justices. In several externalist accounts of the Court-packing crisis of the 1930s and the “constitutional revolution” allegedly associated with it, justices who declined to give constitutional sanction to legislation expanding the regulatory or redistributive powers of government have been characterized as “reactionaries” or “conservatives,” and justices who were prepared to sustain the legislation have been described as “progressives” or “liberals.” Other justices have been identified as “switching” from “conservative” to “liberal” in their stance.² The labels for the judges are derived by associating individual judges with particular outcomes in constitutional cases, and by identifying those outcomes as consistent with a particular stance on the political spectrum of the time.

By emphasizing the importance of ideological labels, and their political implications, in affecting the performance of justices as constitutional interpreters, externalist accounts deemphasize the importance of other sets of factors that constrain justices in their interpretations of the Constitution. Internalists, by contrast, emphasize those factors.

One factor afforded importance by internalists is the process by which the Supreme Court reaches decisions. The process is collegial, deliberative, and focused on the analysis of legal doctrine. By emphasizing its collegial decision making, the Court attempts to signal that its decisions should be regarded as collective institutional products rather than the aggregate judgments of individuals. It does so in a number of ways: by generating an “opinion of the Court” rather than separate opinions, by generally discouraging the production of dissenting and concurring opinions, and by employing deliberative practices that emphasize the circulation of draft opinions and the modification of language in response to internal criticism, all with the goal of producing opinions that minimize the appearance of conflict among individual justices.

The collegial deliberations of the Court are conducted in a specialized pro-

² The height of this approach may have come in the 1950s and early 1960s; see, e.g., Alpheus Thomas Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York, 1956), 314–316, 455–461; Bernard Schwartz, *The Supreme Court: Constitutional Revolution in Retrospect* (New York, 1957), 17, 19–20; Mario Einaudi, *The Roosevelt Revolution* (New York, 1959), 220–222; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940* (New York, 1963), 143–146, 236–237. But it persisted well beyond that; see Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York, 1995), 132–133.

fessional language, the language of doctrinal analysis. Whatever the sources of a justice's attitude toward the disposition of a case, that justice's arguments on behalf of a given disposition will need to emphasize doctrinal reasons, because doctrinal analysis is the technique employed to justify the Court's decisions. Thus the existing doctrinal framework in which cases are analyzed is itself a constraint on the decision making of justices.

In constitutional cases, the Court's existing doctrinal framework is particularly important. Although provisions of the Constitution remain constant over time, the way in which they have been approached by judges has changed significantly. When judges have interpreted the Constitution during any historical moment, they have been constrained by tacit understandings as to how judges are expected to approach the task of constitutional interpretation.

From the opening of the twentieth century to the 1930s, the Court adopted a particular doctrinal approach to cases in which state police power legislation, or federal legislation based on the commerce power but designed to promote public health, safety, or morals, was challenged as a violation of the due process clauses. The approach, as Chief Justice William Howard Taft described it in his dissent in the 1923 case of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, anticipated that judges would be "pricking out . . . [t]he boundary of the police power beyond which its exercise becomes an invasion of the guaranty of liberty under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments."³ The approach assumed that the Court would regularly be determining the content of "liberty" in due process cases, and thereby establishing categories of permissible and impermissible legislation. The "liberty of contract" doctrine that characterized many of the Court's early-twentieth-century decisions was a product of the approach. It was a device to help judges trace out the boundary.

The Court's boundary-tracing approach thus assumed that it was appropriate for judges to give content to open-ended provisions in the Constitution such as "liberty" in the due process clauses. In an 1877 decision, *Munn v. Illinois*,⁴ the Court had intimated that the scope of the police power in due process cases was a legislative rather than a judicial question, so that if legislation could be justified on police power grounds, it necessarily met the requirements of due process. By the early twentieth century, that view of the Court's role in due process cases had been replaced with the one Taft described. The emergence of the latter approach meant that any early-twentieth-century justice confronted with a due process challenge to police power or commerce power legislation would be making an independent appraisal of the scope of legislative power. That appraisal was incumbent in the technique of "boundary pricking."

In the 1905 police power–due process case of *Lochner v. New York*,⁵ Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes declined to adopt the boundary-pricking approach. He concluded that the doctrine of "liberty of contract" represented a judicial engrafting of a "particular economic theory" onto the Constitution, which was illegitimate. As a judge, he maintained, he felt bound to defer to legislative efforts to regulate

³ *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525, 562 (1923).

⁴ 94 U.S. 113 (1877).

⁵ 198 U.S. 45 (1905).

economic activity if they appeared to be reasonably grounded on protecting public health, safety, or morals.⁶ Holmes was alone among the justices who decided *Lochner* in rejecting boundary pricking, and his opinion was not singled out by commentators for several years.⁷ Thirty years after the *Lochner* case, the Court continued to use the boundary-pricking approach in police power cases.⁸

The boundary-pricking approach adopted by the majority opinion in *Lochner*, which invalidated a New York statute regulating the number of hours that employees could work in the baking industry, was subsequently given the pejorative characterization of “substantive due process” by commentators, and assailed as a judicial effort to equate “liberty” in the due process clauses with the ideology of laissez-faire.⁹ But it was not invariably solicitous of free markets, or of the interests of employers in labor cases. Court majorities using the approach concluded that states could limit the hours of miners¹⁰ or women,¹¹ and regulate stockyards,¹² oil pipelines,¹³ fire insurance premiums,¹⁴ and the prices of residential leases,¹⁵ coal,¹⁶ and grain futures.¹⁷ Three justices used boundary pricking to conclude that the statute in *Lochner* was a reasonable public health measure.¹⁸

The primary significance of the Court’s dominant early-twentieth-century approach to due process cases was thus not that it tended to favor employers over employees, or private interests over public regulators. It was that it decisively affected the way in which justices, whatever their ideological point of view, justified the decisions they reached. A justice such as Holmes, who chose to reject the approach altogether, did so with the realization that he was not engaging his colleagues on their common doctrinal terms.

By the early 1940s, the Court had abandoned the boundary-pricking approach in due process cases. Instead it employed an approach that did not, on the surface, emphasize the role of judges in giving content to constitutional provisions. The approach was organized around the idea that legislation affecting “ordinary commercial transactions” would be presumed to be constitutional, and the presumption of constitutionality would be departed from in only a handful of other types of cases.¹⁹ The consequence of the approach was that most police power legislation

⁶ Id. at 75–76.

⁷ See G. Edward White, *Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: Law and the Inner Self* (New York, 1993), 364–365.

⁸ See *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379 (1937).

⁹ This line of commentary became conventional wisdom by the 1950s, and remains such. See G. Edward White, *The Constitution and the New Deal* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 261–265.

¹⁰ *Holden v. Hardy*, 169 U.S. 366 (1898).

¹¹ *Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U.S. 412 (1908).

¹² *Cotting v. Kansas City Stock Yards Co.*, 183 U.S. 79 (1901).

¹³ *Pipe Line Cases*, 234 U.S. 548 (1914).

¹⁴ *German Alliance Ins. Co. v. Kansas*, 233 U.S. 389 (1914).

¹⁵ *Block v. Hirsh*, 256 U.S. 135 (1921).

¹⁶ *Highland v. Russell Car & Snow Plow Co.*, 279 U.S. 253 (1929).

¹⁷ *Chicago Board of Trade v. Olsen*, 262 U.S. 1 (1923).

¹⁸ See 198 U.S. 72 (Harlan, White, and Day, dissenting).

¹⁹ The approach was first announced in a footnote in *United States v. Carolene Products Co.*, 304 U.S. 144 (1938), a case posing a due process challenge to federal legislation prohibiting the sale or distribution of “filled milk,” a nondairy substitute for whole milk. The principal category of cases in which the presumption of constitutionality would be departed from, the *Carolene Products* footnote suggested, included cases in which “legislation appears on its face to be within a specific provision of the Constitution.” The Court singled out provisions of the “first ten amendments” that had been

that infringed on economic “liberties” was presumed constitutional and needed to be based only on a reasonable belief on the part of the legislators that it would promote public health, safety, or morals. In the early stages of this approach, the instances in which the Court departed from the presumption of constitutionality tended to be confined to free speech cases.²⁰

The shift from an interpretive methodology emphasizing boundary pricking to one emphasizing constitutional presumptions and levels of judicial scrutiny for challenged legislation took place in a time frame that paralleled the emergence of the New Deal in U.S. politics. Moreover, it produced outcomes in some areas of constitutional law that seemed consistent with the New Deal’s political agenda and had been rejected by some decisions of the Court in the mid-1930s.²¹ It is this combination of the New Deal’s emergence as a political force and changes in constitutional law during the period of the New Deal’s influence that has given rise to the externalist claim that those changes represented the Court’s response to political pressure generated by the New Deal’s popular appeal. Specifically, the combination has given rise to the claim that some justices “switched” their votes in response to the Roosevelt administration’s introduction of a plan to add justices to the Court if sitting justices declined to retire at the age of seventy.

Does correlation imply causation? We have, on the one hand, a dramatic shift in the Court’s methodological approach in constitutional cases from the 1920s to the 1940s. Boundary tracing, with its attendant doctrinal formulas, was still the dominant approach in the mid-1930s; by the close of the Second World War, it had been replaced by the *Carolene Products* approach. We have, on the other hand, political and economic upheaval in approximately the same time frame: a depression, a political realignment, an alteration of the relationship between government and private enterprise, a major war. It is tempting to conclude that the latter developments affected the former, particularly if one thinks of Supreme Court justices as a species of lawmakers whose decisions are affected by political events. It turns out, moreover, that the question of causation can be very much affected by the time frame a historian chooses to emphasize.

“deemed equally specific when held to be embraced within the Fourteenth [Amendment’s due process clause].” *Id.* at 152–153 n. 4. It cited two free speech cases. The *Carolene Products* approach thus built upon a 1937 case, *Palko v. Connecticut*, 302 U.S. 319, in which the Court identified a criterion for when a particular provision of the Bill of Rights would be “incorporated” into the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment: whether it was “of the very essence of a scheme of ordered liberty” in Anglo-American jurisprudence. *Id.* at 327. Selective judicial incorporation of Bill of Rights provisions into the Fourteenth Amendment was a form of boundary tracing, although the Court did not identify it as such.

²⁰ See *Hague v. CIO*, 307 U.S. 496 (1939); *Thornhill v. Alabama*, 310 U.S. 88 (1940); *Cantwell v. Connecticut*, 310 U.S. 296 (1940).

²¹ The principal areas were the commerce clause, congressional delegations of power to federal administrative agencies, and police power legislation regulating economic activity or redistributing economic benefits. After a series of decisions in 1935 and 1936 invalidating federal legislation as an unauthorized use of the commerce power or as excessive delegations of legislative power to the executive, and invalidating a state police power statute as an infringement on “liberty of contract,” the Court, between 1937 and 1942, announced a broader definition of Congress’s power to regulate interstate commerce, sustained a state minimum wage law against a “liberty of contract” challenge, and abandoned the “non-delegation doctrine” in cases challenging the regulatory authority of federal administrative agencies.

WILLIAM LEUCHTENBURG REMAINS CONVINCED that “[t]he greatest change in jurisprudence in the twentieth century came not gradually, but abruptly,” and that “[t]he rubric ‘Constitutional Revolution of 1937’ is no misnomer.”²² As he puts it,

In seeking to understand the Court’s behavior in the 1930s, I find the externalist explanation more cogent than the internalist, not because I think that justices are always political agents who write elaborate opinions as glosses for their preconceptions, but because in this particular instance—a highly unusual instance, one called nothing less than a revolution—external influences are more congruent with the evidence.²³

Having made that comment, Leuchtenburg then proceeds to review the evidence in a fashion that suggests he has not really engaged with the internalist hypotheses. The narrative of constitutional developments he presents is designed to undermine the significance of the Court’s 1934 decision in *Nebbia v. New York*, which “internalists,” Leuchtenburg claims, use to “trace the origins of the change in the 1930s.”²⁴ But although Leuchtenburg’s narrative regularly mentions *Nebbia*, it pays no attention to the case’s doctrinal significance. Indeed, Leuchtenburg’s account tends to leave out constitutional doctrine altogether or to misunderstand it.

Leuchtenburg’s narrative begins with the comment that he is “unpersuaded that *Nebbia* was a watershed . . . because of what followed.” His first example is the Court’s decision in the “Rail Pension” case, *Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton Railroad Co.*²⁵ The *Alton* case, however, was not a doctrinal retreat from *Nebbia*. Due process cases prior to *Nebbia* had maintained that businesses “affected with a public interest” could be regulated more extensively than could those that were “private.” Although *Nebbia* abandoned this distinction, announcing that “there is no closed class or category of businesses affected with a public interest,” it did not suggest that all police power or commerce power legislation regulating economic activity was constitutional. Because *Alton* involved the railroad industry, which the Court had long held to be in the category of businesses affected with a public interest, *Nebbia*’s expansion of that category was not relevant to the disposition of the *Alton* case. The dissenting opinion in *Alton* did not even mention *Nebbia*.²⁶

By “what followed” *Nebbia*, Leuchtenburg appears to mean cases “reaching a result adverse to the government.” This is the common ground of the next series of cases he presents as evidence that *Nebbia* had not “transformed the judicial landscape.”²⁷ The cases he discusses are the “hot oil” case;²⁸ the “gold clause”

²² William E. Leuchtenburg, “Comment on Laura Kalman’s Article,” 1092.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1083.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Leuchtenburg’s reference is to Barry Cushman’s *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution* (New York, 1998), which treats *Nebbia* as representing a pivotal shift in the Court’s categorical thinking in police power cases. But although Cushman argues that the *Nebbia* decision had important ramifications for the Court’s constitutional jurisprudence in the 1930s, he treats it as only part of a multifaceted explanation for the “constitutional revolution” of the late 1930s and 1940s, which includes changes in Court personnel. See *ibid.*, 186–189, 208–211, 219–220, 222–225.

²⁵ 295 U.S. 330 (1935).

²⁶ See Barry Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” *William & Mary Law Review* 41 (1999): 95, 129–132. The same is true of the majority and dissenting opinions in *Great Northern Railway v. Weeks*, 97 U.S. 135 (1936), which concerned the validity of a valuation procedure for assessing taxes on a railway company.

²⁷ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1084.

²⁸ *Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan*, 293 U.S. 388 (1935).

cases;²⁹ *Schechter Poultry Co. v. United States*,³⁰ which invalidated the National Industrial Recovery Act; *United States v. Butler*,³¹ which invalidated the Agricultural Adjustment Act; *Jones v. SEC*,³² which indicated that the Securities and Exchange Commission had exceeded its powers; *Carter v. Carter Coal Co.*,³³ which invalidated the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act; *Ashton v. Cameron County District*,³⁴ which struck down the Municipal Bankruptcy Act of 1934; and *Morehead ex rel. New York v. Tipaldo*,³⁵ which invalidated a New York state minimum wage law for women.

Only one of those cases, the last, involved the same constitutional issues as *Nebbia*. And in that case, although Leuchtenburg is not able to find “the shadow of a hint that *Nebbia* had transformed the judicial landscape,” Justice Harlan Fiske Stone, in dissent, found the majority opinion “irreconcilable with [*Nebbia*]” and argued that *Nebbia* should be followed.³⁶ As for the other decisions, the “hot oil” case focused on the scope of Congress’s power to delegate authority to the executive branch, as did the *Schechter* case, the *Butler* case on the Tenth Amendment, the *Carter Coal* case on the scope of the commerce power, and the *Ashton* case on intergovernmental immunities. None of those issues was relevant to *Nebbia*.³⁷ The “gold clause” cases likewise had nothing to do with the doctrinal framework in *Nebbia*; they were not even evidence of the Court’s hostility to governmental regulation, since they sustained the power of Congress to suspend specie payments, whether they affected private contracts or Treasury notes.

It appears that Leuchtenburg’s purpose in introducing those cases is to show that they represented, for the most part, “adverse decisions on government action,”³⁸ whether state or federal. If one reads *Nebbia* exclusively as a decision supporting governmental action, the decisions, with the exception of the “gold clause” cases, would not be following any trend initiated by that decision. But this can hardly be called an argument against the internalist position. The significance attributed to *Nebbia* by internalist scholarship has been as a breakthrough in the Court’s doctrinal framework in police power cases, not as a result supporting governmental action.³⁹ Since only one of the cases introduced by Leuchtenburg as evidence that *Nebbia* was not a “watershed” is even relevant to a discussion of *Nebbia*’s doctrinal posture, his introducing them suggests that he is simply unwilling to engage internalist hypotheses on their own ground.

This unwillingness continues when Leuchtenburg, claiming that he “agree[s] with the internalists that we should place the decisions of 1935 and 1936 in the

²⁹ *Nortz v. Baltimore & Ohio R. Co.*, 294 U.S. 240 (1935); *Nortz v. United States*, 294 U.S. 317 (1935); *Perry v. United States*, 294 U.S. 330 (1935).

³⁰ 295 U.S. 495 (1935).

³¹ 297 U.S. 1 (1936).

³² 298 U.S. 1 (1936).

³³ 298 U.S. 238 (1936).

³⁴ 298 U.S. 513 (1936).

³⁵ 298 U.S. 587 (1936).

³⁶ 298 U.S. at 635–636.

³⁷ See Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 105–107.

³⁸ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1084.

³⁹ Several contemporary congressmen, lower court judges, government lawyers, and academic commentators recognized the ways in which *Nebbia* had “transformed the judicial landscape.” For details, see Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 107–128; Cushman, “Rethinking the New Deal Court,” 82–85, 91–92, 99, 134–135, 194–195, 203–204.

context of a longer line of rulings,” introduces some additional cases that he believes are “pertinent.”⁴⁰ He lists *Hammer v. Dagenhart*,⁴¹ *Duplex Printing Press Co. v. Deering*,⁴² *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.*,⁴³ *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital*,⁴⁴ *Burns Baking Co. v. Bryan*,⁴⁵ *Tyson Bros. v. Banton*,⁴⁶ and *Ribnik v. McBride*.⁴⁷ The pertinence of these cases to Leuchtenburg’s critique of the internalist hypothesis is not obvious. To be sure, doctrinal approaches that the Court took in *Hammer*, *Bailey*, and *Adkins* could be said to have been reaffirmed in *Schechter* (the *Hammer* decision’s view that the commerce power needs to be understood against the backdrop of state reserved powers), *Butler* (*Bailey*’s conclusion that the federal taxing and spending powers cannot be used to give Congress control over matters reserved to the states), and *Tipaldo* (following *Adkins* in finding minimum wage legislation designed to benefit a particular class of workers to be a violation of the due process clauses). But the presence of doctrinal continuity over time in the Court’s decisions would not seem to be an argument against internalism. The internalist hypothesis uses doctrinal continuity as an illustration of the constraints on Supreme Court decision making, arguing that the Court’s decisions inevitably take place against a backdrop of established doctrinal propositions that complicate the process of constitutional change. As we have seen, Leuchtenburg’s analysis centers on a claim that the Court’s decisions in 1937 were a response to a “highly unusual” configuration of external events. It is not clear how tracing the doctrinal antecedents of decisions the Court made in 1935 and 1936 strengthens that claim.

Moreover, the pertinence of some of the other decisions that Leuchtenburg cites remains elusive if his point in listing the decisions is to trace a “line” of cases of which the Court’s 1935 and 1936 decisions were part. The *Duplex Printing* case was not a constitutional case at all: it involved a construction of the Clayton Act. The *Tyson* and *Ribnik* cases involved the placement of businesses inside or outside the category of “business affected with a public interest.” Both of those decisions were understood by members of the Court and commentators to have been severely undermined by *Nebbia*.⁴⁸ And Leuchtenburg ignores the aftermath of the *Burns* case, in which the Nebraska legislature passed a revised statute in 1931 regulating the weight of bread that was upheld by the Court in *Petersen Baking Co. v. Bryan*,⁴⁹ a unanimous 1934 decision written by Justice Pierce Butler.

If one looks at Leuchtenburg’s list from another perspective, however, it does have “pertinence.” Just as with his prior list of cases “following” *Nebbia*, the decisions he mentions have a common element. With the exception of *Duplex Printing*, which held that the Clayton Act did not exempt a labor union’s secondary boycott from the coverage of the Sherman Act, they all involve instances in which

⁴⁰ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1085.

⁴¹ 247 U.S. 251 (1918).

⁴² 254 U.S. 443 (1921).

⁴³ 259 U.S. 20 (1922).

⁴⁴ 261 U.S. 525 (1923).

⁴⁵ 264 U.S. 504 (1924).

⁴⁶ 273 U.S. 418 (1928).

⁴⁷ 277 U.S. 350 (1928).

⁴⁸ See Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 107–128.

⁴⁹ 290 U.S. 570 (1934). See Barry Cushman, “Some Varieties and Vicissitudes of *Lochnerism*,” *Boston University Law Review* 85 (forthcoming, 2005).

the Court reached results “adverse to governmental action.” Each of these decisions posed constitutional objections to Congress’s or a state’s efforts to regulate economic activity. If one ignores doctrine and focuses on results, the decisions appear to be part of a consistent pattern. But that pattern does not provide much help in understanding the Court’s motivation for its decisions in 1937. If a majority of the Court was uniformly hostile to governmental regulation of businesses, as the results in *Leuchtenburg’s* line of cases might suggest, how does one explain that *before* the 1936 election and the introduction of the Court-packing plan, the Court had sustained state regulation of the milk and bread industries, confining to oblivion three of the decisions that *Leuchtenburg* lists?⁵⁰ In short, *Leuchtenburg’s* efforts to respond to internalist claims do not engage the internalist hypothesis on its own terms. They merely repeat an argument that internalists reject as inconsistent with the evidence: that result-oriented ideology trumped doctrinal principles and transcended doctrinal categories in Supreme Court cases.

As *Leuchtenburg’s* narrative continues, it begins to focus on themes that he will eventually use as the basis of externalist hypotheses about the Court’s motivation in the 1936 term. He notes some criticism of the Court from academics as preparation for the hypothesis that the Court may have switched its stance in response to the “hammering” it took from scholars. He attempts to undermine the suggestion in some internalist literature that the Court began to alter its stance toward regulatory legislation once that legislation was redrafted to meet constitutional objections. He presents some evidence that the justices were highly aware of and “flustered” by the introduction of the Court-packing plan. And he suggests that even though the Court-packing plan never garnered enough support to become enacted, the justices were not aware of that fact during the time frame in which some of them allegedly switched their stance toward the efficacy of governmental regulation.⁵¹

Only one of the themes *Leuchtenburg* introduces is responsive to internalist arguments, the material he presents suggesting that the drafting of statutes is an insufficient explanation for the Court’s altered stance.⁵² In his presentation, however, *Leuchtenburg* leaves out several illustrations of the “bad drafting” claim. He lists the “hot oil” case as an example of decisions that were inconsistent with *Nebbia*, but fails to mention that six weeks after the “hot oil” decision, Congress responded with a revised statute, the Connally Act, which was unanimously sustained in *United States v. Powers*,⁵³ a 1939 decision approved of even by James McReynolds and Butler. He cites *Louisville Joint Stock Land Bank v. Radford* as among the post-*Nebbia* cases in which the Court “ruled . . . against the

⁵⁰ Such instances were not all that unusual. The fact that the pre-1937 Court sustained most regulatory legislation brought before it has long been well documented. See, e.g., Charles Warren, “The Progressiveness of the United States Supreme Court,” *Columbia Law Review* 13 (1913): 294; Thomas Reed Powell, “The Judiciality of Minimum-Wage Legislation,” *Harvard Law Review* 37 (1924): 545, 555; Barry Cushman, “The Secret Lives of the Four Horsemen,” *Virginia Law Review* 83 (1997): 559.

⁵¹ *Leuchtenburg*, “Comment,” 1086–1089.

⁵² *Leuchtenburg* dismisses as “preposterous” the claim that bad drafting accounted for the results in *Morehead*, *Colgate*, *Great Northern*, and *Mayflower Farms*. “Comment,” 1087. As far as I am aware, no internalist has attempted to explain those decisions on the grounds of bad drafting. For discussions of the decisions, see Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 92–104; Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 135–141.

⁵³ 307 U.S. 214 (1939).

government,”⁵⁴ but neglects to point out that Congress’s revised version of the Farm Debt Relief Act was upheld by the Court, again unanimously, in 1937.⁵⁵ He ignores the fact that after the *Carter Coal* decision, Congress redrafted the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act, confident that *Nebbia* would support a statute confined to the regulation of prices, and that Charles Evans Hughes and Owen Roberts joined the opinion sustaining the revised version in 1940.⁵⁶ He also declines to mention other illustrations of Congress’s “drafting around” Court decisions by grounding statutes on different constitutional bases. This technique overcame the result in *Butler* by producing a revised Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1938, which was upheld in an opinion written by Roberts and joined by Hughes in 1939.⁵⁷ At the same time, Congress responded to *Alton* by enacting two statutes establishing a pension system for the railroad industry, the Carrier Taxing Act and the Railroad Retirement Act. Like many other New Deal spending initiatives, those two statutes successfully exploited well-established propositions of the Court’s justiciability doctrine in order to insulate their provisions from judicial review.⁵⁸ At a minimum, these examples would seem to illustrate the importance of doctrinal considerations in explaining the Court’s performance.

Finally, Leuchtenburg implies that Hughes’s and Roberts’s association with some decisions that received vociferous academic criticism, such as *Alton*, *Mayflower Farms Inc. v. Ten Eyck*,⁵⁹ or *Colgate v. Harvey*,⁶⁰ motivated them to retreat from endorsing those decisions after 1937.⁶¹ But evidence from subsequent decisions suggests that neither Hughes nor Roberts changed the position he had taken in *Alton*, *Mayflower Farms*, and *Colgate*.⁶² If one expands the timeline from a few months in 1936 and 1937 to the entire decade of the 1930s, and expands the sample of cases, it becomes apparent that Hughes and Roberts, along with other justices such as Benjamin Cardozo and Stone, were attempting to develop doctrinal postures that would accommodate some, but not all, regulatory legislation. Leuchtenburg’s analysis simply ignores those developments.

As Leuchtenburg’s narrative centers on explanations for the Court’s changed attitude in constitutional cases after 1937, one can see how important the narrow time frame of his inquiry is to his causal claims. Leuchtenburg offers four “possible explanations” for the change, each of them based on developments within a two-

⁵⁴ 295 U.S. 555 (1935); Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1084.

⁵⁵ *Wright v. Vinton Branch Bank*, 300 U.S. 440 (1937).

⁵⁶ *Sunshine Anthracite Coal v. Adkins*, 310 U.S. 181 (1940).

⁵⁷ *Mulford v. Smith*, 307 U.S. 38 (1939).

⁵⁸ For a detailed treatment of each of the examples discussed in this paragraph, see Barry Cushman, “The Hughes Court and Constitutional Consultation,” *Journal of Supreme Court History* 79 (1998).

⁵⁹ 297 U.S. 269 (1936).

⁶⁰ 296 U.S. 404 (1935).

⁶¹ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1089.

⁶² Hughes and Roberts adhered to the positions they had taken in *Mayflower Farms* in *United States v. Rock-Royal Cooperative*, 307 U.S. 533, 583–587 (1939) (Roberts, J., and Hughes, C. J., dissenting). When the Court overruled *Colgate* in *Madden v. Kentucky*, 309 U.S. 83 (1940), Roberts confirmed his allegiance to *Colgate* in a dissenting opinion. See *id.* at 93–94 (Roberts, J., dissenting). Hughes concurred only in the result. *Id.* at 93. And when *Alton* was effectively overruled in *United States v. Lowden*, 308 U.S. 225 (1939), the opinion was unanimous only because Roberts suppressed the dissent he had registered in conference. See Harlan Fiske Stone Papers, Box 65, Library of Congress. For a more detailed treatment of those decisions, see Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 129–141; Cushman, “Some Varieties and Vicissitudes of *Lochnerism*.”

year period, from 1935 to 1937. One is the “hammering” the Court received from critics in the legal academy for its decisions in the mid-1930s, which Leuchtenburg claims was echoed by unfavorable commentary in law journals “over a stretch of nearly two years” beginning in 1935. A second is what he calls “mounting popular discontent” with the Court in the same time period, symbolized by a large number of “Court-curbing bills” being introduced in Congress between 1935 and 1937. A third is the “seismic shock” of Roosevelt’s landslide victory in the 1936 presidential election, which “no judge [on the Court] anticipated.” The justices “could well have believed,” Leuchtenburg suggests, “that in striking down New Deal legislation, they were not balking the popular will . . . After the torrent of ballots for FDR in 1936, no one could any longer think that.”⁶³

The final explanation is the Court-packing plan itself. Leuchtenburg states that after Roosevelt introduced the plan in February 1937, the menace to the Court as an institution became “so palpable that it is unlikely that it had no consequence.” He cites some correspondence from observers in April 1937 suggesting that Roosevelt had scared the Court, and that Chief Justice Hughes had acted to save it.

Taken together, Leuchtenburg’s explanations are designed to create an impression that the Court was bombarded by constant pressure over a relatively narrow time period, between 1935 and 1937, and finally succumbed. First it received scholarly criticism for some of its decisions in the mid-1930s; then it saw “Court-curbing bills” being introduced in Congress; then it realized, after the 1936 election, that Roosevelt had great popular support; and then it faced the “palpable menace” of the 1937 Court-packing plan. The image is of a group of justices who were constantly taking political soundings and were increasingly disturbed with what they found. The period culminates in an “abrupt” change in their jurisprudence.

By emphasizing this narrow time frame and quoting contemporary sources expressing outrage over the Court’s decisions or suggesting that the justices caved in to political pressure, Leuchtenburg creates the impression that a sudden crisis bubbled up for the Court and was resolved only by a decisive jurisprudential shift. The two years between 1935 and 1937 were a “highly unusual instance,” one “called nothing less than a revolution.” But if one uses a wider time frame, none of the factors that Leuchtenburg emphasizes seem unprecedented or even unusual. Moreover, the causal inferences he draws from the factors seem largely unwarranted.

The phenomenon of critics’ “hammering” the Court in letters bemoaning its decisions has been a recurrent phenomenon, dating back at least to Thomas Jefferson’s complaints against the Marshall Court.⁶⁴ Law journal reaction to the Court’s decisions in the mid-1930s tended to see them as less incompetent, and for that matter less hostile to the New Deal, than Leuchtenburg suggests.⁶⁵ The introduction of bills seeking to modify the Court’s jurisdiction was not unique to the 1930s; it was also a response to the Marshall Court’s decisions and a regular practice from the 1890s through the early 1930s.⁶⁶ Roosevelt’s landslide in the 1936

⁶³ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1090.

⁶⁴ See the discussion in G. Edward White, *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–1835* (New York, 1988), 187–189.

⁶⁵ See the discussion of law journal commentary on the Court in the 1930s in Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 82–83, 91–92, 99, 153, 159, 177–180, 183, 184, 189, 192, 196, 200.

⁶⁶ For one example in 1821, see White, *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change*, 521–522. For

election may have surprised some justices, but Leuchtenburg presents no evidence that any justices believed that, as he puts it, “in striking down New Deal legislation, they were . . . preserving the republic until the people got the opportunity to oust Roosevelt.”⁶⁷ Although Leuchtenburg cites a *Literary Digest* poll just before the 1936 election which predicted that Roosevelt would be defeated, the Gallup and Roper polls predicted that he would win.⁶⁸ In general, Leuchtenburg’s claims that the Court’s anti-New Deal decisions were roundly disliked by the public at large, so that the election of 1936 would be taken as a mandate to curb the Court, are belied by polling data.⁶⁹

As for the Court-packing plan itself, Leuchtenburg’s evidence of its causal weight is scanty. He is unable to show any direct connection between the introduction of the plan and changes in the Court’s jurisprudence,⁷⁰ so he contents himself with some rumors that surfaced in newspapers after the 1936 election that Roosevelt might seek to expand the composition of the Court, and some speculation from contemporaries, and subsequent scholars, that the Court’s solicitude toward government programs after 1937 was a product of the Court-packing episode.⁷¹ His evidence that the Court

examples from the 1890s into the 1920s, see William G. Ross, *A Muted Fury* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 93–103, 163–165, 169–170. For a summary of proposals to curb the Court from the 1890s through the early 1930s, see Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 12.

⁶⁷ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1090. The only evidence that Leuchtenburg presents is that Van Devanter and McReynolds, on the eve of the 1936 election, may have thought that Roosevelt would be defeated. But since neither Van Devanter nor McReynolds did any significant “switching” of votes in 1937—the “switch in time” hypothesis focuses on the votes of Roberts and Hughes—demonstrating that they may have been surprised carries no causal weight.

⁶⁸ See Barry Cushman, “Mr. Dooley and Mr. Gallup: Public Opinion and Constitutional Change in the 1930s,” *Buffalo Law Review* 50 (2002): 7, 15–17.

⁶⁹ See Cushman, “Mr. Dooley and Mr. Gallup,” 19–76. Cushman’s survey of polling data before and after the introduction of the Court-packing plan reveals that a majority of those polled tended to support the Court both before and after the introduction of the plan, and to oppose the plan. *Ibid.*, 67–74.

⁷⁰ The evidence that has surfaced provides no support for the Court-packing hypothesis. The hypothesis assumes a chronological connection between the introduction of the Court-packing plan, the modification by some justices, in response to the plan, of their constitutional objections to social welfare legislation, and the Court’s initiation of a “constitutional revolution,” generated by its decisions in *Parrish*, the Wagner Act cases, *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1 (1937), and the 1937 Social Security Act cases, *Steward Machine Co. v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 548 (1937), and *Helvering v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 619 (1937). In the latter three cases, a majority of justices endorsed a relatively broad view of the federal government’s commerce and spending powers in upholding the National Labor Relations Act and the unemployment compensation and old-age pension provisions of the Social Security Act against constitutional challenges. The *Parrish* case, as noted, had been decided before the Court-packing plan was introduced; the Wagner Act cases were handed down after it had become clear that the bill would not be approved by the House Judiciary Committee and that opponents in the Senate had enough votes to filibuster it; and the decisions in the Social Security cases were handed down after it was obvious that should the bill ever be reported out of committee, opponents would have enough votes to defeat it in the Senate. See Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 13–23.

⁷¹ As evidence that “[c]ontemporary observers did not question what brought about the surprising ruling in *Jones & Laughlin*,” Leuchtenburg offers comments by newspaper columnists in April 1937; a letter by Charles Beard to Irving Brant in 1937, suggesting that the Court’s decision in the Social Security cases was a response to the Court-packing message; an April 1937 letter by Edward Corwin reminding his correspondent that the Court-packing plan was introduced before the Social Security cases were decided; and a statement by historian Richard Cortner that Hughes’s and Owen Roberts’s views on the power of Congress to regulate labor relations may have been affected by the Court-packing plan. See Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1091. None of those sources offers any direct evidence that the justices were influenced by the plan. Nor does Leuchtenburg consider the views of

believed that the Court-packing plan was going to get through Congress consists of one article from *Time* and one memorandum in the Frank Gannett Papers.⁷²

Suppose one were to replace Leuchtenburg's narrow time frame with a wider one, and pursue his concern with "revolutions" in U.S. constitutional jurisprudence. There is no doubt that in the years between World Wars I and II, something like a "revolution" occurred in U.S. constitutional law. But what would one offer as illustrations of that revolution? Consider the following examples.

At the opening of the twentieth century, the exercise of foreign relations powers was conducted jointly, by the executive and the Senate, in the form of treaties. By the early 1940s, most foreign relations were conducted by the president through executive agreements, the terms of those agreements were treated as prevailing over competing state law, and the courts had carved out a large area of unreviewable executive discretion in foreign affairs.⁷³

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the First Amendment was regarded only as providing protection against prior censorship by the federal government, and not as applying against the states. By the 1940s, a majority of justices had come to treat the First Amendment as providing far broader protection for freedom of speech and the free exercise of religion, and had concluded that the First Amendment's free speech and free exercise clauses should be enforced against the states as well as the federal government. By 1945, a bare majority of justices had endorsed the proposition that the Constitution had placed free speech rights in a "preferred position," and any regulation of them was presumptively suspect.⁷⁴ In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Court routinely intervened when regulatory or redistributive legislation was challenged on constitutional grounds, sometimes sustaining and sometimes invalidating the legislation in question. By the 1940s, the Court almost never entertained challenges to such legislation.⁷⁵

At first blush, all the above examples appear to be illustrations of sweeping, even radical, doctrinal changes. But if one uses a wider lens, the last example can be distinguished from the first two. Significant doctrinal change over time is the norm in U.S. constitutional law. This is because many important provisions of the Constitution are open-ended, they are consistently being applied to new situations, and constitutional law raises questions, such as the relationship of majority rule to minority rights, the relationship between the federal government and the states, and the respective powers of the separate branches of government, about which Americans have changed their minds over the years. As open-ended provisions are applied to controversies generated by altered cultural conditions, and as funda-

many contemporary observers who saw the Court's decisions as neither surprising nor revolutionary. See Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 177–182.

⁷² For a summary of the evidence showing that the justices were well aware that the Court-packing plan was encountering significant difficulties in Congress, see Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 13–20. Internalists have argued that those difficulties gave the justices good reason to suppose that the proposal was unlikely to be enacted. They have not claimed, as Leuchtenburg suggests, that "there never was any chance that FDR's proposal would be enacted, and that the justices knew this." "Comment," 1087.

⁷³ For the details, see White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 33–93.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 132–152.

⁷⁵ See Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 222–225.

mental issues of constitutional governance are rethought, one would expect changes—even dramatic changes—in constitutional doctrine. And those changes have occurred. The Constitution, over its lifetime, has been interpreted to legitimate, and then to invalidate, property restrictions on voting, discrimination against women, the practice of slavery, and restrictions on abortion. The fact that over the course of the twentieth century it was alternately interpreted by judges to permit wholesale restrictions on freedom of expression and then to prevent most such restrictions, or that it was alternately interpreted to require constraints on the exercise of executive power in foreign relations and then to permit the nearly unlimited exercise of that power, should not be surprising if one takes the long view.

But the altered stance of the early-twentieth-century Court toward regulatory and redistributive legislation challenged on constitutional grounds was a development of a different order. It was implemented not through changes in existing constitutional doctrine, but by a wholesale abandonment of doctrinal lines. Between the mid-1930s and the early 1940s, two established doctrinal formulas that had aided the Court in boundary tracing were jettisoned. The doctrine of businesses being “affected with a public interest,” and thus eligible for especially extensive police power regulation, was abandoned in the *Nebbia* case.⁷⁶ And one of the venerable doctrines of commerce power jurisprudence, the distinction between “direct” and “indirect” effects of a regulation on interstate commerce, was abandoned in the 1942 case of *Wickard v. Filburn*.⁷⁷ No doctrines were fashioned to replace those being eliminated; instead, the Court virtually gave up its role of scrutinizing police power and commerce power legislation on constitutional grounds, allowing the states and Congress to regulate economic activity or redistribute economic benefits whenever they could advance a reason for doing so.

This development was more than a series of new interpretations of open-ended constitutional provisions. It signaled that when legislative action affected “ordinary commercial transactions,” the Court was withdrawing from its role as a guardian of private rights when they were potentially trespassed upon by public power. Contemporary observers recognized that after the *Nebbia* case and the *Wickard* case, the Court would no longer employ the principal doctrinal formulas—“affected with a public interest” in police power cases and the “direct”/“indirect” distinction in commerce power cases—that had enabled them to police the boundary between public power and private rights. By abandoning those formulas, they were withdrawing from the policing role, and by withdrawing from that role, they were transforming their traditional function in the U.S. constitutional order. Recognizing this, commentators properly understood the Court’s approach in those two cases as “revolutionary.”⁷⁸

But what were the causes of the Court’s new approach? The narrow time frame of Leuchtenburg’s analysis establishes only correlation, not causation. Moreover, the new approach represented so fundamental a transformation of the Court’s role

⁷⁶ 291 U.S. 502 (1934).

⁷⁷ 317 U.S. 111, 124–125 (1942): “[E]ven if . . . [an] activity be local and though it may not be regarded as commerce, it may still, whatever its nature, be reached by Congress if it exerts a substantial economic effect on interstate commerce, and this irrespective of whether such effect is what might at some earlier time have been defined as ‘direct’ or ‘indirect.’”

⁷⁸ See, e.g., Edward Corwin’s analysis of the Court’s approach to legislation affecting “ordinary commercial transactions” in *Constitutional Revolution, Ltd.* (1942).

as a constitutional actor that one would expect it to have emerged gradually rather than suddenly. Further, the overriding importance of doctrinal analysis in the Court's work, and the fact that the approach the Court abandoned was heavily dependent on doctrinal formulas, suggests that doctrinal issues might be at the root of the Court's altered stance. What happened to constitutional doctrine between 1923, when Taft described the Court's approach as laborious boundary pricking, and 1938, when the Court signaled in *United States v. Carolene Products*⁷⁹ that it hoped that most issues of judicial review could be disposed of not through doctrinal formulas, but through a set of presumptions about the constitutionality of legislation?

When one looks at the universe of constitutional law and commentary during those years, two themes surface. One is the increasingly complicated, and not fully consistent, web of doctrine that the Court was engrafting on cases in which it assumed a boundary-tracing role. Although formulas such as "affected with a public interest" and "direct" versus "indirect" effects on interstate commerce were helping justices distinguish between constitutionally valid and invalid police power and commerce power legislation, the "permissible" and "impermissible" categories of such legislation were threatening to become unwieldy and riddled with exceptions. An edifice of doctrine was beginning to collapse of its own weight.

The other theme is a growing drumbeat of criticism of the Court's boundary-tracing role from a group of commentators who advanced a very different view of the role of the judiciary in constitutional interpretation from that which undergirded boundary tracing. From the emergence of scholarship in the 1920s that advanced a view of the meaning of the Constitution as changing over time, and a "living Constitution" approach to constitutional interpretation,⁸⁰ to the testimony of Edward Corwin at hearings for the Court-packing plan,⁸¹ to the address of Roosevelt accompanying the plan's introduction,⁸² critics of the Court asserted that constitutional interpretation was a form of lawmaking, that judicial decisions had an ideological component, and that doctrinal formulas could be ideologically loaded. By the time that Court majorities began invalidating New Deal legislation in the mid-1930s, commentators were readily ascribing political motives to the Court's actions.

The line of commentary suggesting that judging was a form of lawmaking and that constitutional interpretation could be an ideological exercise served to compound the difficulties the Court was encountering with its role as boundary tracer. That role required frequent judicial glossing of open-ended constitutional provisions such as the commerce and due process clauses. As affirmative governmental programs became a more regular feature of the twentieth-century United

⁷⁹ 304 U.S. 144 (1938).

⁸⁰ See sources collected in White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 207–210.

⁸¹ "Modern principles of constitutional law [needed to be] decided by men whose social philosophy is modern . . . [The Court has] been endeavoring to elevate into constitutional law a particular economic bias." Testimony of Edward S. Corwin, Hearing before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 75 Cong. 168 (1937), reprinted in Richard Loss, ed., *Corwin on the Constitution*, 3 vols. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987), 2: 21, 219.

⁸² The Court-packing plan was designed, Roosevelt said, to "[bring] to the decision of social and economic problems younger men who have had personal experience and contact with modern facts and circumstances," and thereby "save our National Constitution from hardening of the judicial arteries." Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Reorganizing the Federal Judiciary," radio address, March 9, 1937, in Senate Report no. 75–711, Appendix D, 43 (1937).

States, the opportunities for judicial oversight of those programs seemed destined to increase, and with it the opportunities for more judicial glossing and application of doctrinal formulas. If judicial glossing and formula making were themselves suspect because of their capacity to become infused with ideological presuppositions, the Court's traditional boundary-tracing role seemed destined to immerse it in political controversy. In this context, *Carolene Products* was a prudent effort to preserve the Court's authority by reducing the number of occasions on which it would oversee legislatures.

But what had happened to place the Court in the predicament from which *Carolene Products* was a retreat? The answer is that over the first three decades of the twentieth century, there had been a sea change in attitudes toward the role of the judge in constitutional interpretation. That attitudinal change was connected to a larger epistemological shift. As the defining features of modernity—mature industrial capitalism, a broadened base of political participation, the collapse of rigid status distinctions, and the secularization of higher learning brought about by the growing influence of scientific methods of inquiry as techniques for acquiring and using knowledge—transformed the experience of Americans in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, new theories of causal attribution became influential. Those theories posited human power and will as the primary causal agents in the universe, rejecting the traditional causal agents of nature, the cyclical forces of history, the acts of an omniscient deity, or preordained status roles. Modernist epistemology was premised on the belief that humans, by using techniques of scientific inquiry, could intervene to affect their destiny and help shape their future. History, for those with a modernist sensibility, was a progression of human-directed qualitative change.⁸³

The boundary-tracing role assigned to judges had been a product of a quite different view of law and human agency. When Justice David Brewer said, in an 1893 address, that judges “make no laws, . . . establish no policy, [and] never enter into the domain of public action,” he added that “[t]heir functions are limited to seeing that popular action does not trespass on rights and justice.”⁸⁴ That comment advanced a view of judging as radically different from lawmaking and an image of the judge as boundary tracer, making sure that the immutable principles embodied in “rights” and “justice” were observed. Boundary tracing was a legitimate exercise because it was *not* lawmaking; it was simply the application of preexisting legal principles to cases. Law, Brewer assumed, was another of the external causal agents in the universe. Judges were mere mouthpieces of it.

Modernist epistemology treated the radical separation that Brewer made between judging and lawmaking as incoherent. Judges were another set of human actors exercising power to shape the future. To assert that judges did not establish policy, or enter into the domain of public action, was to misconceive their role. So boundary

⁸³ See White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 5–7; Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (New York, 1991), 3; Ross, “Introduction,” in Dorothy Ross, ed., *Modernist Impulses in the Human Sciences, 1870–1930* (Baltimore, Md., 1994), 8; Stephen M. Feldman, *American Legal Thought from Premodernism to Postmodernism: An Intellectual Voyage* (New York, 2000), 15–28. On the components of modernity, see the sources cited in White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 317.

⁸⁴ David Brewer, “The Movement of Coercion,” *Proceedings of the New York State Bar Association* 16 (1893): 37.

tracing, for modernists, was another form of purposive human activity by officials holding power. It was as capable of being ideologically directed as any other version of purposive decision making. As Holmes suggested in his dissent in *Lochner v. New York*, where his judicial colleagues had engaged in boundary tracing, the case had been decided on “an economic theory.”⁸⁵

By the late 1930s, not only commentators on the Court but justices themselves had internalized a modernist view of judging. A logical corollary of that view was that it required a chastened conception of the judicial function in constitutional interpretation. Boundary tracing gave judges too much power to inject economic theories, or other ideologies, into their glosses on constitutional provisions. The *Carolene Products* approach confined judicial oversight of the activity of other branches primarily to those situations where there seemed to be an explicit mandate in the constitutional text for doing so.⁸⁶

Thus, at the time that the Court-packing plan was introduced, one finds a culture of U.S. constitutional jurisprudence in which justices were struggling under the weight of doctrinal formulas associated with their boundary-tracing role, in which critics had assailed the role itself as an invitation for illegitimate ideological glossing, and in which a conception of human actors holding power as decisive causal agents in the universe was becoming orthodoxy. In this context, the Court-packing plan appears less a cause of a revolutionary change in constitutional jurisprudence than a symptom of it. The plan itself presupposed that a nominating president could “pack” the Court with persons who could be identified as supporters of his policies. It assumed that judges were a species of lawmakers.

BUT IF THE “CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION” SYMBOLIZED by the replacement of boundary tracing with the *Carolene Products* approach was an interpretive revolution that occurred gradually and had its roots in altered conceptions of the role of human agency that spawned altered conceptions of the nature of judging, what are the implications of that conclusion for the internalist/externalist debate? Laura Kalman notes that “White’s modernism . . . bears some resemblance to . . . definitions of Progressivism,” and suggests that “[s]ome might consider . . . modernism synonymous with politics.” She wonders whether “modernism” might ultimately be seen as yet another external force affecting the Court’s decisions.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45, 75 (1905).

⁸⁶ Because paragraphs two and three of the *Carolene Products* footnote—which suggested that there might be opportunity for departure from the presumption of constitutionality when legislation restricted the processes for future political change or was a product of “prejudices against discrete and insular minorities”—subsequently formed a mandate for some decisions on the Warren Court, commentators have sometimes taken the footnote as a charter for aggressive judicial readings of the equal protection clause. In fact, the language of those paragraphs was tentative. Stone indicated that “it was unnecessary to consider” whether legislation blocking the channels of political change was “to be subjected to more exacting judicial scrutiny,” and prefaced his comment about legislation affecting “discrete and insular minorities” by saying, “[n]or need we inquire whether . . . a correspondingly more searching judicial inquiry” was necessary in that situation. Moreover, nearly all of Stone’s citations to cases in the footnotes were to free speech cases, examples of paragraph one of the footnote, where legislation “appears on its face to be within a specific prohibition of the Constitution.” See the discussion in White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 160–163.

⁸⁷ Laura Kalman, “The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal,” 1065.

Here, once again, I think the issue turns on how narrow or wide an angle of vision the historian chooses. I have previously suggested that modernist epistemology was itself a response to modernity. As new phenomena began to surface in the cultural landscape of the United States in the late nineteenth century, those phenomena contributed to new perceptions about the way external features of the universe should be understood. The methodologies of natural science provide an example. Those methodologies were based on theories of scientific inquiry that were different from the dominant theories that had preceded them. But their influence was a product not so much of their innate congeniality—Darwinist explanations of human development were fiercely resisted when first advanced—as of their capacity to make sense of empirical data. The methods of Darwinist scientific inquiry, however, were far from value-free. A dialectical relationship existed between the presuppositions of a natural science and its methods for gathering and assessing evidence.

Comparable relationships could be sketched between the defining external features of modernity and the perceptions about them that eventually resulted in a modernist epistemology becoming orthodoxy. The presence of new external phenomena stimulated reactions to them, and those reactions affected the way in which additional phenomena were viewed.

So the question is not whether “modernism” is “prior to politics,” as Kalman suggests that I may believe.⁸⁸ Modernism and politics seem better understood as elements of a cultural mix, occupying a dialectical relationship with one another. Take the example of the “city beautiful” movement in the early twentieth century. That movement was distinctively “Progressive” in its embrace of human-directed change, in its optimism about the future, and in its vision of elites harnessing science and technology for aesthetic as well as functional purposes. If one ratchets up the level of abstraction, it was also modernist in its assumption that human actors holding power could improve their environment and help control their future destinies. But at the same time, the movement was a response to some of the new conditions of modernity, such as the increased urbanization and industrialization of life in the United States, the diversifying ethnic character of city populations, and the effects of broadened political participation on urban governance. In that context, the “city beautiful” movement can be seen as a bid on the part of members of the gentry classes to restore their influence on city politics.⁸⁹

The internalist-externalist debate about constitutional change in the 1930s is not about the sources of historical inquiry—whether one chooses to study the “city beautiful” movement as a social, political, or economic historian—nor is it about the level of abstraction at which one conceptualizes issues of historical causation (whether one wants to locate historical explanations in politics or epistemology). It is about how much the “internal” professional world of judging affected the Court’s decisions, as opposed to “external” factors such as the Court-packing plan or the 1936 election. So the question is not whether one or another approach to historical causation is inherently superior, but how successfully a particular approach integrates the common elements of a judge’s experience. When one approach centers explanations for constitutional change in the factors that judges consistently

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ See William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore, Md., 1989).

confront in the exercise of their professional tasks, and another approach ignores or minimizes those factors, it would seem that the former approach would provide a fuller explanation of judicial performance.

Historiographical methodologies that can integrate doctrinal factors into their explanations for legal and constitutional change have an advantage over approaches that treat doctrine as either infinitely malleable or disingenuous. This is not only because, as previously noted, doctrine is the justificatory basis of judicial opinions, but also because there is ample evidence that judges regard themselves as constrained by doctrine even when they find it inconsistent with their instinctual reactions to the issues raised in cases. Some examples follow of early-twentieth-century cases in which justices openly acknowledged conflicts between established doctrinal and interpretive frameworks and policy results they supported.

The first set of examples comes from a cluster of three Sherman Act cases affecting labor unions decided by the Court in 1922, 1924, and 1933, years in which twentieth-century constitutional historians have conventionally identified the Supreme Court of the United States as an enemy of organized labor.⁹⁰ In all three cases, the Court concluded that union strikes in the mining and leather industries and a boycott by union workers in a steel plant could not be enjoined under the Sherman Act; nor could they be made the basis of an action for damages. All of the opinions reasoned that the act, being based on the federal government's power to regulate interstate commerce, could govern only activities that were "directly" connected to interstate traffic in goods or services. The strikes and boycotts in the cases, designed to affect coal mining and leather and steel production in local plants, were judged to have had only an "indirect" impact on the shipment of coal, leather goods, or steel across state lines. In denying injunctive relief, the cases affirmed the narrow doctrinal interpretation of the federal government's commerce power first made by the Court in the 1895 Sherman Act case of *United States v. E.C. Knight*.⁹¹

In his unanimous opinion for the Court in the first case, Chief Justice Taft said that the circumstances of the coal miners' strike, which included arson and homicides by the strikers, "awaken regret that, in our view of the federal jurisdiction, we cannot [uphold the damage award against the union]." It was "of far higher importance," Taft continued, "that we should preserve inviolate the fundamental [constitutional] limitations . . . on federal jurisdiction."⁹² Three of Taft's fellow justices signaled that they felt the same way. Justice William Day wrote Taft, "I . . . regret that this gross outrage by the local union cannot be reached by federal authority."⁹³ Justice McReynolds wrote, "I am sorry you can't make the scoundrels pay."⁹⁴ And Justice Mahlon Pitney, while

⁹⁰ *United Mine Workers v. Coronado Coal Co.*, 259 U.S. 344 (1922) ("Coronado Coal I"); *United Leather Workers v. Herkert & Meisel Trunk Co.*, 265 U.S. 457 (1924); *Levering & Garrigues Co. v. Morrin*, 289 U.S. 103 (1933). For a portrait of the Court in the 1920s and early 1930s as unsympathetic to organized labor, see Richard Cortner's two volumes *The Wagner Act Cases* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1964) and *The Jones & Laughlin Case* (New York, 1970).

⁹¹ *United States v. E.C. Knight Co.*, 156 U.S. 1 (1895).

⁹² *Coronado Coal I*, 259 U.S. at 413.

⁹³ Day to Taft, Papers of William Howard Taft, Reel 615, Library of Congress, quoted in Barry Cushman, "Formalism and Realism in Commerce Clause Jurisprudence," *University of Chicago Law Review* 67 (2000): 1089, 1099.

⁹⁴ McReynolds to Taft, Taft Papers, Reel 615, quoted in *ibid.*, 1099.

endorsing Taft's opinion, called it "too true to be good."⁹⁵ All three justices regarded their personal sympathies as being constrained by doctrinal considerations, foremost among which was the preservation of the integrity of the "direct"/"indirect" distinction in commerce power cases.

The stance exhibited by Taft and his colleagues in the Sherman Act cases was adopted by justices in several cases testing the constitutionality of New Deal legislation in the 1930s. As those cases came before the Court, justices conventionally treated as "liberals" and justices conventionally labeled "conservatives" regularly voted to invalidate legislative policies they supported, and to sustain legislative policies they thought misguided.

A few illustrations will suffice. Justice Roberts told the New Deal strategist Harold Ickes that he was "entirely sympathetic" to the Roosevelt administration's efforts to regulate practices in the oil industry, despite having joined an 8–1 Court decision striking down petroleum production codes imposed by the National Industrial Recovery Act on constitutional grounds.⁹⁶ Roberts expressed the hope that properly drafted New Deal legislation would enable the regulatory policies to be carried out.⁹⁷ Justice Louis Brandeis strongly believed in the policy of government assistance for farmers unable to meet their mortgage obligations in a depressed agricultural economy,⁹⁸ but he wrote a unanimous 1935 opinion for the Court invalidating the federal Frazier-Lemke Act as a violation of the constitutional rights of creditors.⁹⁹

Brandeis and Stone also upheld New Deal legislation they disapproved of. In a series of cases challenging the constitutionality of the Gold Reserve Act, Brandeis and Stone joined 5–4 Court majorities sustaining the act,¹⁰⁰ which sought to implement the Roosevelt administration's policy of withdrawing gold from circulation in order to buttress the declining value of paper currency in the 1930s. Both Brandeis and Stone thought that policy ill-advised.¹⁰¹ They also disapproved of the Roosevelt administration's effort to alleviate depressed agricultural conditions by taxing, through the Agricultural Adjustment Act, processors of agricultural products.¹⁰² The processing tax and price-control provisions of the AAA were challenged on the grounds that Congress had no power to regulate agriculture, a "local" activity. In a 1936 decision, a 6–3 Court majority agreed, invalidating the provisions. Brandeis and Stone dissented.¹⁰³ Finally, in 1934 the Roosevelt administration passed a law requiring interstate railroads to fund an industry-wide program of unemployment compensation and retirement benefits for their employees. Stone disliked that legislation,¹⁰⁴ but when a 5–4 majority of the Court overturned the

⁹⁵ Pitney to Taft, Taft Papers, Reel 615, quoted in *ibid.*, 1099, n. 62.

⁹⁶ *Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan*, 293 U.S. 388 (1935).

⁹⁷ Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*, 3 vols. (New York, 1953–1954), 1: 273.

⁹⁸ Lewis J. Paper, *Brandeis* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1983), 350.

⁹⁹ *Louisville Joint Stock Land Bank v. Radford*, 295 U.S. 155 (1935).

¹⁰⁰ *Norman v. Baltimore & Ohio R. Co.*, 294 U.S. 240 (1935); *Nortz v. United States*, 294 U.S. 317 (1935); *Perry v. United States*, 294 U.S. 330 (1935).

¹⁰¹ For Brandeis's opposition, see Paper, *Brandeis*, 346; for Stone's, see Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone*, 390.

¹⁰² For Brandeis, see Paper, *Brandeis*, 345; for Stone, see Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone*, 416–417.

¹⁰³ *United States v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1 (1936).

¹⁰⁴ See Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone*, 393.

legislation on the grounds that it exceeded Congress's commerce power and violated due process, Stone joined the dissenters.

Evidence of this kind routinely surfaces in judicial biography. One can interpret it straightforwardly, as an illustration of the fact that the instinctive sympathies or antipathies of a justice sometimes confront strong doctrinal pressures in the other direction, and, given that doctrinal justification is the reputational currency in which judges traffic, sympathies or antipathies yield. Or one can interpret it in a more convoluted fashion, arguing that when a justice's votes in cases appear to clash with that justice's policy views, the votes represent some hidden agenda, and any doctrinal justifications for them should be discounted.

GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF DOCTRINAL AND INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORKS in assessing the performance of Supreme Court justices and understanding changes in constitutional law, why have externalist constitutional historians regularly failed to make a sustained effort to understand the doctrinal and interpretive edifice of constitutional decisions? And given the relative paucity of the data used to support their claims, why have externalist explanations for twentieth-century constitutional change been resonant for so long?

When externalist commentators emphasize the role of ideology and politics in Supreme Court decisions, they are making a crucial assumption. They are taking for granted that behaviorist theories about the decisions of other officials holding power—theories that emphasize the importance of human will, politics, and ideology in decision making and treat rhetorical justifications at less than face value—explain the performance of judges as constitutional interpreters. Once that assumption is made, outcomes and votes, rather than opinions, assume paramount importance in explaining changes in constitutional law. There is a sense, therefore, in which behaviorist explanations of judicially induced constitutional change amount to self-fulfilling prophecies. Ideology and politics are identified as the forces driving change because those factors are assumed, in advance, to be the ones that inevitably control judicial decisions.

If one is convinced that judges are a species of policymakers, and, more fundamentally, that constitutional change takes place in the United States because Supreme Court justices will it to happen—in other words, if one is a thoroughgoing modernist—behaviorist explanations for judicial performance resonate. The very durability of conventional externalist explanations for constitutional change in the 1930s, notwithstanding the tendency of those explanations to confuse correlation with causation, testifies to their resonance. But sometimes the instinctive attractiveness of a historical explanation to scholars can serve as a deterrent to the close investigation of evidence. For so enduring a hypothesis, the conventional explanation linking the Court-packing plan and the “constitutional revolution of 1937” has rested on a remarkably thin evidentiary base.

Monocausal explanations of the performance of Supreme Court justices as constitutional interpreters will invariably produce distortions. Historical accounts of constitutional change cannot wholly ignore external factors in U.S. culture any

more than they can ignore doctrinal and interpretive frameworks affecting judicial opinions. The Court's constitutional jurisprudence changed after the late 1930s in part because new doctrinal and interpretive frameworks were more responsive to newly perceived cultural needs that had surfaced in connection with the emergence of a modern democratic society. Those needs included a relatively expansive governmental apparatus featuring an increased amount of regulatory and redistributive legislation and an increased identification of U.S. society with democratic, antitotalitarian principles. They were a product of domestic and international events external to the Court, as well as of the way in which those events were perceived.

But if the Court can be seen as affected by its external culture, external forces cannot fully account for the Court's constitutional decisions. The impact of perceived cultural needs on constitutional law comes when they are filtered through the interpretive exercises, with their governing frameworks, that constitute the regular work of Supreme Court justices. The cultural and biographical dimensions of constitutional interpretation are important. But the core of that task is supplying, in opinions, doctrinal justifications for the interpretations a judge makes. In the end, hypotheses about constitutional change are richer when they are able to confront and explain the actual work of judges. Externalist interpretations of constitutional change in the 1930s cannot satisfactorily explain the Court's decisions because they do not fully confront them.

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Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

MARSHALL SAHLINS. *Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 334. \$30.00.

In this unusual book, Marshall Sahlins is less apologetic toward Thucydides than critically engaged with him and with the long tradition of historiography he began. Sahlins's criticism essentially is that Thucydides devalues the cultural in favor of a supposedly natural human tendency to act out of perceived self-interest, and that in concentrating on individuals he ignores the institutions and cultural structures that mediate between them and give their actions coherence and meaning. The book, then, is largely a demonstration of what a historiography informed by anthropology might look like. Moving easily between concrete cases and general principles, Sahlins makes a compelling argument that there is no history without culture, and vice versa.

Sahlins confronts Thucydides most directly in the first chapter, where he discusses Athens and Sparta, the principals in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.E.); but with them he pairs two Fijian kingdoms of the nineteenth century C.E., Bau and Rewa, which like the Greek states fought a protracted war that drew in allies on each side. The parallels Sahlins draws are impressive. Both Athens and Bau created hegemonies over “allies” that were based not on domination but on demonstrations of superiority. The reliance of both on naval power had far-reaching consequences for policy and internal organization. Both were compelled by exponentially increasing costs of hegemony to engage in imperialist adventures to extend the boundaries of their domination; for Athens the result was the catastrophe at Syracuse. (Note that this explanation does not necessarily replace “Thucydidean” self-interest as a causal explanation but grounds it in economics.) Sparta and Rewa, by contrast, look more traditional within their respective cultures than do their adventurous adversaries, and this, Sahlins argues, is no accident. The pairs Athens and Sparta, Bau and Rewa, were *systematic* inversions of one another, constituting themselves in a dialectic of mutual opposition. Although the presuppositions here will not convince everyone (do cultures really behave in this Saussurean

manner?), the suggestion deserves to be taken seriously. It may be audacious to suggest that Cleisthenes's democratic reforms were motivated this way (and doing so ignores forces internal to Athens), but recent work has dated the Spartan cultural formation as late as the fifth century B.C.E., when the two cities were rivals. Thucydides himself described extensive oppositions between them. These cry out for an explanation beyond a presumed “national character,” and the one Sahlins offers is intriguing.

What then is the role of individual agency in events? In chapter two Sahlins, who rejects the opposition of subjects to structures (and theories based on either extreme), distinguishes between “structural” and “evenemential” historical change. In the latter especially, individuals create “turning-points” (Bobby Thompson's home run won the New York Giants the American League pennant in 1951, the dispute over whether to return the child Elián Gonzalez to his Cuban father condensed wider cultural disputes in America and helped determine the 2001 election), but larger structures create the conditions in which they can do so: agency is “constituted by a cultural order of which it is an idiosyncratic expression” (p. 156). The last chapter takes up the further question of the relation between structure and contingency through the murder, in 1845, of a Bauan chief by his half-brother. The war with Rewa and Fijian kinship practices made this event likely but did not determine which would kill the other. Structure thus plays a determining role but is opened to contingency. It is also altered by the consequences of the contingent event, even as these are shaped by structure: we see here a preoccupation of Sahlins's earlier writings, here placed in a broader context.

It does not affect Sahlins's point about the importance of culture to historiography to say that the essentialist “Thucydides” he fruitfully engages is one influential reading of that historian. It is not at all clear that Thucydides asserts as a universal law of human nature that individuals and states act always out of self-interest. I would say instead that he shows the catastrophic consequences that follow from thinking that they do and of acting on that assumption. But I am not sure that Sahlins himself has entirely dispensed with essentialism. When he points to strong parallels

between such temporally and culturally disparate cases as Greece and Fiji, does he not risk implying a "cultural essentialism," the idea that widely separated cultures, faced with similar environmental and historical conditions, will create similar structures? Is this merely a version of "human nature"? If not, how would he explain the likenesses?

Perhaps Sahlins ought to have discussed these questions, but the book's accomplishments are considerable. As a classicist who has benefited from Sahlins's previous work, I appreciate this view of Greek history through an anthropologist's eyes. More generally, this book is a paradigm of how history and anthropology might be brought together, to the mutual enrichment of both disciplines.

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CATHERINE EMERSON. *Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. viii, 247. \$75.00.

The *Mémoires* of Olivier de la Marche, whose standard edition was published during the 1880s by the Société de l'Histoire de France, have long been viewed simply as a "resource for historians" (p. 32). In this valuable corrective, Catherine Emerson shows how the narrative can be read as literature. She avoids any pointed criticism of historians who have exploited the *Mémoires* as a source without a sufficient appreciation of the text as text. However, it is clear from the results of this meticulous study of "why La Marche wrote history in the way that he did" (p. 32) that historical reconstructions that have relied on naïve readings of La Marche will have to be rethought. Moreover, the conclusions of previous studies of La Marche, not based on the manuscript evidence for his *Mémoires* (surveyed pp. 16–20), are now thrown into question.

Emerson's fundamental contribution is to have disentangled the various manuscript and print witnesses of the text. Olivier de la Marche (d. 1502) was active at the Burgundian ducal court in Brussels under the Valois and the Habsburgs. He composed his *Mémoires* over the course of thirty years, including two concentrated campaigns (in 1472 and 1488) that produced two different prologues and two different overall plans for the work. He interlaced the narrative with originally separate short pieces of his own or other authorship (such as descriptions of banquets) and with historical documents. Scribal and editorial interventions over the next several centuries further modified La Marche's own work. "The *Mémoires* as they survive are, therefore, a largely unfinished and unrevised collection of texts, written over a long period for a variety of audiences and purposes . . . [and] were not intended to be read in the form in which we now find them" (p. 15).

Having determined the nature of the text itself, Emerson subjects it to a rhetorical analysis that goes beyond the fifteenth century. She asks which childhood

memories, as recounted by La Marche, have resonated most with subsequent readers so as to become set pieces in La Marche's biography, as constructed by later scholars, and how did La Marche's own rhetorical strategies combine with the ever-changing preoccupations and preconceptions of later readers to render those particular incidents so central to his life story? It will probably not concern most historians (as it does Emerson) whether or not La Marche's work fits the generic definition for medieval autobiography formulated by Paul Zumthor; Emerson's engagement throughout the study with the classic works of literary criticism can be distracting for those more prosaically inclined. However, it is by exploring the text through such a prism that Emerson can arrive at fresh insights of undeniable relevance for historians of the Burgundian Netherlands, such as that we cannot read La Marche's memories as "unproblematic eyewitness accounts" (p. 73). A fascinating example of Emerson's exemplary rhetorical exploration of the *Mémoires* is to show how La Marche uses Observant Franciscans as "shorthand for spirituality" (p. 173). Because La Marche's views can be shown to diverge considerably from those of leading exponents of the Observant Franciscan position, Emerson argues that stories about Observant Franciscans are, for La Marche, purely a literary device and not an expression of his own personal piety. Similar caveats emerge, in connection with face-value readings of the works of medieval mystics, from Amy Hollywood's *Sensible Ecstasy: Mysticism, Sexual Difference, and the Demands of History* (2002). Their insights into how a text's rhetorical strategy can be divorced from the personal experience of its first-person narrator deeply unsettle positivistic methods of historical research.

A particularly valuable section of the work, from the perspective of readers of this journal, is chapter three, placing La Marche in the context of the explosion of historical writing, much of it under ducal patronage, which characterized the Burgundian court in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (pp. 75–115). This chapter conveys much about the realities of fifteenth-century Brussels, including its Dutch-speaking culture (in which La Marche was probably a participant). Of greatest general interest may be chapter four, placing La Marche's work in the context of a discussion of the didactic tradition of "Mirrors of Princes," including Niccolò Machiavelli's famous treatise. The chapter is based on the only illustrated manuscript of the work, (Bibliothèque Nationale de France français 2868), comprising only the 1488 "Book One" addressed to Philip the Handsome, the first historiographical work of the Burgundian court to use the Trojan myth of the origins of Austria. The 1488 Book One also contains "a strong defense of descent from bastards" (p. 157), in keeping with the needs of Philip, a descendant of João, bastard king of Portugal.

Anyone interested in the fifteenth century, or in rhetoric, can benefit from this study, whose appeal will

be—unfortunately—limited by the decision not to translate any French quotations.

FELICE LIFSHITZ

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DAVID N. MYERS. *Resisting History: Historicism and Its Discontents in German-Jewish Thought*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 253. \$29.95.

The challenge of historicism to religion generated a vast and sophisticated theological literature within the Christian tradition, primarily among German Lutherans, the first to be confronted with historical-critical methods applied to biblical studies. Historicism served different kinds of purposes for Jews, affirming Jewish cultural identity and political interests. Historians such as Leopold Zunz and Moritz Steinschneider saw their task as gathering the products of Jewish creativity over the centuries, collecting manuscripts from libraries around Europe, while others wrote local histories of the Jews to demonstrate their rootedness in certain regions and legitimize their contemporary presence within Germany. When it came to religious texts, Jewish thinkers tended to avoid historicist studies of the Hebrew Bible until the twentieth century, although they gave considerable attention, starting in the nineteenth century, to rabbinic literature, also traditionally considered to have been divinely revealed. Reading the Talmud historically could be used to justify religious reform, raising suspicion toward historicism among the Orthodox.

Jewish scholarship did not exist in isolation but responded to Protestant scholarship and hoped that Protestants would take Jewish findings to heart, especially since studies of rabbinic literature were often presented as bearing revisionist implications for an understanding of Christian origins. The collegiality Jews hoped for did not materialize, and their disappointments led, in many cases, to a reconsideration of historicist methods and goals.

David N. Myers presents a superb study of four major Jewish thinkers who broke with nineteenth-century historicism: Hermann Cohen, Franz Rosenzweig, Leo Strauss, and Isaac Breuer. Not only is Jewishness renegotiated by the resisters of historicism that Myers investigates, but historicism as such is creatively reimaged, and the resistance creates productive points of criticism. Cohen, for example, was sharply critical of Ernst Troeltsch's historical contextualization of prophetic ethics as the expression of ancient Israel rather than a universal message transcending its era. Yet the affirmation of Judaism's universality also inspired Cohen's anti-Zionism, Myers points out. For Rosenzweig, writing at a time of widespread Christian rejection of historicism, Jews stand outside history, and diasporism, not Zionism, is their "ideal habitat." The Protestant historicist model that described an expired Jewish religion superseded

by a vibrant Christianity was combatted by Rosenzweig not on historicist terms but by asserting that Judaism stands within eternity, whereas Christianity, derived from it, "is only on the way."

Both Strauss and Breuer were vigorous in their rejection of liberalism, blaming historicism for the crisis they perceived, and neither thought political Zionism could resolve it; the crisis was at heart theological. Myers presents both thinkers within the context of Protestant neo-Orthodoxy of the post-World War I era, affirming God's presence in history and insisting that science be read through the lens of the Bible. Yet Strauss's insistence on God's centrality did not stem from his personal belief or inspire obedience to Jewish law, in marked contrast to other traditional religious thinkers, but was mustered primarily as a weapon against liberalism. Breuer, a pillar of German-Jewish Orthodoxy and religious Zionism, sought a "timeless foundation on which Judaism could stand," protected from historicist relativism and change. Precisely his antihistoricism inspired Breuer's insistence that history is not political but a tool in God's messianic drama.

The major conceptual flaw in the book is Myers's presentation of historicism as a static phenomenon. Relying solely on simplistic imagery drawn from Calvin Rand's 1965 definition, Myers tells us that historicism is a method studying "each person, event, nation or era as a unique individual," an ideology that "values the past on its own terms." Historicism is an extraordinarily complex philosophical concern, and it is highly surprising, to say the least, that Myers does not explore its contours. The very complexity of the four philosophers he presents would suggest that a definition is inappropriate because each thinker constructed his historicist modes with critical appropriations and negations, as does Myers himself. The multiplicity of historicist reworkings that are continuously renegotiated through debates, rather than an ideology that can be asserted or resisted, seems better to express the multiple directions of the four thinkers he presents.

Oddly absent from Myers's book is a discussion of the links between European historicism and Europe's colonialist projects. The effort of Jewish historians to make Hebraism triumph over Hellenism was to challenge Christianity's originality and hegemony over Western civilization. That Jewish claims to civilizational priority were made primarily through the discipline of history complicates the resistance that Myers illuminates. As historicism was on the intellectual ascent in Europe, it was part of the European political project of subjugating colonized to colonizer, and the discipline through which "civilized" status was constructed and legitimated. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (2000), "Historicism enabled European domination of the world in the nineteenth century" (p. 7). In grasping the reins of historicism, Jews revolted against their colonization by Christian

Europe, using historicist tools to combat historicism's own political and intellectual imperialism.

Along with these conceptual problems, readers should perhaps be alerted that Myers's book contains errors, some of which were catalogued by Friedrich Wilhelm Graf in a review in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in September 2004. Given those errors, aspects of the book should be approached with particular caution.

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CAROLYN J. DEAN. *The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 203. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Carolyn J. Dean's thesis is at once direct and oblique. She is explicitly agnostic on "whether or not there has been a real failure of empathy" in the aftermath of the Holocaust (p. 5); obliquely, however, she claims an *alleged* loss of empathy, basing that on four post-Holocaust narratives that, she finds, demonstrate a moral "numbness." Methodologically, this conjunction raises persistent problems. In addition to what seems the importance of determining whether "Holocaust-fatigue" has in fact tainted current moral thinking—apparently Dean's own view, despite her disclaimer—the four narratives to which she restricts her account leave little space for the counter-evidence of an intensified post-Holocaust moral empathy. This omission—for example, of the remarkable historiography of the Holocaust or the post-Holocaust development of international legislation against genocide—limits the force of her analysis. (It also precludes a likely explanation for the moral "numbness" alleged: that it may be the price paid for the widespread empathetic attention that the Holocaust *has* received.)

The four narratives in which Dean finds a loss of empathy to the Holocaust's events are: the charges of "pornography" against various Holocaust representations (chapter one); the hostile professional reaction to Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996) (chapter two); the misuse of the category of the Holocaust "bystander" (chapter three); and attempts to associate Nazism, or fascism more generally, with homosexuality (chapter four). Dean regards these responses themselves as evidence of the loss of empathy—still, however, remaining agnostic on whether the responses are warranted or not. So, for example, she views the widespread criticism of Goldhagen's book as partly personal but more substantively as reflecting the "inadvertent objectification of [the] victims" (p. 58) by other Holocaust historians that Goldhagen was attempting to correct. But Dean provides no evidence that Goldhagen did reveal previously ignored aspects of the victims' subjectivity, and the central criticism of Goldhagen remains, as Dean herself notes, his monocausal and (arguably) genetic explanation of the Final Solution: an objection quite independent of the

ad hominem argument of professional jealousy that Dean cites as a factor in Goldhagen's hostile reception.

The charges of pornography in Holocaust representations, with its presumptive depersonalization, seem similarly equivocal. Can Holocaust representations be viewed pornographically? No doubt (but so, for the shoe-fetishist, can a shoe store). Are they all intrinsically pornographic, as certain of the critics mentioned by Dean imply? That seems too broad a charge to be taken seriously. Does some viewing of Holocaust representations have some elements of pornographic attraction for some people? Perhaps, but what follows from this? That the representations should not be viewed at all? The term "pornographic" may itself be in this context only metaphoric; little evidence has been presented in any event of sexual interest in pictures of concentration camp victims. Is the charge of pornography evidence of a loss of empathy? But again, the answer to that seems dependent on the prior question of the charge's truth or falsity.

In chapter four, Dean reviews writings that have causally associated Nazism with homosexuality, beginning with rumors circulated about Adolf Hitler himself. Here Dean's claim of a loss of empathy in the charges seems further strained. Obviously, altruism was not a Nazi value, but the contention that this failing holds also for homosexuals, and to an extent that justifies yoking the two together, requires an improbably large logical jump. The views Dean cites here (including comments by Theodor Adorno) seem either so crude or so ornate as to escape the rules of evidence; they are questionable even as symptoms, and although bad arguments are admittedly arguments, their quality seems not irrelevant to their discussion.

The most suggestive of Dean's narratives concerns the role of Holocaust "bystanders," as recent observers have imagined what they would have done under the same harsh conditions. A lack of empathy does seem evident here, as the imaginary bystanders typically predict their reactions would have been stronger than those of the actual bystanders (or even of the victims). The source of this criticism of the past, however, is a separate question, since in the absence of comparative evidence it might reflect not post-Holocaust numbness, as Dean proposes, but a common patronizing of the past (or even a specifically Whiggish view of moral progress).

What then of Dean's broader suggestion of a post-Holocaust loss of moral empathy? The evidence seems to me against this, but the issue itself is important—as it would also be valuable to have a comprehensive moral history (not of moral theories, but of moral conduct, including the role of empathy). Dean's book touches on all these topics, but the larger work is still there to be done.

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LLOYD E. AMBROSIUS, editor. *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 166. \$45.00.

Historians have long argued whether biography is properly a form of history and, if so, if it is a superior form of historical writing. The editor of this volume, Lloyd E. Ambrosius, and its contributors answer both questions positively. In preparing these essays the six historians—three women and three men—were asked “to reflect on their experiences as biographers” and to offer “their insights into the writing of biography as a form of historical analysis” (p. vii).

Shirley A. Leckie, the noted biographer of Elizabeth (“Libby”) Bacon Custer and historian Angie Debo, contributes one of the strongest essays in this collection. Leckie draws illuminatingly from other biographers to show how their experiences influenced her work. Countering Stanley Fish’s ridiculous dismissal of biography as “Minutiae without Meaning,” Leckie argues persuasively that “biography matters more than it mattered in the past” (p. 20) because in an expanded, global world we must have additional life stories to reconnect with diverse national and international experiences. Leckie utilizes her work in western American history to assert that we need biographies of people on the far side, the non-European and female side, of Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier.

In the second chapter, R. Keith Schoppa, a specialist in Asian history, emphasizes differences between social identities in the West and Far East. Unlike in the United States, where individualism became paramount, in China “developing and nurturing personal connections . . . [became] a full-time, lifelong undertaking” (p. 33). Schoppa’s essay focuses on the social connections of Shen Dingyi, an early twentieth-century provincial leader, to help biographers understand the cultural contexts that shaped Chinese persons. The author’s major point, clearly made, needs more illustrations of the sociocultural importance of webs and networks in Chinese history.

Next Retha M. Warnicke utilizes her studies of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves to argue that biographers must attend to the unique circumstances of women to understand the English Tudor period. Warnicke calls for more comprehension of the gender biases that distort primary and secondary sources, archival collections, Tudor society, and the writings of many male historians. Warnicke’s useful essay would be more valuable if it were less one-sided, including unwarranted negativity toward male historians and persons of strong religious preferences.

The informal, chatty chapter by John Milton Cooper, Jr., urges biographers to consider the implications of conceptions, conversations, and comparisons. Cooper demonstrates how his personal interests and the availability and significance of research materials drew him to the lives of Walter Hines Page, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson. Biographers must “converse” with their subjects, through oral histories

or apt use of sources. The only contributor to comment on comparative methods, Cooper’s stated differences between “comparative study” and “comparative biography” remain hazy. Still, his essay is one of the most provocative in this collection.

Nell Irvin Painter, specialist in African-American history and biographer of Sojourner Truth, provides a novel approach in calling attention to poet Horace’s dictum *ut pictura poesis*. Translated as the “sisterhood of the arts,” this idea encourages biographers to make diligent use of the arts, especially photographs and other artworks in stories of subaltern figures. Painter utilizes photographs of Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, and Duke Ellington as examples of underutilized evidence for biographies of subjects on which too little written evidence is available or for figures on which too much emphasis is placed on words.

The final essay by intellectual historian Robert J. Richards reiterates a familiar but still useful idea. From the 1960s through the 1980s, literary historians and critics and practitioners of “external” and “internal” intellectual history argued about the proper balance of biographical-historical backgrounds and emphases on the works of art themselves. Richards invokes this controversy in discussing the life and ideas of the German philosopher Friedrich Schelling and argues for linking personal and intellectual details in writing full-bodied biographies. A change or shift in a philosopher’s thinking often becomes understandable through his or her personal life.

These provocative essays contribute two useful points: biography is essential for historians; and historians must realize that biography and history remain joined at the historiographical hip. This reviewer adds a third point: historians should do more to introduce their students to the art of writing biographies. Such skills will be immensely helpful for preparing dissertations—and first books—but also will encourage young writers to include attention-whetting and illustrative pen portraits in their narrative, analytical, or theoretical histories.

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THOMAS DACOSTA KAUFMANN. *Toward a Geography of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 490. \$25.00.

Within the anglophone academy, geography and art history are rarely thought of as cognate disciplines, although since the 1960s conceptual, site-specific, and performance art practices have stimulated shared artistic and geographical interest in questions of place, documentation, and mapping. Such art work is now mature enough to attract the attention of art historians, including Miwon Kwon and Irid Rogoff. For their part, geographers, having extended their conceptions of space beyond the narrowly cartographic, interrogate the range of cognition and meanings attached to environments, places, and landscapes. They also ex-

plore the historical role of visual images (especially the map) in shaping material spaces. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's book opens with a discussion of geography's "cultural turn" and offers an informed reading of some of the discipline's key contemporary thinkers, albeit more social theorists than humanists. The "geographical" turn in late twentieth-century art practice lies outside the author's concern. His subject matter is more conventional and canonical, and his theoretical interest is in an older and unfamiliar (at least for non-German scholars) tradition of *Kunstgeographie*. The book seeks to recuperate this somewhat tainted intellectual project for contemporary scholarship. The result is a fascinating, challenging, but frustrating work that hopes to lay the foundation for further study about relationships between art and place, but that one fears may register the brilliant investigation of an intellectual cul-de-sac.

Kaufmann's first three chapters deal with historiographic questions connecting geography and the history of (mainly European) art. The succeeding two thirds of the book comprise substantive studies of art and architectural works, principally in Central and Eastern Europe, Spanish America, and Japan, produced between about 1500 and 1900. These are finely crafted and highly informative essays on less-studied topics, whose geographical spread reflects the author's intention to extend *Kunstgeographie* beyond its Eurocentric focus. They reveal much about the ways that European styles, practices, and traditions were globalized in the years of missionary and economic imperialism, and how they hybridized and were transculturated in contact with non-European peoples and practices. The study of Japanese *Fumi-e*, Christian icons manufactured for desecration during the centuries of Japan's "closure" to the West and its rejection of Christianity, is at once fine detective scholarship and compelling reading. But this chapter, like those on Jesuit architectural style in Eastern Europe or on the façade of San Lorenzo in Potosí, Bolivia, seems an independent project whose connection to the book's geographical argument feels forced. Their contribution to the book's conceptual goals is limited by the fact that art historical questions of iconography rather than geographical concepts drive the scholarship.

Kaufmann's historiography of *Kunstgeographie* is detailed and meticulously balanced, a necessity given the role played by such interpretation of art within German Romantic nationalism and the attendant proclivity toward "blood and soil" explanations of cultural difference. The root argument for a geography of art may seem uncontentious: "works of art are man-made products. As such they provide evidence of human culture, specifically the culture of whatever people produces them. The geography of art may therefore be regarded as part of cultural or human geography, which treats the material traces of humanity in the natural landscape" (p. 342). But distinguishing "art" within "culture" begs serious ontological questions. By the same token, geographers have largely retreated

from assigning "culture" to "peoples," as these are mutually dependent categories, and certainly from bounding either within a regional framework. They regard material traces of human activity in the "natural landscape" as limited evidence for understanding place and spatial organization.

Kaufmann indicates awareness of these problems, devoting his first chapter to a careful reading of recent geographical writing on space and spatiality, one main thrust of which has been to reject Immanuel Kant's attribution of ontological primacy to a container view of space. But the author explicitly rejects the hermeneutic stance that a relational view of space implies, shaping his study around unexamined and conventional concepts of place, region, environment, and diffusion. His geographical models are Paul Vidal de la Blache and Carl Sauer, important early twentieth-century geographers to be sure, but both deeply committed to what David Livingstone has called the "geographical experiment": seeking to establish necessary connections between "environments" and "peoples" as these vary and migrate across the earth. That experiment was encompassed by the Romantic, nationalist, and imperialist urges of the Europe (especially the Germany) whose art Kaufmann examines. As he convincingly demonstrates, the concerns of *Kunstgeographie* influenced art history across the West until the 1960s. But both historiography and geography have since been reshaped by other concerns, even if the ghosts of Johann Gottfried von Herder and Martin Heidegger still haunt some halls of the German academy. The geography of art toward which Kaufmann points appears to ignore or dismiss the conceptual tools that can bring art history and geography productively together to study places and times outside modernizing and colonizing Europe.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DAVID BIALE, editor. *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*. New York: Schocken Books. 2002. Pp. xxxiii, 1196.

The globalization of Jewish studies in our time has probably never been given better expression than in this comprehensive and impressive volume edited by David Biale. The book contends that globalization exists mainly in two dimensions: "Jewish culture has always evolved on a global stage" and has spread to nearly every corner of the globe (p. 1,149), and "Jewish studies as a field has become globalized" (p. xxix). This is indeed an extraordinary historiographic endeavor, unprecedented in its scope and multidisciplinary approach, but also in its revisionist goal of presenting a "New History."

The aspiration at the start of the twenty-first century to present, in a single volume containing more than

1,000 pages, a picture of Jewish history from ancient Israel up to present-day Israel, is an enormous challenge. Biale has assembled an international group of twenty-three experts in the history, literary criticism, archaeology, and folklore of the Jews in various periods. From the outset, the editor decided to forego any pretension to a total history, covering all possible spheres and discussing all the events and all the Jewish communities. He also deliberately refrained from telling one consecutive narrative. Each of the collaborators on the book contributed his/her own chapter, which stands on its own, but also took part in the deliberations about the book's special emphases and trends. The editor's prefaces build the bridges between the various chapters and provide a common bedrock of assumptions and concepts that strive to give the book its cohesiveness.

The book is divided into three parts, more or less according to the traditional periodization to the ancient era, the Middle Ages, and the modern age. The chapters of the first part, whose topic is the Mediterranean roots of the Jews, open with the culture of biblical Israel and propose the Bible as a combination of literature and history. In particular, they stress how the birth of the Jewish people was imagined in the biblical narrative, which represents the earliest collective biography of the Jews. In this part, stress is placed on one of the elements that underlie the theme that permeates the book: the close interaction of ancient Jews with the cultures in which they lived, first the Canaanite, then the Hellenistic, early Christian, and Muslim, alongside the religious and ethnic traits that are peculiar to the Jewish identity. The second part covers the period between the seventh and the eighteenth centuries, about a thousand years of "The Jewish Middle Ages," and the third is dedicated to the modern era, which posed a double, even contradictory challenge to the Jews: the promise and unprecedented possibility of individual assimilation, and the threat of secular antisemitism. The contributors to this third part present modern Jewish experience from many viewpoints, with an emphasis on differentiation, local difference, the vast number of culture varieties, and the difficulty of separating Jews from their ambient environments.

Obviously, it is not possible here to survey the entire content of such a richly textured book, but one ought at least to open a discussion of the major claims of Biale's general introduction, which contains an important revision that has many implications for contemporary Jewish historiography. Since the early nineteenth century, every historian attempting to write a general history of the Jews has been confronted by a series of problems. Is there one history that incorporates all of the groups in the Jewish diaspora? Is there a continuity between the various periods? Is the history of the Jews, especially in the diaspora, the history of a religion, a nation, or an ethnic minority? Biale grappled with these problems by deciding to present a cultural history: namely, to relate to the entire range of

the Jews' activity and the way in which they perceived this activity, with an emphasis on their literary and artistic creation. The examination of Jewish civilization through the lens of cultures rather than religion or nationality buttresses the claim for Jewish pluralism ("cultures") and makes it easier to examine the participation of Jews in a culture of their time and place. The volume as a whole seems to project the tension between the integral activity of Jews in the surrounding cultures and their formation into singular Jewish subcultures. Through cultural history, one can break away from traditional arguments that fail to acknowledge the various manifestations of Judaism and assume the existence of only one uniform tradition.

The "New History" is revisionist in several senses: it combines subjects which previously have not really been incorporated into Jewish history; it offers the perspective of cultural history; it claims that the Jews created their environment and were not only influenced by it; it challenges traditional views such as the uniformity of Jewish identity; and it attempts to break away from accepted narratives. Biale depicts the book as representing scholars from a generation that has lost the ideological edge. He thus positions himself against the "Jerusalem school," which is known for its Zionist approach and was dominant in the previous generation, and which claimed that modern Jewish history is moving in the direction of Jewish nationalism.

The collection shows the constant, fruitful interaction of Jews with their environment, leading to the formation of various models of Jewish identity. In this way conflicts are glossed over, in particular the pain stemming from the Jews' encounter with modernity and from their internal cultural tensions. Consequently, it is not surprising that the concluding chapter of the volume deals with the Jews in the United States in recent generations. The editor does tell us that his collaborators debated over what the subject of the last chapter should be: the Jews of United States or the Jews of Israel. He plays down the importance of the decision and claims that, in the final analysis, "it may be more fruitful to think about these two largest communities as siblings in the collective family history of the Jews" (p. 1,148). But even though this choice may not imply the direction in which Jewish history is moving, it does seem to be in keeping with the overall trend of the book or at least the perspective from which it was written and edited: "The United States, which became home to the largest, richest and probably most secure Jewish community in the millennia since Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees" (p. 1,100). Of course, the "New History" does not ignore Israel, but the claim that questions of identity and belonging have never been resolved anywhere (p. 729)—namely that Israel and Zionism have not successfully solved the Jewish question either—actually strengthens the argument for highlighting Israel in the book's final chapter. In the state of Israel—multifaceted, culturally fecund, simultaneously sovereign, and existentially chal-

lenced—many of the conflicts of the Jews that arose in the encounter with modernity indeed have yet to be solved. It is possible that if it were told from the Israeli perspective, the narrative of this collection might have been far less agreeable and optimistic.

In conclusion, readers are invited to peruse this collective biography spread out before them, constructed from voices heard over a period of 3,000 years. They will be mesmerized by the exceptional richness of Jewish culture throughout the generations, intrigued by the issues of Jewish identity in the past and the present, and able to listen to the echoes of the ongoing and unfinished discourse about how to represent Jewish history. This important, exceptional book is undoubtedly one of the high points of such discourse.

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ROSS BRANN and ADAM SUTCLIFFE, editors. *Renewing the Past, Reconfiguring Jewish Culture: From al-Andalus to the Haskalah*. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 237. \$45.00

How do groups wishing to retain their traditions adjust to societies that invite or pressure them to adopt new ideas, values, and practices? This question, so pressing in liberal, multicultural societies today, has received considerable attention in recent years. Typically the choices presented in the scholarship are between assimilation or acculturation on the one hand and resistance on the other. This collection of erudite and thought-provoking essays offers another possibility. In the case of the Jews from medieval Spain to nineteenth-century Germany and the United States, the contributors argue, poets, philosophers, and religious leaders “renewed” and “reconfigured” tradition, thus making it relevant to the concerns of their day. They interpreted texts from the past in terms that made them compatible with the values of the societies in which they lived.

In the first chapter, Joseph Yahalom shows how both medieval poets and eighteenth-century exponents of the Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment, responded to the wider Enlightenment trend of criticizing ornamentalism in literature by invoking an ancient tradition of pure, lucid, and succinct Hebrew poetry. Next Esperanza Alfonso explores the theme of exile in eleventh and twelfth-century poetry, arguing that the reconfiguration of this older motif provided a means of comprehending the upheavals and (sometimes literal) dislocations of the *Reconquista*. Dvora Bregman reveals how Hebrew poets in Renaissance Italy justified their borrowings from contemporary gentile forms by insisting that the result captured the spirit of Biblical verse. Similarly, Alessandro Guetta examines the Jewish response to the Italian Renaissance. Focusing on the fifteenth-century poet/philosopher Moses da Rieti, he describes Rieti’s use of Maimonides, a twelfth-

century thinker who, like many of his non-Jewish contemporaries, sought to reconcile rationalism and faith.

Skipping the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the book continues with a chapter in which Adam Shear shows how eighteenth and nineteenth-century *maskilim*, or supporters of the Jewish Enlightenment, did not simply embrace modernity at the expense of tradition. Rather they revived the work of Judah Halevi, an Iberian poet and philosopher from the eleventh and twelfth centuries who, they claimed, anticipated developments in modern scientific thinking. Similarly, according to Jonathan Karp, eighteenth-century German-Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn justified his Enlightenment emphasis on the importance of purity and simplicity in language by invoking scholarly precedents from the Middle Ages. In the United States a century later, Arthur Kiron shows, an American rabbi named Sabato Morais similarly had recourse to the past when responding to the demands of modernity. In this case, the Jewish scholar translated what he saw as relevant works from his Sephardic heritage.

Allan Arkush describes the process by which nineteenth-century German philosopher and Jewish dissenter Salomon Maimon drew his inspiration (and his name) from Maimonides. Adam Sutcliffe writes on the moral lessons that Mendelssohn derived from the exemplary life of excommunicated Jewish philosopher Baruch (later Benedict) Spinoza. Alyssa Sepinwall describes how *maskilim* in France challenged the anti-Jewish prejudices of the Abbé Grégoire—who advocated an amelioration of the Jews’ legal condition but also urged them to renounce rabbinical “superstition”—by showing the compatibility between some traditional teachings and the values of the Enlightenment. Finally, Jonathan Skolnik closes the volume with a chapter on Heinrich Heine’s poetic rehabilitation of *haggadah*, the Talmudic practice of scriptural interpretation by means of allegory.

This volume, we learn in the foreword by David Ruderman, grew out of two seminars at the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies of the University of Pennsylvania in 1998–1999. One of the seminars focused on Hebrew poetry during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, while the other concentrated on the Haskalah in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rather than restricting themselves to the seminar in their own area of specialization, the members decided to attend meetings of both seminars. In this process of intellectual cross-fertilization, members of both groups found that Jews from the eleventh through the fifteenth century on the one hand and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the other had remarkably similar ways of using the past to come to terms with the present. This discovery prompted them to publish their findings in a single volume.

Each seminar was already highly multidisciplinary, and combining essays by scholars representing the fields of history, philosophy, religious studies, and

literature on such diverse periods and places ran the risk of producing an unfocused collection. Yet the choice of topics, the quality of the scholarship, and the editors' insightful introduction resulted in a remarkably cohesive book. My only criticism is that it sometimes treats its readers as though they were necessarily specialists in Jewish studies, and in some cases specialists in the particular areas of expertise represented in the chapters. In his discussion of Moses da Rieti, Guetta writes, "We know, of course, his important Hebraic poem *Miqdash me'at*" (p. 59). I was unfamiliar with that poem, and I suspect that many other readers could not include themselves in this "we," and the "of course" runs the risk of making nonspecialists feel unwelcome. Kiron refers to "the notorious Seligman Affair of 1877" and "other anti-Jewish, discriminatory incidents, including that which occurred at Manhattan Beach on Coney Island in 1879" (p. 131). What was the Seligman Affair, and what happened at Manhattan Beach? The only help Kiron provides is an endnote citing other sources (p. 143). Even the book's subtitle is potentially intimidating. In the foreword Ruderman places the word "Spain" in parentheses when he first uses the term "al-Andalus," and he explains that "Haskalah" is simply the "Jewish counterpart" to the Enlightenment. Thus the subtitle could easily have been "From Medieval Spain to the Jewish Enlightenment," or something to that effect.

If these complaints appear carping, I would like to underscore that I only make them because the book speaks to a larger audience than its editors seem to expect. It makes an important contribution not only to Jewish studies, but also to the larger study of historical memory.

RONALD SCHECHTER
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MICHAEL STANISLAWSKI. *Autobiographical Jews: Essays in Jewish Self-Fashioning*. (Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 209. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$18.95.

In his new study, Michael Stanislawski asks how the historian can use autobiography, understood as a form of narrative more beholden to an overriding sense of self than to a full disclosure of the truth about the self. The principle determining which "autobiographical Jews" to include in the work was the author's sense of the compelling interest of their stories, rather than the typicality of their lives. Although Stanislawski modestly states that he makes no claim to a comprehensive discussion of Jewish life or autobiography, his list of subjects, including Josephus, Asher of Reichshofen, Glikl of Hameln, Moshe Leib Lilienblum, Osip Mandelstam, Stefan Zweig, and Sarah Kofman, is remarkably inclusive. Notwithstanding the author's stated intention to question the meaningfulness of the category "Jewish history" and the necessity of a boundary between Jewish and non-Jewish history, his book pro-

vides a panoramic view of Jewish history and the particular preoccupations of some of its most fascinating actors, without the aura of hagiography that, as Stanislawski points out, has characterized much previous scholarship on these figures.

One such preoccupation, and, therefore, one of the major themes of the work, is the attempt of its autobiographical subjects to deal with the incommensurable demands of their lives. Stanislawski finds Josephus's struggle to fashion himself as both a loyal Roman subject and a loyal Jew typical of Jewry throughout history. It is not clear however, how such characterizations advance the author's purpose of revealing that the boundary between Jewish history and non-Jewish history is fictive. The definition of a dilemma characteristic of Jews throughout the millennia could be used to support the opposite claim: that of the distinctiveness of Jews' construction of themselves, and therefore the nonfictive status of the boundary separating Jewish from non-Jewish history. A similar struggle between conflicting claims unfolds in Mandelstam's life story. The poet converted to Christianity but remained a Jew, even in terms of his own self-understanding, and Stanislawski does much to correct the dominant claim of much scholarship on Mandelstam that presents the poet's view of Jews and Judaism as overwhelmingly negative. The dilemma of divided and/or multiple positions often leads to the paradoxical conclusion, remarked on by Stanislawski more than once, that his subjects create identities for themselves using rhetoric that subverts their own purposes.

Zweig articulates the problem, although in impossibly loaded terms, as "the secret longing to resolve the merely Jewish—through flight into the intellectual—into humanity at large" (p. 116). Stanislawski identifies this formulation as the central motif of Zweig's writings. A similarly self-dismantling construct of identity finds its apogee in Kofman. The sense of the incommensurable reaches a point of crisis in her autobiographical writings, threatening the collapse of the entire autobiographical project. In Kofman's case, the paradoxes abound, beginning with the postmodern denial of the subject, a difficult position to sustain in an autobiographical work. Kofman's desire to tell her story, "as a Jewish woman who survived the Holocaust," as she characterizes herself, is in conflict with her desire to pay homage to Maurice Blanchot, who rejected the distinction between Jews and non-Jews and who questioned the possibility of speculative discourse "after Auschwitz" (p. 140). Stanislawski is undeniably right to challenge Blanchot's definition of Jews as those who preserve the vocation of outsider, and he is undeniably right when he says that Kofman, whose father was a rabbi, knew that "the Jew is more than the consummate foreigner" (p. 149). Stanislawski's reading of Kofman's theft of her father's pen from her mother's handbag is impressively psychoanalytic.

Somewhat troubling, however, is the author's lack of engagement with other scholars whose view of autobiography is similarly suspicious of its claims to truth.

For example, Stanislawski characterizes the scholarship on Mandelstam's *The Noise of Time* as "almost totally mesmerized . . . by its acceptance as a truthful account" (p. 70). But Stanislawski does not discuss one of the major scholarly works on Mandelstam, Gregory Freidin's *A Coat of Many Colors: Osip Mandelstam and his Mythologies of Self-Preservation* (1986), which reads Mandelstam's autobiographical prose as a literary construction—for example, by pointing out that "while true to life or imagined, this family portrait matched nicely with Mandelstam's metaphor of the deceptively decorous Imperial capital" (p. 22). Freidin argues that Mandelstam's autobiographical portrait is organized by metaphors—literary constructs—that the poet had used elsewhere. Stanislawski chides scholars of Kofman for their "lack of critical reading" (p. 141) and for their acceptance of particular passages as "simple declarative statements" (p. 147), yet Eilene Hoft-March, to give one example, has characterized Kofman's writing as "self-ironic and . . . only fleetingly self-revealing" ("Still Breathing: Sarah Kofman's Memoires of Holocaust Survival," *Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 33: 3 [Autumn 2000-Winter 2001]:109). Hoft-March, like Stanislawski, comments on Kofman's staging of her mother's disappearance from her life-text.

What Stanislawski has demonstrated, nonetheless, is that a profound knowledge of the historical context of an autobiography, coupled with a sensitive ear for narrative, can yield a greater understanding of the artfully constructed and concrete texture of individual lives in Jewish history.

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PATRICIA CRONE. *God's Rule: Government and Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 462. \$39.50.

Originally published in the United Kingdom by Edinburgh University Press, the book under review is a North American edition. Its subject is timely, aiming to provide modern readers with detailed background on the origins and permutations of six centuries of medieval Islamic political thought. Patricia Crone is a well-established scholar known previously for controversial yet insightful analyses.

Crone's study focuses on Muslim societies in the Middle East from the time of the Prophet Muhammad until the Mongol conquest, or the early seventh century through middle thirteenth century. Those centuries witnessed the ministry of Muhammad, Arab Muslim troops conquering the Middle East, assimilation of Byzantine and Sasanian political theories and practices into emerging Muslim polities, secularization of Islamic caliphates and successor states, and schisms dividing Muslim communities located between North Africa and North India. That six-century period also marked the gradual conversion to Islam of most

Zoroastrians, numerous Christians, and many Jews—first mainly in urban settings and later in the hinterlands. So, despite wars and regime changes, medieval Muslim writers glorified that time as one when divergent Islamic societies flourished through confluences of distinct mores brought in by newly faithful Muslims from their earlier faiths and communities—a veritable golden age. Crone attempts to decipher and make explicable to readers the many interconnected concerns and solutions that shaped a range of statecraft during that age.

The book consists of twenty-two chapters divided into four sections, charts, bibliography, and an index-glossary. At first glance, it seems to promise an intellectual feast for specialists and members of the erudite public as well. Given the volume's scope, only a few matters can be discussed in this review. Crone sets the stage in chapter one with a brief overview of the links perceived by Muslims among divine creation, human governance, religious law, prophecy, and the career of Muhammad. In other words the standard Muslim formulation that religion and state are interconnected through foundation on divine law, and that problems arose from "human disobedience" (p. 14) is rearticulated. Crone views this "fusion" of religious and political spheres by Muslims as distinct from "blurring" of boundaries between faith and state in the Byzantine and Sasanian empires (p. 15). In reaching such a fundamental assumption, which informs much of the rest of the book, Crone projects ideas back from the ninth century onto the earliest Muslims, religiopolitical notions that may not have existed among the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula during the seventh century or, even if they did, that were fundamentally reinforced by ones such as the well-established Iranian concept "Church and state were born of one womb, joined together never to be sundered" (*Letter of Tosar*, 33–34, composed third century, revised sixth century). Moreover, tracing the origins of polity and government back to primordial creation was standard practice in Jewish, Christian, and Zoroastrian states before Arab Muslims began to do so, and several Middle Eastern religiopolitical traditions even wove the Arab Muslim conquests into their supposed divinely ordained schemes as apocalyptic scenarios where their divinity would eventually correct human errors and reestablish god's rule sans Muslim dominance.

Chapter two examines the impact of civil war and sectarianism on the nascent Muslim community in Arabia, yet misses the gender-specific component to *fitna* or strife (extended to include civil war in its meaning) that arose as a consequence of 'Ā'isha's (one of Muhammad's wives) involvement—misogyny that would be used to justify exclusion of women from Muslim politics. Chapter three covers the Umayyad dynasty in terms of issues of legitimacy or lack thereof for secular rule. Early Muslim sectarian religiopolitical ideologies are covered in chapter five on the Khārijites, chapter six on the Mu'tazilites, and chapters seven through ten on various forms of Shī'ism. The

roles of pious tradition or *hadith* in shaping political theory and praxis is discussed briefly in chapter eleven.

Next, Crone seeks to elucidate how foreign ideas were amalgamated with Muslim thought. Chapter thirteen could more appropriately be described as the Iranian tradition rather than a Persian one, because the political guidelines and practices assimilated by Muslim rulers and bureaucrats were not strictly from southwestern Iran or Persia proper, nor only in the New Persian or Farsi language. Rather that statecraft was, by the time of the Arab Muslim conquest, a finely wrought composite of ideologies, administrative codes, institutions, and practitioners having a range of Iranian regional, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds. The Greek tradition and political science, influence of Aristotelian philosophy, and questions of how morality and authority intertwined are addressed in chapter fourteen, followed by Neo-Platonism's role in shaping Ismā'īlī Shī'ite attitudes toward governance in chapter fifteen. Most Muslims in medieval times, like now, followed the Sunnī form of Islam. Their understandings of religion, politics, majority and minority statuses, jurisprudence, and tradition were the most important influence on Muslim statecraft. In chapter sixteen, Crone provides readers with an informative summary of the pragmatism that shaped medieval Sunnī politics.

Muslim understandings of the necessity and purpose of state institutions form the contents of chapters seventeen and eighteen. The tension between the state and the individual is addressed in chapter nineteen, although the Gnostic heritage attributed (p. 330) to ancient (pre-Islamic) Iranian society was marginal. The resulting social order that attempted to balance communal needs against individual wishes is analyzed within subsections about hierarchies, women, slaves, and other possessions within chapter twenty. Chapter twenty-one, on interactions between Muslims and members of other faiths, is marred by inaccurate conclusions and, occasionally, disturbing use of language. For example, *jihad* or religious effort (pious struggle) is unequivocally identified as "holy war" (p. 372), even though it is unclear whether the initial conquests by Arabs were religious or were given religious overtones to validate Islamic sovereignty after Muslims had come to rule the Middle East. Zoroastrians, or followers of Mazdaism, who constituted the religious majority in Iran prior to the Arab conquest of that country in the seventh century and continued at least three hundred years under Muslim regimes, are termed "a species of pagans" (p. 368). An epilogue seeks to extend some of the preceding chapters into the context of modernity's impact on Islamic societies but is, unfortunately, too succinct to reflect the responses of contemporary Muslims.

The picture that emerges from Crone's latest tome may not be especially original, but it brings to the forefront apprehensions that medieval Muslims felt about interactions between secular actions and confessional beliefs. Those dilemmas still confront not only

contemporary Muslims but members of other sectarian groups as well; they are problems for which explanations and solutions prove difficult and non-uniform.

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JOSEPH A. AMATO. *On Foot: A History of Walking*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 333. \$29.95.

Joseph A. Amato is a prolific author whose works embrace a wide spectrum of inquiry. This book offers both a concise history and cultural analysis of walking in Euro-America and a description of the ways the trek, amble, stroll, and march have been superseded by technology.

Even as he traces the ways in which animals and vehicles have eclipsed walking, Amato is careful to remind readers that, until the latter half of the twentieth century, poverty compelled nearly all people to walk even as alternative modes of transportation became available. Those who had to walk and those who chose to walk for nonessential reasons—the *flâneur*, those who promenaded for effect, the hiker and trekker, the window shopper, and the rural Rambler—lived in the different worlds that class defined. Amato's discussion of the physical conditions of road and paths, the difficulties carriages and wagons encountered in city and countryside, and of urban congestion on streets and alleys are especially compelling.

Amato begins with a brief overview of the early history of walking, tracing the activity from hominids through classical Greece and Rome, with particular attention to the Roman legions that marched throughout most of the Mediterranean world. Subsequent chapters investigate walking in medieval Europe, upper-class promenading, country and other "rambling," walking in rural America, the pedestrian in London and Paris in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, marching and urban design, and the triumph of motoring in the West. Simultaneously engaging, thoughtful, frustrating, and puzzling, this book will point interested readers toward a wealth of topics yet to be investigated, especially if they explore Amato's substantial citations.

It is inevitable in a work of this breadth and length that some readers will be both appreciative of the author's choices for analysis and disappointed at what seem to be important omissions. William Wordsworth, J. W. von Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Henry David Thoreau, and John Muir are present; missing, however, are William Bartram, Mark Catesby, Per Kalm, and Gilbert White. Amato notes many pilgrimages of the medieval era but neglects those to Mecca. Although Amato advises readers that his focus is Euro-America, he does mention Mohandas K. Gandhi's marches and the Silk Road.

Amato's observations about Charlie Chaplin's char-

acteristic walk and goose-stepping soldiers are trenchant and illuminating, as are his extended discussions of Thoreau, military and ceremonial parades, and protest marching. He mentions Victorian-era race walking but barely notes golf, once the quintessential walking game. There is virtually no discussion of snowshoeing or skiing. He carefully examines the changes in urban design that permitted and encouraged walking while at the same time providing the state with an environment suitable for managing urban crowds that could—and did—use the streets to challenge governments.

Illustrations, maps, and diagrams would have greatly enhanced this work, but alas, there are none. Amato makes passing reference to the material culture of walking and the artifacts of riding and carriage, but he offers little analysis or description of them. Given Amato's acknowledgement of several museums (p. 320), this is an odd omission.

The book seems to be as much about not walking as it is about trekking, trudging, marching, and promenading. Extended discussions of urban design and traveling on animals, conveyances, and watercraft seem forced rather than interpretations that rise gracefully from description and detail about walking. Finally, there are two surprising gaffes: "yokes" (for carrying) and "yolks" (as in eggs) are confused, (pp. 9, 49) and the apparatus for producing power by means of walking is termed a "thread mill" (p. 49). (The former are correctly used on page 125, the latter on page 256.) In sum, this is a useful and often engaging study, one that would have benefited from a more expansive geographic and disciplinary treatment.

HARVEY GREEN

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JOHN C. WEAVER. *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–1900*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 497. \$39.95.

John C. Weaver has written one of those rare books that for many decades will grace lists of essential bibliography. In a way, it is a sequel to Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Plains* (1931). But it is much more. Weaver assiduously analyzes the European appropriation and distribution of lands in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, a process achieved at the expense of the indigenous peoples as well as, in many instances, ecological imbalance. Webb, who pioneered interdisciplinary research in our profession, would appreciate Weaver's varied scholarly career, which cuts across fields including urban government, suburbanization, criminal justice, and world land occupation.

While this book deals primarily with landed property rights, Weaver comments only marginally upon mineral, timber, and water rights. In the three chapters in part one, he establishes the concepts and ideologies that underpin his study; the four chapters in part two describe the process of land seizures, allocations, and

reforms; a final chapter on reallocation and an epilogue treating contemporary conditions comprise part three. Indeed, the organization of the book reflects its author's ability to conceptualize, compartmentalize, and to demonstrate ideologies with anecdotal evidence.

Although Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Russia reflected their own perspectives on land acquisition, British and American ideas and practices influenced innovations near the end of the great land rush. Weaver cites an array of examples to illustrate the variations in ideas about the origins, organization, and rationales of property rights before elaborating on the places, shapes, scale and velocity of land occupation. The urgency of the speculators was a common denominator, hence the incorporation of "rush" in the book's title.

If one were pressed to identify an overriding theme of part two, it would be, in the broadest sense, confrontation. Individuals confronted one another and their governments; the forces of order and turmoil conflicted, as did those of fairness and rapacity. And, as usual, there was the division between labor and capital. While Europeans used force to take territory, administrators, jurists, and often clerics expended considerable energy rationalizing the legal status of "first peoples." Especially was this true in the Spanish Empire, where its legalism curiously mixed with clerical distinction between types of converted and unconverted peoples. In his elaboration of territorial acquisition, Weaver emphasizes legal doctrines, speed, Eurocentric attitudes toward indigenous peoples, deception of landhunters, and applications of military force. He distinguishes between landed estates of aristocrats and citizen speculators, pointing out that aristocratic ambitions diminished on all frontiers despite some remaining vestiges in the United States. The chapter entitled "Allocation by Market" includes explanations of innovations in the sale of crown or public lands and those relating to the sale of parcels in private hands. Interestingly, for two centuries there were few changes in the equipment and crews employed by surveyors. The author's discussion of the technology and practices of surveying raises the important but generally unexplored question of the collaboration of government surveyors with speculators.

Chapter seven, "Allocation by Initiative: Landhunters, Squatters, Grazers," concludes part two. Earlier in his book, Weaver discusses at length how officials throughout time altered the rules governing acquisition. Here he shows how individuals who sought land also effected changes. In his words, "landhunters, grazers, and squatters by the thousands executed common moves that advanced private property rights in the face of governments' hostility, caution, overwork and sluggishness" (p. 264). Even when governments conceded to demands of private individuals, often they pressed for additional concessions. Some of the best examples on the United States frontier are numerous pre-emption laws, first applying to limited areas and

finally to the entire federal domain. In his coverage of individualism and competition, Weaver stresses that it was not unusual for individuals literally to do battle with their fellow frontiersmen as well as with their respective governments in a figurative sense.

The only full chapter in part three, chapter eight, contains an analysis of the reallocation of lands wrestled by Europeans from indigenous peoples during the colonial period. Before outlining movements to break up big estates and efforts to squeeze into marginal lands, he addresses the reality that most of the desirable lands were occupied. European intruders, in their searches for unclaimed tracts and efforts to utilize marginal lands, relied on five methods: land reform, discovery of legal loopholes, further intrusion on indigenous lands, tax reform, and irrigation projects. Weaver concludes with a thirteen-page epilogue that he packs with thorny questions facing modern readers as a result of the great land rush. His closing thoughts amount to a plea for everyone to consider the ethical and global ramifications of the development of new property rights.

In this exceedingly ambitious example of comparative frontier history, Weaver is as quick to recognize peculiarities of various frontiers as he is to identify their similarities. And he, unlike some of the "New Western History" advocates during the 1990s, frequently and consistently writes in terms of frontiers in the tradition of Frederick Jackson Turner. Considering the complexity of Weaver's subjects, his prose is remarkably gracious. While some traditionalists may regret the absence of a bibliography, they must applaud the 108 pages of endnotes that follow 360 pages of text. Twelve pages of carefully selected photographs, nine clear maps, and ten elaborate tables add considerably to the effectiveness of Weaver's admirable scholarship. Table 7.2, "Trends in Landhunting, 1700–1900," for instance, covers two full pages and offers an excellent summation of chapter seven. It is little wonder that this book is the product of a decade of research and writing.

JOHN D. W. GUICE

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STUART B. SCHWARTZ, editor. *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 347. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

This essay collection merits scholarly attention. That said, neither the introduction nor the essays provide a new conceptualization of either the Atlantic world or sugar's contribution to it. Indeed, the essays are, with some exceptions, mostly rooted in the more familiar terrain of national and imperial historiographies. Scholars who want to learn more about the Atlantic world's implantation phase, however, can glean some valuable information about the sugar industry's earliest developments. Several of the volume's contributors introduce new archival evidence that either builds on

or modifies existing knowledge. Perhaps as important, this volume will force us to think more precisely about the development of the sugar "industry" and its connection to the rise of slavery in its Atlantic context.

Editor Stuart B. Schwartz's introduction begins by citing Eric Williams's famous thesis about the connection between Atlantic sugar (and slavery) and European industrialization. Schwartz goes on to query how the Iberian colonies in the Atlantic world developed sugar earlier than the northern European colonies did but still "lagged behind in the subsequent development of capitalism" (p. 2). He quickly surmises that the answer resides in mature colonial developments of the eighteenth century, and thus readers get a quick tour of that period's more familiar scholarship. But what about the earlier period? Schwartz thinks that by looking at this period, as the book's authors do, it might be possible to develop "a newer, more nuanced vision of the origins of the Atlantic economy and the role of sugar within it" (p. 20).

Schwartz posed a series of questions to the volume's authors (p. 9) and then asked them to consider the answers to these questions as they wrote. The result is essays that are rich in data, provide more depth to the early history of sugar in the Atlantic, and bring new archival sources to light. What the essays lack, however, is real synthesis. The introduction falls short in this regard, and a conclusion, which might have helped, is simply absent. As a result, the early history of Atlantic sugar is depicted as the origins of sugar cultivation and export in a variety of individual places around the Atlantic Ocean. There are certainly references to exchange, licit and illicit, between the various places that are the main focus of each essay, but these connections generally remain unexplored.

The book's organization follows a traditional chronological and geographical framework. William D. Phillips, Jr., opens the volume with a brief essay on sugar in Spain. His final suggestion that Iberia was important as a way station between sugar production in the eastern Mediterranean and the Americas is important in understanding the flow of the commodity, but it is not connected to any of the subsequent essays. Moving westward, Alberto Vieira describes sugar's introduction into the Canaries and Madeira. He chronicles the economic role that these islands played in sugar's early expansion, but his focus is largely old world (as opposed to Atlantic world). The next three essays (by Genaro Rodríguez Moral on sixteenth-century Hispaniola, Alejandro de la Fuente on sixteenth and seventeenth-century Cuba, and Schwartz on sixteenth and seventeenth-century Brazil) all introduce new documents and do a fine job of chronicling the introduction of sugar and the nature of its production. All three essays also discuss technological improvements to sugar milling (*ingenio*, *engenho*, and *trapiche*) in the local context but not the Atlantic one. Taken together, these essays suggest that sugar production began early on but was less successful than it would later become for different, locally specific rea-

sons. What does become clear is that the slave trade, which had independently developed, gradually became tied to the financial success of the crop. Herbert Klein's synthetic essay makes just this point.

The book's last two pieces are, in many ways, the most interesting. Eddy Stols describes the growing demand for sugar in Europe, as well as its uses. More cultural history than the others in the book, this piece argues that "the diffusion of sugar was not only a question of alimentary innovation; it also appealed to the pleasure of the senses, especially sight" (p. 251). Stols shows readers just how sugar consumption spread among Europeans of all ranks. This is important in an Atlantic approach, as consumer demand led to expanded production. Even so, this connection is not fully developed. Finally, John McCusker and Russell Menard examine the role that the English played in developing the sugar business in Barbados. Their essay argues against a dominant role for the Dutch in the spread of sugar to the Caribbean islands and against the concept of a sugar revolution. They argue instead for a more gradual evolution of the sugar industry—which puts them neatly in line with the volume's other authors.

The book's missing conclusion could have made more systematic explanation and contextualization of this slow spread of sugar through the seventeenth century. Although more work still needs to be done, anyone attempting to write a new history of sugar in the Atlantic world can use the essays here as building blocks for an emerging synthesis.

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MICHAEL A. MORRISON and MELINDA ZOOK, editors. *Revolutionary Currents: Nation Building in the Transatlantic World*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2004. Pp. ix, 192. Cloth \$68.00, paper \$24.95.

At the intersection of state building and nation formation one finds the phenomenon of revolution. From the seventeenth century to the twentieth, revolutions have not only overturned old administrations, they have harnessed the myths of nation building to the creation of larger and more powerful administrative and military states. In doing so, they have transformed our very notion of what a nation-state should be. This profoundly important collection offers fresh scholarship on the role of nationalist ideology in the revolutions that ringed both sides of the Atlantic Ocean from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. Contributions by Lois G. Schwoerer on Britain's Revolution of 1688, by John M. Murrin on the American Revolution, by William H. Sewell, Jr., on France in 1789, and by Eric Van Young on Mexican independence are integrated by Jack P. Greene's brilliant introductory essay on state formation and the creation of revolutionary traditions and Peter S. Onuf's conclu-

sion on the continuing evolution of nations and nationalism.

Greene's essay makes the familiar argument that most of these revolutions were rooted in the defense of specific liberties and privileges held by particular regions and corporate groups against the expanding and centralizing authority of monarchies. When kings began to act as though divine right justified their unlimited authority, the defenders of such liberties (aristocrats, gentry, town and guild leaders, merchants, professionals, local politicians, judges, and other privileged groups) rose up in revolt. What Greene adds integrates this account with the rise and intensification of nationalist beliefs. When elites mobilized the masses to support their attack on monarchical privilege, they justified the protection of liberty as a prized national heritage, so that nationalist sentiment was joined to revolutionary action. Such was the scenario in Britain, the United States, and the Latin American independence revolutions, where nationalism and revolution served to destroy state aspirations to absolutism and shackle the central state, while drawing up short of overturning the privileged status of the revolutionary elites.

Schwoerer's and Murrin's essays nicely detail these processes. Schwoerer shows how the institution of juries, traceable to the practical jurisprudence that was developed following William's conquest to help the new foreign rulers identify and apprehend local wrongdoers, was transformed by the seventeenth-century jurist Sir Edward Coke and others into a key element in a mythic and timeless national heritage of English freedom from central authority. These myths of immemorial freedom, set against royal efforts to impose a "Norman yoke" on free English, were then used to justify the English revolution.

Murrin demonstrates how, from their early foundation as communities of religious dissenters and outcasts, the thirteen colonies developed into social and political reproductions of eighteenth century English society, led by landed elites and financed by agriculture and trade, proud of their English heritage and traditions. Only when conflicts with Britain over the taxation of trade rose to a fever pitch in the late eighteenth century did the elite landowners of the South and the merchants of the Atlantic ports start to define themselves as Americans first, and as defenders of a pure liberty that predated and overruled the authority of the crown and parliament over the colonists.

Sewell's essay, the most powerful in this collection, makes the point (also granted by Greene) that the French Revolution was an exception to this pattern. Although, like the other Atlantic revolutions, it began as an elite defense of the specific liberties of regions, orders, and corporations against the arbitrary actions of the king, it quickly evolved into something else. As elites grappled with reform, it became clear that since the reign of Louis XIV the operations of the monarchy had become inextricably bound up with local and elite privileges. From the thousands of offices sold by the

crown, to the distinctions between the *pays d'Etats* and the *pays d'élections*, to the overlapping authorities of the intendants and the provincial governors, the entire apparatus of royal authority and taxation in prerevolutionary France was defined by privilege. When the Third Estate representatives redefined themselves as the National Assembly, they also redefined who they represented: not merely a particular element of French society but the nation. "The nation" in France thus became the embodiment of universal equality and citizenship as against every form of privilege and social distinction, and the French Revolution became a uniquely leveling and radical revolution, using the power of the revolutionary state to destroy every social, legal, regional, religious, linguistic, and traditional distinction that separated the French into distinctive groupings. Sewell shows how revolutionary legislation—ranging from the rights of man to the new uniformity and modern titles of the departments that replaced old provinces—was designed with equality of condition in mind. One can better understand both the passion inspired among the revolution's leaders to destroy everything old and feudal in France, and the horror that inspired in Edmund Burke and its adversaries, from Sewell's insightful essay.

Van Young's essay on Mexico illuminates the unique dilemma faced by the Latin American revolutionaries of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, they lacked the tradition of local liberty, jurisprudence, and self-government that became the basis for British and American opposition to their monarchy. On the other hand, the clash of heritage and interests between the Creole elites and the mestizo/Amerindian majorities mitigated against embracing the unitary "nation" that developed in France. Latin American revolutions thus ran along two only partially overlapping tracks: a Creole-led movement for independence from Spanish rule, and diffuse popular peasant/nativist/religious movements against elite authority and privileges. Never fully able to overcome the tensions between these two movements, the Latin American revolutions descended into repeated crises and chaos, emerging with relatively weak governments that flipped back and forth between elite dictatorship and populist democracy.

Up to date on issues of nationalism, ideology, and comparative politics, these essays provide the finest and most thought-provoking comparative study of the seventeenth to nineteenth-century Atlantic revolutions published in the past decade.

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PHILIP OTTERNESS. *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 235. \$39.95.

Nearly seventy years after the appearance of what many once considered a definitive history of the German group migrations to New York in 1709, Philip

Otterness offers a detailed reexamination and assessment of what he calls "one of the most watched groups of immigrants to enter America" (p. 5), comparing them to the Vietnamese boat people of the 1970s and the Haitian refugees of the 1990s. Walter Allen Knittle's *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration: A British Government Redemptioners Project to Manufacture Naval Stores* (1937) provided a detailed assessment of the background of the sudden migrations of more than 15,000 people from the southwest German territories and Switzerland to London beginning in 1709, and of the disastrous further migration of about 3,000 of those migrants the following year to New York, one fourth of whom died in route. These immigrants suffered from being part of a poorly planned and executed scheme by the British government to produce naval stores on the upper Hudson, and most ultimately scattered to the western New York frontier and colonies further south. Whereas Knittle's study assessed Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, especially "frontier individualism," and the ability of the British government to manage industry, Otterness uses British official records, the writings of the migrants themselves, public commentaries, and the work of a recent genealogist to trace in much more detail the origins and settlement patterns of the migrants, their attempt to find a new Canaan on the Schoharie River in upper New York, and the development of an ethnic identity among these "Germans."

To Otterness the migration is most important because it illuminates how ethnic identity developed among immigrants. Many scholars have stressed ethnicity as a New World concept, but Otterness shows that the process actually began in Europe in this case. When thousands of villagers from far-flung German and Swiss territories rushed toward London in 1709 the logistical situation became disastrous. Living for months in camps, suffering from hunger and inadequate shelter, the migrants became refugees while the British government and public debated what should be done with them. Here is where they became "Palatines," regardless of which German region they had called home, and here is where a group identity began to set in. Otterness's findings parallel recent work on the Atlantic World in which scholars have shown that the beginnings of creolization took place in Africa, not America, and continued via the slave migrations in the Americas. In New York the immigrants continued to struggle under terrible conditions, and this, along with their adversarial relationship with the colonial government, accelerated the development of a common ethnic identity. Otterness shows, as others have for Pennsylvania and surrounding colonies, that these migrants really were "Germans," not merely "German speakers."

There are a number of strengths in Otterness's book. First, his chronicle of the 1709 migrations from beginning to end, detailing origins and settlement patterns using his database, is impressive. He provides extensive detail on the London phase of the migrations,

including how difficult conditions were for the Germans and what a public political problem this became for Londoners. Otterness also shows how the Palatines' problems of survival and dealing with difficult authorities continued after reaching New York. And, in addition to discerning the beginnings of "becoming German" in Europe, not America, Otterness shows that many immigrants interacted significantly with Mohawks on the Schoharie.

There are also some weaknesses in the book. Otterness does little to relate his findings to the larger American context and literature on other colonial migrations. This becomes problematic in his last two chapters, when he outlines at length German political interests in war and peace and the Old World origins of many of these values without noting the similarities with Pennsylvania. In fact, at one point (p. 146) he even implies that Pennsylvania Germans were complacent and apolitical, a notion that a number of recent historians have convincingly refuted.

In many ways the movement of Germans in 1709 came at a turning point in the history of both immigration and society in general in British North America. Many seventeenth-century migrations were characterized by a utopian, experimental element, and in the case of the Huguenots continental refugees who had been supported by the English government made their way to the colonies. All of these elements were present in the "Palatine" migrations of 1709, but this migration also contained elements of what characterized the much larger immigration of Germans into the colonies after about 1720. After this there may have been up to 100,000 Germans who, as in the case of 1709, came from family and village networks throughout extensive regions of the southwestern German territories and Switzerland, and like that of 1709 these migrations and subsequent developments were characterized by clustered ethnic settlement patterns, endogamous marriage, and an activist political culture oriented toward gaining and protecting property and other rights.

So the 1709 New York migrations reflect in many ways a transition in colonial migration history, and the timing is significant. These migrations were an important part of a larger transformation occurring in colonial society that Jon Butler outlined in *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776* (2000). British North America became a growing, increasingly diverse place in which an activist political culture flourished and where ethnicity mattered, even as immigrants and their descendants ultimately made America. Ironically "becoming German" and "becoming American" were two related, simultaneous processes, as immigrants learned that bonding with similar ethnics could be a good way to succeed in a pluralistic, diverse, democratic society that they helped to create.

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RICHARD CONNORS and ANDREW COLIN GOW, editors. *Anglo-American Millennialism, From Milton to the Millerites*. (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, volume 113.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. xviii, 210. \$126.00.

The goal of this book of essays is to contribute to the study of millennialism—the belief in a future thousand-year age of blessedness, beginning with or culminating in the Second Coming of Christ—in England and America. However, contrary to the editors' claim that "the history of millennial, millenarian, and apocalyptic thought in the Anglo-American world," especially "in the earlier or colonial period, has received little attention" (p. ix), apocalyptic and millenarian thought in fact has been explored and analyzed in many excellent studies. It is embarrassing therefore to find that one of the contributors to the book, Stephen A. Marini, flatly repudiates the editors' claim above: "Over the past several decades the role of millennial religious beliefs and symbols in America culture has been well established by historians and other cultural interpreters" (p. 159). Furthermore, the title is misleading: the book does not deal with the period from Milton to the Millerites. Instead, the focus of the two central essays, which comprises half the book, is the period before John Milton lived.

Andrew Escobedo's imaginative essay, "The Millennial Border between Tradition and Innovation," examines "the difference between the postmillennial eschatology of sixteenth-century English Protestants [the belief that Christ's Second Coming will take place after the millennium]," and "the premillennial (millenarian) eschatology of their seventeenth-century descendents" (p. 1), or the belief that Christ would come before the millennium. Escobedo compares John Foxe, the well-known Elizabethan martyrologist, and Milton, claiming that the Puritan poet's work reveals the emergence of a secular, temporal conception of time, which "replaces a history of divine providence with a history of human efforts" (p. 42). However, the author's discussion of the rise of the English "notion of historical progress" (p. 2) in total isolation from the rise of similar modes of historical thought in early modern history is not justified in light, for example, of Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (1985), which shows that during that period historical time gained more and more a new quality signified by the temporalization of history.

Beth Quitslund's erudite "The Virginia Company, 1606–24: Anglicanism's Millennial Adventure" focuses on the apocalypse and eschatology of the Protestant settlement of Virginia as revealed in the "Virginia Company's promotional literature" (p. 44). Perry Miller was the first to expose this eschatology in "Religion and Society in the Early Literature of Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly* (Oct. 1948, 5:492–522; January 1949, 6:24–41), and Quitslund helpfully expands the scope and content of his proposals that the settlement of Virginia was based to a large extent

upon religious aims and goals. Missing, however, from her detailed discussion is the role of the Virginian "Anglican Millennialism" (p. 46) and its "Missionary Millenarianism" (p. 62) in the wider context of English eschatological and apocalyptic thought. The reader should have been told, for example, that while Protestants of Virginia emphasized the right of a sacred center (Protestant England) to expand into the New World, New England Puritans claimed that England was no longer a sacred center—hence their flight to America. John Donne's sermon of 1622 before the Company of Virginia Plantation envisioned Virginia as a "suburb" of England, whereas Puritan Thomas Hooker's "The Danger of Desertion," 1631, declared that England faced imminent judgment and destruction.

John Howard Smith's illuminating "The Promised Day of the Lord": American Millennialism and Apocalypticism, 1735–1783" examines how "popular perceptions of the violent detachment from Great Britain and the creation of a new republic filled the public with apocalyptic anxiety and millenarian expectation" (p. 116). Instead of dealing with the oft-repeated, traditional utterances of the leaders of the American Revolution, he examines the voice of "common people" (p. 128), showing that "millennialism had a potent utility in firing resistance to British Authority" (p. 154). Yet, what is conspicuously missing from the whole discussion is Ruth Bloch's important study, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought 1756–1800* (1985). Further, the author perpetuates the scholarly myth that Jonathan Edwards's *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* (1743) proclaimed the Great Awakening "as the starting point" of the millennium (p. 118). Yet, as Gerald McDermott showed in his *One Holy and Happy Society: The Public Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (1992), Edwards regarded the Awakening as only the beginning of a 250-year process that *might* result in a millennium.

In "Uncertain Dawn: Millennialism and Political Theology in Revolutionary America," Marini explores "current interpretations of Revolutionary millennialism and propose a new understanding of it" during the years 1783–1792 (p. 159). Political theology is currently a very promising field of inquiry, and many works have appeared on this subject (for example, *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, eds. Peter Scott and William T. Cavanaugh [2003]). Marini's argument is that millennialism not only desacralized "politics by removing "government from the religious agenda of traditional British and European regimes" (p. 170) but also restricted "the competence of government" in religious and moral issues, placing confidence "not in covenant or leaders, but in the people themselves" (p. 175). Finally, in his intriguing "Millennial Invasion: Millerism in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada," J. I. Little examines the influence of William Miller, famous for his prediction that the Apocalypse would take place on April 13, 1843, and his

followers on Lower Canada at the time. Little's conclusion is that the results were minimal: in contrast to the impressive power of Millerism in the United States, this movement "failed to take a strong root north of the border" (p. 204).

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TAL GOLAN. *Laws of Men and Laws of Nature: The History of Scientific Expert Testimony in England and America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 325. \$49.95.

Tal Golan's book offers an innovative account of the fractious history of scientific expert testimony in the Anglo-American courtroom. Ranging widely over topics and time periods, Golan seeks to lend historical perspective to recent complaints about the shortcomings of expert evidence, showing that core concerns about partisan witnesses, untrammelled adversarialism, and the limits of jury competence in matters of science have deep theoretical and practical roots. The book follows a broadly chronological organization, integrating detailed discussions of individual cases with rich contextualization drawn not only from the history of law and science but from the history of technology and social and economic history as well.

The opening chapter exemplifies this interdisciplinary sensibility, exploring the complex history and legacy of *Folkes v. Chadd*, a protracted eighteenth-century dispute in the English civil courts about whether the degradation of a Norfolk harbor was caused by a man-made embankment or by the forces of nature. The case involved a clash between two distinct forms of science: an emergent "Newtonianism" seeking to provide evidence of nature's imperceptible but law-like regularities, and an older version grounded in long and tested experience in matters both practical and immediately verifiable. The legitimization of the "Newtonian" challenge, in Golan's account, was the core feature of Lord Mansfield's eventual, precedent-setting judgment, which, in recognizing James Smeaton's abstract and theoretically sophisticated report on the dynamics of harbor silting, opened up the courtroom to a new model of scientific testimony based on privileged knowledge of the unseen laws of nature. In an interesting twist, Golan demonstrates that *Folkes v. Chadd*'s iconic status in subsequent Anglo-American legal commentary rests on a series of misreadings of the case. Most tellingly, he takes on the late nineteenth-century American legal scholar John Henry Wigmore's influential view that it enshrined the expert's exclusive privilege to pronounce opinion on facts not directly observed, arguing that Wigmore was misled by incomplete court reports that neglected the painstaking direct observation upon which Smeaton's testimony was actually based.

Mansfield's radical ruling presents a paradox that Golan pursues over the next two chapters: why was he seemingly unconcerned that he might be opening the

floodgates to partisan testimony, especially since at the time other witnesses were treated with pronounced suspicion? For Golan, the answer lies in Mansfield's faith in the code of gentlemanly conduct governing late eighteenth-century science. Whether this faith was ever properly justified, Golan shows how nineteenth-century developments—notably the expanding opportunities for delivering paid expert testimony, the growing utilitarian cast of science in the context of industrial transformation, and conceptual and procedural instabilities within the rapidly proliferating scientific subspecialties—contributed to its progressive erosion among judges, legal theorists, and the wider public. Chapter two documents the increasingly conflictual nature of nineteenth-century expert testimony in cases ranging from industrial accidents, patent disputes, nuisance litigation, and criminal poisoning. The sheer range of topics covered here makes for a more fragmented discussion than the previous chapter, and the significance of each case and their relation to one another is not as clearly established. But Golan offers some fine insight along the way. For example, he explores the inherent tensions in the use of experimental science as a form of legal evidence, with the experimentalist's tendency to simplify and distill in order to demonstrate falling foul of what he aptly calls the law's abhorrence of shortcuts. Chapter three focuses on a series of mid- to late nineteenth-century debates about what, if anything, should be done about the growing contentiousness of expert testimony, situating these within broader contemporary discussions about the character of English science itself. Golan shows that tensions between an "applied" and "pure" vision of science led to different understandings of the basis for and significance of expert disagreement in courts—whether science, like law, advanced through adversarial contest, or whether dispute was a sign of science "corrupted."

In the second half of the book Golan turns from England to the United States, justifying this shift by asserting that the problem of English expert testimony was contained by an active judiciary that took part in questioning witnesses, advised counsels, commented on the weight of evidence and credibility of witnesses, and, from the 1870s, could opt for juryless trials in civil actions involving complex scientific argumentation. These important points, which Golan unfortunately does not develop or illustrate, did not obtain in the United States, where the jury's fact-finding function was considered more sacrosanct. Thus, Golan claims, it is in the late nineteenth-century U.S. courts that the problem of expert testimony reached its fullest expression.

In each of the remaining three chapters, Golan focuses on a single expert subspecialty to illustrate ongoing tensions between law and science. The chapter on efforts to microscopically differentiate human and animal blood illustrates one of his overall themes—that law served as a patron for fledgling fields of scientific inquiry—and also shows how technical

choices and what contemporaries called the "personal equation" made ostensibly straightforward exercises in measurement into legitimately contestable evidentiary matters. His discussion of x-ray testimony focuses on the tension between law's traditional dependence on words and direct visual evidence and the x-ray's promise of a nondiscursive photographic realism that opened up an internal bodily landscapes not corroborable by human eyes.

The final chapter is a fitting climax to Golan's intricate story, explaining why the expertise claimed by early twentieth-century experimental psychologists provoked a qualitatively different response from the law. Research into the psychological dimensions of human perception, and especially perceptual error, Golan maintains, was stoutly resisted because it presented a view of the human (and legal) subject that threatened to undermine the law's foundational assumptions about witnesses' capacity to deliver objective testimony. Turning finally to the legal response to the controversy surrounding the polygraph's proposed entry into the 1920s courtroom, Golan convincingly argues that it is no coincidence that the first Supreme Court ruling (the "*Frye* decision") setting out the judiciary's "gatekeeping" functions with respect to the admissibility of scientific evidence was prompted by a technology that, rather than merely supplementing jury knowledge, threatened to obliterate the jury's essential task of assessing the credibility of witness testimony. As a decision that still contributes to the management of expert evidence in American courts, *Frye* underscores the importance of the kind of historically informed analysis that Golan has delivered.

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ANDREA A. RUSNOCK. *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 249. \$70.00.

Who, in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England and France, used quantification to promote innovation in the field of population and health? Which methods and arguments did they use? How legitimate was the use of numbers as instruments of proof, and to what extent did they alter the content of debates? These are the questions raised, in a comparative spirit, by Andrea A. Rusnock's book, through a series of chapters that study the creation of new fields (political arithmetic, medical arithmetic, medical meteorology) and some major controversies, such as the pros and cons of inoculation against smallpox, or the political meaning of depopulation, which became a strong (and wrong) belief in the second half of the eighteenth century. Such issues involve a wide range of interests: medicine, health, population, statistics, environment, administration, natural philosophy, among others.

Rusnock proceeds by a succession of case studies,

which are tightly intertwined and progressively bring about a transversal narrative based on several leitmotiv. Rusnock claims that Francis Bacon's legacy was essential in the birth of political arithmetic (an issue still controversial in the literature), and in the way how John Graunt and William Petty promoted statistical tables as a tool for "independant assessment and discovery." How these tables should be constituted is one of the recurrent issues of the book, which is enriched by helpful illustrations. The long study devoted to the debates on inoculation demonstrates the author's ability, for each case, to refer to a dense context, to highlight several ways to make sense of quantification, and to conjure up the wide range of arguments mobilized, at that time, to demonstrate or to invalidate the efficiency of numbers, to display their ability to improve human conditions, or oppose their potential threat. Rusnock demonstrates how the diffusion of numbers was controversial, how their supporters themselves gave them different meanings and disagreed on the final aim of quantification: should it be introduced for the sake of the state, of the "population," of the family, or of the individual? From that standpoint, her book refutes the systematic association between numbers and social control that became a commonplace one or two decades ago. Retrieving faithfully the arguments of the time demonstrates how contemporary debates between social hygiene and individual freedom, for instance, echo in eighteenth century polemics.

Rusnock touches on well-known issues in the history of statistics, in particular the controversies between Daniel Bernoulli and Jean d'Alembert on the risks and benefits of inoculation: may a person apply to him/herself a calculation based on a whole population? But she shows how dramatically this famous problematic varied over time, since the relevance of inoculation started to be questioned in England already in the 1720s. Rusnock also reminds us that resistance to the social use of numbers cannot be reduced to cultural explanations such as the religious refusal to encroach upon God's domain, even though this argument was sometimes part of the story. The comparison between France and England is particularly valuable. The author explains how institutional arrangements in France created a gap between medical and mathematical knowledge, which harmed the legitimacy of using numbers to arbitrate health issues.

Another strength of the book concerns the data used, or to be used, for calculations. What did quantification on health or population mean in societies without censuses? This negative formulation is by no means anachronistic. At the end of the seventeenth century, Sebastien Vauban in France and Petty in England advocated the principle of national censuses. Rusnock explains why, in both countries, different institutional, cognitive, but also social configurations (the fear of a fiscal use, the desire for anonymity among the English upper classes) prevented such a

reform, and why scholars had to develop alternate solutions instead.

No doubt for specialists Rusnock's book will represent a synthesis of current knowledge rather than original insights. The author could have been more explicit in her problematic; she could have defined and justified more precisely the thematic, geographical, and chronological borders of her study. The reader can hardly understand why she did not include in her story the eventual adoption of the census by France and England at the turn of the nineteenth century, fifty years after Sweden did so. To some extent, the book reads like a collection of somewhat arbitrarily chosen case studies. Nevertheless, the wide range of issues raised by the author, and her ability to contextualize the complex web of interactions among science, institutions, and social processes and to refute simplistic and essentialist views on "the power of numbers," makes this a valuable contribution on the genesis of social statistics that any historian will benefit from reading.

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GIULIA GUAZZALOCA. *Fine secolo: Gli intellettuali italiani e inglesi e la crisi tra Otto e Novecento*. (Ricerca storia.) Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2004. Pp. 338. €24.00.

A historical comparison of parliamentary politics at the turn of the twentieth century in Great Britain and Italy seems an unlikely enterprise. Britain's parliament was widely taken as the model (in theory if not always in practice) of a well-balanced system of crown, nobility, and commoners—and frequently self-glorified by its supporters as the "mother of all parliaments"—whereas Italy's system, following unification in the 1860s, was despised by its own citizens for introducing an unscrupulous political class and the discredited practice of "transformism," whereby parliamentary opponents were bribed into supporting otherwise unstable governing coalitions.

Crucial differences notwithstanding, Giulia Guazzaloca uncovers some fascinating points of convergence. The turn of the century, from the 1890s into the first decade of the new century, saw both systems gravitate toward institutional crisis. In each case, crisis was anticipated by a widespread commotion amongst "intellectuals" in the moderate-liberal and radical press who noted the demise of deference toward, and independence of, institutional politics. The 1890s were, of course, a period of transformation outside of parliaments across Europe as socialist parties came into existence and the pressure intensified for democratic and social reform. For Guazzaloca, crisis was thus a reflex of irreversible social transformations generating dislocation amongst liberal elites apprehensive of "mass politics." Increasingly, observers in both countries claimed parliamentary representatives were suc-

cumbing to “external” influences and identified a loss of deliberative autonomy in democratic chambers as partisanship substituted for disinterested cooperation.

The precise trajectory of crisis was different in the British and Italian cases. Guazzaloca focuses on the distinctive “narration” of crisis by the literate elite of political pamphleteers and observers. In Italy in the 1890s—a relatively young constitutional monarchy with a very restricted franchise—anticipation of crisis led to virulent antiparliamentarism. The Albertine Constitution granted significant powers to the crown, and both moderate liberals and conservatives called for a return to the crown’s statutory powers (most famously Sidney Sonnino’s *Ritorniamo Allo Statuto*). In Britain, by contrast, debate turned on the role and significance of the House of Lords, the unelected chamber of hereditary peers and appointees. The Lords were understood by many as effective “moderators” of the excesses of the House of Commons, even as better interpreters of the popular will.

Although the direct object of reflection in the two cases differed, Guazzaloca indicates that in both instances liberals fearful of the expansion of democracy sought to reassert the legitimacy of parliament by seeking a supposedly “neutral” institutional reference: in Italy, the monarchy; in Britain, the House of Lords. Importantly, she adds, in neither instance was representation *as such* regarded as undesirable. Rather, the expansion of democratic politics was felt to require a simultaneous rebalancing of the focus of authority.

The onset of actual crisis in the two parliamentary systems also occurred at different moments and in different ways. In Italy the crisis emerged in 1898 with an intensification of social unrest and subsequent government repression of radicals. The prime minister, General Luigi Pelloux, sought to enhance his repressive powers by limiting civil liberties with constitutional sanction. This generated a revolt among liberals, who now found themselves defending rather than disparaging parliament. Illiberal measures were castigated as evidence of the weakness of the ruling elite, not parliament as such. The Pelloux measures failed and a new style of government, openly conciliatory to democratic forces, took over. The crisis in Britain, in contrast, began in 1906 with the Lords blocking the Liberal government’s reforms and, in particular, the “People’s Budget” of 1909. The Lords’ resistance revived debate concerning institutional balance, and the upper house was increasingly identified as a pro-Conservative Party chamber. The government successfully introduced the “Parliament Bill” reducing the Lords’ powers, effectively overturning the assumed equality of the chambers and giving legislative primacy to the Commons.

Guazzaloca offers a measured, detailed analysis of liberal ambivalence in the face of social change. She documents with great effect the emergence of new styles, arguments, and limitations in the gradual liberal “containment” of democratic forces, although in neither case did liberals emerge from the crisis unscathed.

Her analysis permits us to see some unlikely parallels, as well as fundamental differences, between otherwise contrasting institutional and political histories.

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ZINE MAGUBANE. *Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class, and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. 222. \$18.00.

Zine Magubane’s eloquent study of British colonial ideology is simultaneously exciting and somewhat frustrating. Drawing on insights from the literature of the black Atlantic, and inspired by both Marxism and postcolonialism, Magubane explores the deployment of images of black bodies from southern Africa in British discourse in the nineteenth century. Although her main focus is on the ideological productions of British and British-origin people, with particular attention to the creation of ideology concerning Africa, she also includes shorter discussions of African views of white and black identity. Her critical innovation, inspired by the work of Mary Poovey and others, is to connect discourse about blackness to discourse about economics and the normalization of capitalist economic change. Magubane’s linkage of disparate places and topics in unexpected and interesting ways is stimulating; the relative orthodoxy of her narrative trajectory and her lack of archival research are somewhat frustrating. Nonetheless, she raises important arguments and illuminates complicated interconnections between different colonial sites.

Ranging ambitiously over more than a hundred years, the book takes a case-study approach, analyzing clusters of texts on particular topics in chronological sequence. The approach illuminates unexpected continuities in discourse, but threads are inevitably dropped as the book moves between fairly disparate topics and texts. Magubane first looks, for example, at a group of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century texts about Scotland and the Cape Colony in which British evangelicals and travellers link the bodily appearance of women to the economic progress of highland Scots, Khoekhoe, and Afrikaners. She terms this the “transformation of commodity into sexuality,” and she sees it as part of the process by which political economy was used to rationalize separating the producer from his or her independent means of production. This particular section suffers from not including the Scottish lowlands in the discussion of Anglo-Scottish relations, but the comparison between views of the Cape and of the Scottish highlands is nonetheless intriguing. In subsequent chapters Magubane explores topics such as the deployment of stock images of colonized male bodies to describe the destitute of mid-nineteenth-century Britain; ways in which British working-class radicals, middle-class men, and middle-class women all used racial discourse as they com-

peted, both to define the "social body" and to offer solutions to its ills in the late nineteenth century; and, in perhaps the best realized of her British sections, attitudes in Britain toward the 1899–1902 South African War, including the various ways in which images of African bodies and African suffering were deployed in debates about citizenship. It is one of the strengths of the book that Magubane also asks how Africans perceived whites and how they themselves deployed images of the black body, although there still remains a great deal to explore on this topic. Among other things, Magubane argues that black people in southern Africa tended to see whiteness not as a biological state but as the practice of cruelty. In addition to exploring male African views of respectable masculinity, she also includes a terrific excursus into the minstrel tradition on the rand, the unease generated among whites by the black "dandy," and ways in which African men used conspicuous consumption to counter the dehumanizing work conditions in the mines.

Although Magubane offers many illuminating insights, her evidence could benefit from fuller contextualization and the use of a wider range of types of sources, such as legal evidence and letters, as well as a more explicit recognition of the limitations of the early nineteenth-century sources. Arguably, however, Magubane's main concern is not so much to undertake close archival readings as to relate her material to wider historiographical and political debates. Among other intellectual influences, Magubane takes Marxism seriously, demonstrating the enormous intellectual importance of Marxism to South African radical history, especially during the apartheid era. Magubane's effort to reconcile Marxism with postcolonialism (not always convincingly) also reflects the growing importance of postmodernism to the South African academic left. My concern with Magubane's use of a range of theoretical models, including Marxism, is not so much her deployment of Marxist paradigms per se but the fact that Marxism provides an overarching historical narrative which Magubane takes her case studies as illustrating. This tempts her in places to skimp on context and to import, rather than create, a model of change. For example, Magubane describes Afrikaans-speaking peasants and their Khoekhoe and San laborers as antecedent to the era of capital accumulation and not yet separated from their labor. This ignores more recent debates over whether and to what extent Afrikaners were in fact integrated into a market economy. More seriously, the analysis might take fuller account of the de facto enslavement of Khoisan workers, a reality that frames several of Magubane's key sources. In a similar way, Magubane is interested in the idea of an overarching black view of whiteness. She does not, however, fully account for evidence that Khoisan views of the self and of identity did not always overlap with those of other African groups. She might also take fuller account of the amount of coercive sex at the Cape between female farm laborers and white masters, as well as consensual sexuality: what did identity mean

to the children of such unions? Ironically, texts are somewhat disembodied actors in this book, assumed to contain self-evident meanings. Local politics (as opposed to the grand politics of global economic struggle) is sometimes downplayed in consequence.

On a different level, it might have been fruitful for the author to engage more directly with the issue of the role of the unconscious in the production of ideology, both in the authors who have influenced her and in her own writing. The motor for debate is assumed to be the relatively unconscious self-interest of competing classes or genders. What is left out of the equation is the interplay between unspoken assumptions and arguments at the surface level of articulated ideology. This also raises the complicated question of the relationship of texts to social reality and the relative representativeness of particular texts. Magubane has, in other words, a very particular approach to ideological analysis that might benefit from being analyzed more explicitly on its own terms, and in ways shaped by the South African archives, and possibly less in terms of the "grand theory" of others.

Despite these caveats, this striking study is both passionate and thought-provoking. It will doubtless find a wide audience.

ELIZABETH ELBOURNE
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ROBERT BICKERS, *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. Pp. 409. \$32.50.

The treaty port of Shanghai was a fascinating outpost of the British Empire, although one discussed far more frequently by historians of China than by those of Britain. Shanghai was a curious amalgam in the period dealt with in this biography by Robert Bickers, himself one of a tiny band of British imperial historians focused on Britain's colonial relations with China. The port city was truly a global crossing in the early twentieth century, with an extraordinarily diverse population whose presence mirrored the political turmoil of the times. It is against this complex backdrop that Bickers offers us the life of an ordinary Englishman, Richard Maurice Tinkler. Tinkler came back from the trenches of northern France at the end of World War I dissatisfied, restless, and eager for both adventure and a paying job. The working-class Tinkler saw in the empire more opportunity than status-bound Britain could ever offer him. It was an old story by 1919, the year Tinkler arrived in Shanghai to a posting in the Shanghai Municipal Police. Men unlikely to rise much in Britain took their chances in imperial settings, often though by no means always faring better than they might have done had they stayed put.

Tinkler, an anti-hero whose largely unflattering opinions of others and smug sense of self Bickers does not try to hide, epitomized what the author calls "empire manliness" (p. 146). He fashioned himself anew in Shanghai as a tough-talking, hard-boiled,

Americanized man of the world. It was ultimately an unsustainable reinvention: Tinkler fell from grace, was shamed into resigning from his job, and was killed in a minor political incident shortly before Britain entered World War II. In a sense, though Bickers does not offer this reading, Tinkler's life was quite literally shaped by the two world wars, the earlier fitting him for empire work and the second leading to his death at the hands of the Japanese military.

Bickers has done an extraordinarily good job of tracking down facets of Tinkler's life in Britain as well as in Shanghai, no easy feat when one's subject is not among the famous or the notorious. His research is impeccable, but the book nonetheless left me frustrated. Clearly written with a trade market in mind, it veers uncomfortably between Tinkler's story and a more general and largely political narrative about the region. Bickers is often unable to find a good meeting point for these two different avenues, and in the later chapters especially Tinkler fades in and out of view, more a cipher for a saga, albeit gripping, of political chaos than the focus of the narrative. This may be the dilemma of the professional historian seeking to write a book with broad appeal, but if so, Bickers has not solved the problem.

More serious, however, is the high level of speculation that dogs the later chapters especially. Bickers conjectures, for example, that Tinkler was "possibly involved" (p. 192) in a police crackdown on public gambling in 1929. And in a chapter ironically entitled "What We Can't Know," he guesses at Tinkler's travels and motives in the months after he resigned from the Shanghai Municipal Police and before the records indicate that he had returned to Shanghai. Bickers is candid that his is mere speculation, but this is, simply put, not worth doing. Since it necessarily leaves open doors that cannot be closed, why bother? Moreover, Bickers's discussion of what cannot be known comes dangerously close to an empiricist assertion that what we *do* know is fixed and stable, an assumption quite as unsettling as the gaps in the record. Are such naïve implications about the status of history and of the fact necessary, I wonder, in a trade book? I can only hope that is not the case.

For all this, Bickers has done a wonderful job of showing the human face of empire and, bravely, through a distinctively unattractive personality. There is much to be learned here, and Tinkler's is a fascinating story, a fine example of how the empire operated from day to day on the lower rungs.

PHILIPPA LEVINE

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HOMO SAPIENS 1900. Directed, produced, and written by Peter Cohen. 1999; color; 88 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

Eugenics has become a hot field of historical research in the past two decades. Much of the interest seems to be driven by fears of a resurgent genetic determinism,

manifested by rising support for sociobiology, evolutionary psychology, genetic engineering, and cloning. Peter Cohen's film is clearly driven by concerns that science is overstepping its bounds when it reduces *Homo sapiens* to its biological and hereditary traits. Near the end of the film, the narrator states, "Speculation on the meaning of biological heredity has had a fateful impact on political and scientific ideas in the twentieth century." He then assures us that human nature is still shrouded in mystery, and science has not even come close to plumbing its depths, especially in relation to human thought, talent, and creativity.

This documentary begins (after a brief introduction) with clips from a Frankenstein movie, reminding us of the dangers of science run amok. Then it proceeds quickly to the beginnings of the eugenics movement in the late nineteenth century. However, most of the film discusses ways that the science of heredity was abused in the first half of the twentieth century. The American eugenics movement receives only brief treatment, and instead Cohen focuses on Germany, Russia, and Sweden. He ends the story with the German eugenics movement producing the Holocaust, the Russian genetics community being hijacked by Trofim Denisovich Lysenko's Lamarckian genetics, and the Swedes compulsorily sterilizing those deemed unfit to procreate.

The inclusion of the Russian eugenics movement in the early twentieth century and the triumph of Lysenko in the 1930s adds an interesting layer of complexity to this story. Unlike most works that focus entirely on eugenics, this film shows that genetic determinism is not the only problematic conception of human heredity. Lysenko's program was hostile to the Mendelian genetics embraced by most eugenicists (and most geneticists) in the 1930s, since Lysenko still believed that the environment could influence heredity. The Russian story, then, is about geneticists and eugenicists being persecuted and even executed for upholding views of heredity unpalatable to a few scientists who gained the support of the communist political elites, especially Joseph Stalin.

I was pleased with the historical accuracy of the documentary, which does an effective job describing historical developments. The clip on the German Lebensborn organization was a little misleading, however, since it focused on the (unfounded) rumors that Lebensborn institutions served as stud farms for the SS, when really they were maternity homes for women already impregnated by SS men. I was completely baffled by the narrator's statement at the close of the discussion of Lebensborn: "While convention and morality raised obstacles to positive eugenics [because of rumors of sexual transgressions at Lebensborn], the practice of negative eugenics involved no such conflict. Infants judged to be unfit were put to death." On the contrary, many Germans opposed negative eugenics, and Roman Catholic Bishop August von Galen publicly criticized the Nazi campaign to kill the disabled.

Nonetheless, these are small glitches in an otherwise smooth performance.

On historical interpretation the film is somewhat weaker. It does not even attempt to explain the causes of the eugenics movement. Its branding of the eugenics movement as bad science seems a little anachronistic at times, especially when the film implies that the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics in Berlin was behind the times already when it was established in 1927. I am sure that most geneticists in the world in 1927 would not have characterized it that way. Finally, the film contrasts the German and Russian eugenics movements, arguing that the latter focused on the brain and intellect, while the former stressed physical beauty. This ignores the fundamental importance of psychiatry in the German eugenics movement. August Forel, a prominent psychiatrist in Zurich, converted many leading physicians and psychiatrists to eugenics, including Alfred Ploetz, the organizer of the German eugenics movement, and the psychiatrist Ernst Rüdin, head of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Psychiatry in Munich (of these three, only Ploetz is mentioned in the film). It also ignores the fact that many people killed in the Nazi "euthanasia" program were put to death for their mental disabilities.

While the narration was impeccable, I found the visual images too redundant. As the title indicates, the film focuses on the human form, but I tired quickly of all the still pictures of facial photographs and sculptures and video footage of babies. Sometimes the pictures did not seem to fit the narration. Despite some of the interesting information in this film not available in other films on eugenics, I recommend using other videos on eugenics in the classroom.

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MICHAEL MANN. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 580. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$24.00.

In a work of great knowledge and forceful argumentation, Michael Mann seeks to provide a general explanation for one of the worst atrocities of the modern era. His task is a difficult one, since ethnic cleansing spans widely diverse geographies, political systems, and time periods. How does one make sense of a phenomenon whose very ubiquity is one of its defining features? The title provides the starting point for the explanation. Ethnic cleansing is not an aberration or an act committed by individuals who are somehow different from the rest of us. It is the result of the democratic advance of the modern era, because when "the people" are made the source of sovereignty, the character and composition of the population become the critical elements in defining the polity and society. If the population is defined in ethnic terms, the demos as *ethnos*, as Mann repeatedly phrases it, then the basis is created for excluding other groups, some-

times by the most violent means. A similar phenomenon can happen in communist systems when the demos are defined as the proletariat. In those situations, class takes on an ethnic character and nonproletarian elements can be subject to the most severe repressions that look a lot like ethnic cleansings.

Yet if ethnic cleansing is a constituent feature of modern democracy, it does not occur everywhere and all the time, as Mann recognizes. He proceeds to a more precise delineation of the conditions that result in ethnic cleansing. These include a fractured elite in which one segment becomes radicalized; a "core constituency" that is mobilized in support of the ideology and its leaders; competing ethnic groups (usually just two) that lay claim to the state and territory; and a crisis situation, usually warfare, that dramatically heightens the elite's sense of insecurity and leads it to target a competing minority population as the source of all difficulties. Within this coterie of explanations, Mann emphasizes three factors. First, an elite, usually in possession of the state, unleashes ethnic cleansing. It is not some kind of volcano from below or the manifestation of age-old hatreds. Second, the core constituency, the people who practice violence, is typically young and male. Most often, not all that many of them are required to carry out ethnic cleansing. So Mann contests the widespread notion that ethnic cleansing requires mass support or complicity. Third, rarely, if ever, does a plan to remove entire population groups exist beforehand. As a crisis situation intensifies, the elite ratchets up the measures taken against targeted populations. When less violent measures fail to produce the desired results, the state implements the most radical policy of murderous ethnic cleansing. Here Mann deemphasizes the notion of intentionality, the key criterion of the United Nations definition of genocide.

Mann lays out this perspective in the first seventy pages or so and in the conclusion. In between he provides extensive discussions of the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, "communist cleansing," the former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda. The treatment is highly uneven. The Nazis get the most attention, while the Soviet Union, China, and Cambodia are crammed into one chapter. All along the way, Mann reasserts his arguments in a helpful fashion. This is not a work in which the theory is found at the beginning and end with barely a mention of it in the empirical chapters. The problems lie elsewhere.

Mann states that ethnic cleansing is "the dark side of democracy." But not one of the cases he discusses involves a democratic regime. Not by any stretch of the imagination can Nazi Germany, Democratic Kampuchea, the Soviet Union, or any of the others be considered a democracy. Democracies are by no means pristine in the matter of ethnic cleansing: witness United States' policy toward Native Americans in the nineteenth century or the Great Powers and the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, which legitimized the "population umixing" of Muslims and Christians in Turkey

and Greece. It seems to me that Mann is writing about the dark side of nationalism, which is not at all the same thing as democracy. There is a fundamental confusion of terms here that undermines the explanatory power of the book.

The author, of course, knows the difference between, say, Third Republic France and Nazi Germany. He qualifies his argument by saying that ethnic cleansing occurs when democracies, having already defined the people as sovereign, enter into crisis phases, or when regimes embark upon democratization in a multi-ethnic context. Regimes that actually perpetrate ethnic cleansings are not democratic, he states. "The dark side of democracy is the perversion through time of either liberal or socialist ideals of democracy" (p.4). But then it seems that Mann should be writing clearly about the perversion of democracy, not its essence (however that may be defined). Moreover, his effort to discount premodern ethnic cleansings as revolving around class and politics rather than ethnicity is hardly convincing. One only has to read the Hebrew Bible or Herodotus to understand that ancient peoples had a profound sense of ethnic difference that sometimes could lead to the most murderous actions against other groups. There are differences (as well as similarities) between twentieth-century ethnic cleansings and those of the ancient world, but Mann does not provide an explanation because he wants to reserve these atrocities for the modern, democratic world.

Moreover, so many cases require qualification that the reader is left wondering what remains of the explanatory scaffold. "Almost all dangerous cases are bi-ethnic ones," Mann writes at the outset (p. 4). Yet that does not hold for the Young Turk regime of the late Ottoman Empire, Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, Cambodia, or the former Yugoslavia. One might be better off describing "core victims" as well as "core constituencies." The Young Turks committed a genocide of Armenians, but they also ethnically cleansed Pontic Greeks, massacred Assyrian Christians, and forcibly deported some Arabs, Jews, and Albanians, among others. The Nazis envisaged a racial hierarchy that entailed moving around all sorts of people, including ethnic Germans, at the same time that they sought the complete annihilation of Jews. Only Rwanda seems to fit the description of a bi-ethnic conflict. Neither the Soviet Union nor Nazi Germany were "factionalized states" when they engaged in their most violent actions against minority populations. In fact, they were marked by a huge degree of consensus at the top, and the same is true of the United States in relation to the forced deportations and exterminations of Native Americans. Whatever factions existed in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union had been eliminated prior to the implementation of their most radical policies against ethnic and national groups.

There is a great deal to be learned from this book. Mann's knowledge is wide ranging, and aspects of his analysis are illuminating. In particular, the focus on "core constituencies," which he also developed in his

book *Fascists* (2004), is insightful, although one wishes that the extensive analysis he provides of Nazi perpetrators could have been at least partly replicated for his other cases. Mann's delineation of a succession of plans in each case, which only gradually culminates in murderous ethnic cleansing, provides a far more complex and nuanced picture than we often have. But the overall perspective, which confuses nationalism and democracy and comprises too many elements that do not always fit the individual cases, is not convincing. In the end, we have an unruly book that is more valuable for some of its individual elements than as a comprehensive explanation of ethnic cleansing.

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COREY ROBIN. *Fear: The History of a Political Idea*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 316. \$28.00.

Corey Robin's historical meditation on political fear offers a sweeping spatial and temporal coverage that ranges from Thomas Hobbes's civil war-plagued England in the seventeenth century to the United States in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. He envisions his study as "an intellectual history of fear" (p. 27), challenging thinkers who might prefer to see fear as irrational and as beyond the bounds of history and politics. As a political scientist, Robin demonstrates an admirable attention to the historical development of ideas about political fear, but he dedicates himself most thoroughly to delineating the intimate links between fear and liberal political systems.

Robin divides his analysis into two distinct and—on the surface—disparate parts. Part one focuses on the titular "History of an Idea," while part two switches to "Fear, American Style." Part one presents a literate and incisive treatment of select European political theorists from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries who contributed to embedding fear, terror, and anxiety into politics. Part two leaps to the contemporary American scene and assesses the meanings and manifestations of political fear from the era of Joseph McCarthy through September 11, paying close attention to the workplace as a site for the exercising of political fear. What connects these two segments is, of course, political fear, and more important, the questionable philosophical and political embrace of fear for enlivening, unifying, and controlling otherwise divided and demoralized peoples and political systems. In other words, there is a method to Robin's historical madness in stretching from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century and in moving between such dissimilar historical figures as Hobbes and McCarthy.

Fear has served as the foundation for modern politics, according to Robin, and this suggests to him a paucity of political vision, an inability to invent more redeeming moral and political goals for humanity. This failure and the consequent turn toward political fear have a long and storied history detailed in part one.

Choosing representative intellectuals writing during times when new political forms emerged, Robin engages the works of Hobbes (modern state), Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (ideology of liberalism), Alexis de Tocqueville (egalitarian democracy), and Hannah Arendt (totalitarianism). Central to the thinking of all these intellectuals was the perceived absence of any common ethic or sense of political morality that could unite people and provide political order; fear, terror, and anomic anxiety thereafter became justifying means to the ends of political unity and state and/or personal security—or served as threats to them. Hobbes invoked fear to establish sovereign power and political order in a time of civil discord; only he, Robin claims, overtly acknowledged fear as a tool of political order. Montesquieu, Tocqueville, and Arendt later obfuscated the relationship between fear and liberalism.

Robin presents deeper, possibly contentious readings of these political theorists, including the changes in their thinking over time. A case in point is Arendt, whose views altered between the publication of *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951) and *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1961). Arendt's views also serve as a chronological and ideological bridge between the two parts of Robin's book. Arendt's study of a banal as opposed to radical evil rendered more transparent the place of fear in the polity, reconstituting terror as "rational," as demonstrative of political and civic collaboration and cooperation as well as human agency. Although Robin never openly acknowledges the connection, his section on "Fear, American Style" could be subtitled "the banality of fear." Like Arendt, Robin stresses fear's quotidian, bureaucratic, and collusive operations in the United States' liberal democracy.

Robin's mission involves demystifying the place of political fear within the very political liberalism intended to forestall that fear. A democratic government presumably elided despotic terror and a tyrannical majority through a fragmented state characterized by a separation of powers and federalism, through the rule of law, and through a pluralistic society. Robin situates fear squarely within that liberal state and society, fashioning the putative political solution into part of the problem. Like Hobbes, Robin proposes that fear is a tool of the political order, an order that encourages collaboration and cooperation between elites and the masses of bystanders and victims. This proves true for both forms of fear identified by Robin as operational in contemporary America: fear of threats to the nation's physical security and fear among the powerful of the less powerful/fear among the less powerful of the powerful. While the first unites the nation, the second divides it, but they reinforce one another and ensure that those with power maintain it.

Robin constructed his analysis of political fear largely before September 11, 2001, but the events of that day have rendered his conclusions even more piquant. Nonetheless, much of the evidence supporting his argument stems from earlier events in recent

American history, particularly from the Cold War era of rampant anticommunism and internal security scrutiny. This historical setting allows Robin to underscore the prevalence of collaboration with and capitulation to politically coercive elites and liberal political institutions (albeit by neglecting those who resisted naming names), as does his refreshing insistence on examining the autocratic workplace as the location for the economic expression of political fear. While it is doubtful that historians would evince much shock at the notion of the American political or economic system capitalizing on fear to the detriment of dissenters and workers, Robin has laid out the case for a broader audience perhaps in need of a reminder that a liberal political system is not always a just solution to political fear or that political fear, however enlivening and unifying, is not a satisfactory foundation for political life.

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LARRY R. GERLACH, editor. *The Winter Olympics: From Chamonix to Salt Lake City*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 330. \$32.50.

The summer games began in 1896, the winter games in 1924, with the reluctant assent of the Scandinavian members of the International Olympic Committee. Swedish and Norwegian sports administrators did not welcome the thought of competition with their own Nordic Games. This winter-sport festival, which began in 1901 and was repeated in 1909, 1913, 1917, 1922, and 1926, was a celebration of Scandinavian cultural nationalism. The compensation for the sacrifice of the Nordic Games was Scandinavian domination of most of the events at Chamonix and at many subsequent Winter Olympics.

Originally considered an experiment, the "provisional" 1924 wintersport festival was subsequently reclassified as the first Winter Olympic Games. The winter games have never been as popular with sports fans as the summer games, which have always been much larger affairs with many more sports, and the winter games have come in a very distant second in drawing the attention of sports historians. The contributors to Larry R. Gerlach's collection ski, metaphorically, across a nearly untraversed field. (At least most of them do. David Young's essay on the origins of the Olympics is a quick run across well-mapped terrain.) Brief discussions of the winter games have been included in most comprehensive Olympic histories and in the *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, edited by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (1996). For specific winter Olympics, official reports have been published. Recent reports have been replete with reams of quantified data and galleries of lavish photographs. I am unaware, however, of a general winter-games history published in any Western European language.

The subtitle of Gerlach's collection suggests a chronologically organized history, but the book offers something other. The basic facts—who did what when and (sometimes) why—are presented by Roland Renson, a widely read and charmingly witty Flemish historian whose book on the 1920 summer games (Antwerp) is a small masterpiece. The rest of the collection is thematically organized.

The Norwegian sociologist Kari Fasting demonstrates that female athletes and journalists have been underrepresented at the winter games and she complains, predictably, that the women “who are presented in the media are . . . seen as objects of heterosexual desire” (p. 101), a point also made, less polemically, by Mark Dyreson in an analysis of American coverage of the first four winter games. It seems not to have occurred to Fasting to ask if female (and male) figure skaters intend their performances to be erotic as well athletic and aesthetic. (They do.) Environmental problems are discussed, briefly, by Kevin Wamsley because the winter games seem invariably to do more damage to the terrain than their summer counterparts. Jeffrey Segrave's meditation on the “Cosmopolitics of the Winter Olympic Games” goes at some of the larger political issues engendered by the winter games but seems somehow to float above rather than to deal with them. On a less cosmic level of abstraction, the history and present state of amateurism—an anachronistic concept even in the nineteenth century—are covered, thoroughly and insightfully, by Richard Gruneau, who concludes that “The moral entrepreneurs of the past have given way to the economic entrepreneurs of the present day” (p. 149). Any doubts about the correctness of Gruneau's assessment should be put aside by Stephen R. Wenn's “Television, Corporate Sponsorship, and the Winter Olympics,” a chapter condensed from *Selling the Five Rings* (2002), which Wenn wrote with Robert K. Barney and Scott G. Martyn. Wenn's chapter is especially valuable because he disaggregates information and focuses on the winter games. Barney's contribution to this collection, presenting much new material, is focused on the history of the victory ceremony and the torch relay. There is also new material in Lex Hemphill's account of the Salt Lake City games, which, despite the patriotic hype in the American media were marred by a bribery scandal of truly Olympic proportions, by more drug “incidents” than in all the previous winter games, and by one of the most flagrant and notorious instances of fixed judging in Olympic history. Whether Gudrun Doll-Tepper's history of the winter paralympics belongs in this collection is a judgment call of another sort. It is unquestionably politically correct to have included it.

Like most other reviewers of collections of essays, I conclude that this one is a mixed bag. It provides more information and insight than one is likely to find in any other single book, with the possible exception of the Findling-Pelle collection, but I would have preferred one person's panoptic perspective on the winter games

rather than the somewhat divergent views of eleven different scholars. Several of the contributors (Renson comes first to mind) are capable of writing such a book.

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HARVEY LEVENSTEIN. *We'll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France Since 1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 382. \$35.00.

The enduring clash between Francophiles and Francophobes among Americans in general and tourists in particular is the subject of this entertaining book. A sequel to Harvey Levenstein's *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (1998), this volume focuses on the period from 1930 to the present. Ultimately, it testifies to a sustained Franco-American cultural tension. For long, French observers, even those preoccupied by the tourist dollar, have been torn between the siren calls of anti-Americanism and a grudging admiration of American inventiveness and openness. For long, American travellers from first class to steerage have wavered between outrage at French rudeness and deceit and a grudging admiration of French creativity and style. In this apparently eternal sense, Levenstein's research elevates *plus ça change* to orthodoxy.

Still, many changes did affect sentiment on both sides of the Atlantic, particularly the Gallic side where American tourists and French waiters met face to face. Typically, the stronger the dollar, the more insufferable Americans appeared to the French. Conversely, as in the early 1970s, the more humble the dollar and its dispensers, the less overbearing they seemed. Exchange rates, however, were but one factor. Cheap air fares were another, excursion rates that delivered to Europe more visitors than the liners had ever done and thus raised the visibility of strangers ignorant of language, currency, and culture. There was also the “sexual revolution” of the 1960s which allowed the erotic zones of Amsterdam or even New York to compete for appeal with those of Pigalle. And international politics, too, intruded into the public conscience, especially when governments from that of Charles de Gaulle to that of Jacques Chirac were seen in Washington to be headstrong and obstreperous.

Of such ideas there are many, including that of a change in the very profile of tourism: from a spotlighted east-coast elite in the 1920s—which had revelled in “high-brow,” Louvre-Opéra culture—to the subsequent swarms of camera-toting tourists from middle America who were in France mainly so they could say they had been in France. Students were another element, travellers who scorned the snobbery of the patricians and the gaucheries of the lower-middle brow (p. 181). Interesting, too, is the idea that marathon sightseeing became the centerpiece of tourism in the 1970s, because seeing sights already familiar from film, book, or photograph made foreigners feel less foreign

(p. 235). Others coped with the unfamiliar by staying home, whether for reasons of resource or expectation, and by stoking with their ignorance the old fires against French rudeness and chicanery (p. 280).

These ideas are not quite so easily discerned. When spotted, they are thought provoking, but they must be brought to the surface by anyone fishing in this rich narrative stream. Angling is made more difficult by the use of tantalizing but obscure chapter titles—such as “It Never Rains in Nice” or “A Tattered Welcome Mat”—and by a reluctance to compromise titular aesthetics with dates. In short, the forecast of a chapter’s contents is usually overcast. Compounding the challenge is the ever more common device of dividing chapters into subsections, each heralded by a designer symbol. Remove the symbols, and great is the reader’s surprise as the subject of Jean-Paul Sartre abruptly morphs to gay culture, then to museums, dining, and annual incomes (pp. 124–129).

Granted, keeping a reader on his toes is not necessarily a bad thing. But better is the delight that Levenstein takes in his subject, and with which he turns his kaleidoscope. His tastes, like those of his subjects, are eclectic, and so we get bursts of color about toilets and transportation, food and fashion, exchange rates and tourist statistics, campaigns to teach visitors and hosts the basics of politesse and, failing that, the rudiments of toleration. All this is presented in a lively prose, sparkling with amusing anecdotes and quotations, many drawn from an extensive source base of newspaper materials and American archives.

This is, primarily, a book about how Americans regarded their presence in France. France is not the subject, nor French perceptions of Americans. It is not, primarily, about state intervention in the increasingly lucrative tourist industry, or about Franco-American relations in the grander sense of international politics. Instead, and appropriately, Levenstein has written what he wanted to write. The result is a moveable feast, from which we can sample at our leisure both the meats and the confection.

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ASIA

KAI-WING CHOW. *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 397. \$49.50.

Influenced by a European historiography (Lucien Febvre, Elizabeth Eisenstein, etc.) that finds some of the origins of modernity in the Gutenberg revolution, Kai-wing Chow strives to rescue Chinese history from that line of interpretation. To do so, he must confront two influences, one historiographic (“the sinologistic mode of historical narration”) and the other historical (the enduring Chinese tendency to camouflage commercial pursuits). The sinologistic mode, Chow writes,

is constrained by “historicism, Eurocentrism, and modernism.” Having convinced his readers of the value of looking at “early modern” (not a Chinese term) China on its own terms, however, Chow undermines his achievement by leaning on a complex system of Euro-analytics: Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of “field” and “habitus”; Gérard Genette’s framework of paratext, peritext, and epitext; Roger Chartier’s “literary public sphere”; Michel de Certeau’s concept of reading as “poaching”; and D. F. McKenzie on the materiality of texts. Fortunately, these formulae generally take a back seat to the empirical and biographical details of China’s late Ming and early Qing (1550–1650) book production and responses to book culture.

Chow’s chief argument involves pursuit of an enlarged *gong* (here literary public sphere) and *gonglun* (public opinion), shaped by the growth of commercial publishing, particularly that related to the civil service examination system. Here Chow is on firmer if somewhat overcultivated ground. The challenge is to make this thesis appear fresh, which Chow accomplishes in his discussion of the *shishang* (literati-merchants-businessmen, a group created when degree-based politics was crossbred with market-driven educational services). Indeed, this book is presented as a first installment on Chow’s larger project dealing with the *shishang*.

The book has five substantive chapters and a separate introduction and conclusion. To demonstrate why Matteo Ricci concluded that late Ming books were inexpensive and widely available, chapter one argues that paper, labor, and printing technology, all costly in Europe, were cheap and readily available in China. Thus, printed matter was accessible to all but the poorest members of society. Chapter two continues some of this discussion but also evaluates the impact of the expanded use of movable type and the broadening book trade. The next chapter reveals the impact of growing numbers of educated but underemployed literati who turned to “commoditized writing” (read “book publishing market”) to support their quest of further degrees. The most interesting discussion here covers the emergence of commercially motivated *ming-gong* (reputable masters), *shanren* (professional writers), and *zuojia* (authors), all of whom depended on printed words for their livings. Chapter four assesses the growing impact of commercially published anthologized commentaries on the official examination curriculum; their influence reached a climax with the creation of the Fushe (Restoration) Society in Suzhou in 1632, the main topic of chapter five. In Chow’s view, the success of this coalition reveals the subversive impact of expanded printing services on examination literary standards. Professionalized critics, taking advantage of China’s early modern printing expansion, are shown positioning themselves in opposition to prevailing orthodoxy, creating a new *gong*.

Offsetting the immense amount of research and effort that went into crafting the argument, the book’s editing, organization, and referencing pose some sig-

nificant problems. For example, we are told the examination field was “unique” to China (p. 12), but what about Korea and Vietnam, which also had premodern civil service examinations systems? The concept of *shanren*, first introduced on page 51, is not actually discussed at length until pages 105–109. Although the publisher is to be praised for the comprehensive index (often lacking in Chinese history books published nowadays) and appendixes, the incomplete citations (lacking dates, making it difficult to separate primary from secondary works, apparently leading even the author himself, on at least on occasion, to misattribute a 1925 comment to a late Ming figure), the mixing of romanizations and the inconsistent jumbling of some Chinese titles with English translations of others, typos too frequent to count, arbitrary italicization, and confused tenses are editing and publishing lapses that undermine the author’s important argument. Also, comparisons with European printing history would have been better relegated to the notes so that the impact of commercial publishing in late Ming China could become clear, to use the author’s words, “in its own unique fashion.”

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ERIC REINDERS. *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 266. \$49.95.

In this carefully crafted multidisciplinary work, Eric Reinders has attempted to answer such crucial questions as what did the nineteenth-century Christian missionaries to China think of Chinese religion and the customs of the Chinese? He addresses these intriguing questions by looking at such diverse topics as the meaning of obeisance, Chinese pidgin English, vegetarianism, how properly to translate God into Chinese, and opium, among others.

Reinders concentrates on British missionaries, particularly those of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and begins his account by describing the Great Missionary Exhibition of 1909, which “recreated” Africa and Asia in an exhibit hall in London to promote mission work and, it was hoped, to bring in contributions. The ersatz China thus created featured Britons dressed up as Chinese so the visitors could better understand where their mission funds were being spent. This was China as understood by the Victorian missionary, and as Reinders explains, that understanding was greatly colored by the missionaries’ own prejudices. The anti-Catholicism of the British Protestants, and particularly their views of obeisance in the Catholic Church, led the missionaries to view Chinese who bowed to their ancestral tablets, superiors, and temple gods with the same contempt they had for Catholics. Drawing on contemporary writings such as those of the extreme Anglophile John Macgowan, Reinders argues that the missionaries were predis-

posed to view with contempt many Chinese customs. Because Chinese, sometimes even monks, could not explain the details of their religious beliefs, the missionaries characterized them as “mentally deficient, in a stupor,” to use Reinders’s words (p. 46).

The author also cites other issues the missionaries found incomprehensible, such as the chanting of mantras and Chinese music, also equating these with aspects of Catholicism that they found objectionable. Complicating the missionaries’ views of Chinese as unintelligent was the use of pidgin English. Unable, or unwilling, to learn Chinese, the missionaries, and other foreigners, resorted to Chinese pidgin English or China Coast pidgin, which Reinders states was one of the first documented pidgins, dating from the eighteenth century. (p. 79). The use of this language is complicated by the fact that in an attempt to communicate the foreigners often resorted to baby talk in English.

On a completely different topic, Reinders addresses what the missionaries saw as the problem of vegetarianism. Converting to Christianity, in the view of many missionaries, required giving up vegetarianism, which the missionaries associated with Chinese religious customs and particularly Buddhism. Reinders refers to this as “baptism by meat,” as meat consumption was seen by many as an essential element of Christian salvation (p. 146). In their cultural misunderstandings the missionaries also railed against queues, clothes, smells, and virtually everything else they found strange in China.

In arguing his theses Reinders does not limit himself to the writings of missionaries but also includes those from Victorian globetrotters and nonmissionary Westerners living in China. However, these do not detract from the overall validity of his arguments. Many of the Westerners in China viewed the sheer number of people in China as a faceless mob, which clearly was a manifestation of cultural shock for those from less populated parts of the globe.

In the vast range of topics of cultural misunderstandings treated here, the only one I can think of that Reinders has missed is the connection between the Catholic image of a naked baby Jesus and the development of pornographic carvings by the Chinese, some done in ivory and collectors’ items, which were a small part of an exhibit on Chinese ivories at the British Museum some twenty years ago. Certainly, the Protestants would have found these another example of the Catholic/Chinese connection they were so fond of denouncing.

Unfortunately, this book is marred by the repetition of material (e.g. pp. 144, 160). Does not the University of California Press employ proofreaders any more? Later the author tries to validate his arguments with references to novelist Amy Tan, characters in *Flash Gordon* (a comic book) and *Friends* (a television show), and Jackie Chan movies (pp. 218, 212). Does the author really think readers in other countries will understand such references? In a serious monograph

that would otherwise stand the test of time, I cannot help wondering what readers fifty years from now will think of these comparisons. Yet, overall, this is an interesting book that makes a significant contribution to our understanding of what the missionaries' endeavor in China was all about.

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FRANK DIKÖTTER, LARS LAAMANN, and ZHOU XUN.
Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China. Chicago:
 University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 319. \$35.00.

China and opium are not just often closely associated in Western popular culture and history books; their combination represents a standard cliché for drug use. In Chinese and foreign views of the late nineteenth century, especially those expressed in public discourses, opium was the central source of China's ills. Even if such images are no longer taken at face value, the idea that opium had poisoned a large part of the Chinese population, seriously weakened its economy through the export of silver, and contributed to the civil unrest that dominated the republican period is still prevalent in the historical literature, especially in China.

Frank Dikötter, Lars Laamann, and Zhou Xun take up the challenge of revisiting the issue of opium and drug use in China from the end of the nineteenth century to 1949. Their approach deliberately sets aside the issue of traffic and supply to focus on consumption, public policies of drug control, and the treatment of drug addicts. While a large part of the volume is devoted to opium, the authors extend their inquiry to chemically-produced opiates and other drugs such as cocaine. The book is remarkably well organized, systematic in the coverage of the topic, and it does present, convincingly and successfully, a string of arguments for a reinterpretation of drug use in Chinese society.

One of the book's main contributions is the comprehensive contextualization of the topic, both temporally—with two chapters on the worldwide expansion of psychoactive substances and their introduction in China before 1840—and culturally, namely the widespread use of opium and opium derivatives in Europe. Before modern drugs, opium was simply the "best possible and sure shield" against various ills, diseases, and pains. The authors offer strong arguments about the medical use of opium as painkiller, antidepressant, cough suppressant, etc. In that regard, China was no different than other countries. One major difference, however, came in the form of consumption—by smoking—while the main purpose, by and large remained the same.

Yet, opium smoking also developed as a form of leisure and manifestation of social status to which various practices and levels of opium houses were attached. The vast majority of smokers, the authors

argue, were not addicts. Opium houses were a place of relaxation and sociability for people from all classes, with limited or no impact on their health or work ability. The use of smoked opium generated elaborate forms of consumption, connoisseurship, and culture. Opium carried all sorts of positive values for elite, popular, and poor customers. While the balance may have been different between the search for leisure (aphrodisiac) and medical (pain alleviating) dimensions of the product, all could share its virtues in a context of companionship.

The practice of opium smoking in China was increasingly undermined by the rise of narcophobia, first among missionary activists, then among the imperial and republican political elites. Opium was progressively stigmatized and, as a consequence, rejected by the elites. Only civil unrest in the republican era actually allowed the resurgence of opium use after the successful campaign of eradication by the imperial government. With the repression of opium consumption by the Nationalists, consumers turned to new products like morphine and heroine. The authors even argue that repression stimulated the use of synthetic drugs. These drugs benefited from a positive image as "modern products" from the West, and they were easy to consume compared to opium smoking. Even the use of the syringe failed to be seen as repulsive in the "needle culture" of China.

The book very aptly deconstructs the images and discourses that distorted and eventually overwhelmed the social realities of an opium culture deeply imbedded in society. An extremely wide range of sources have been mobilized to build up the case for drug use in China before 1949. While the book offers a convincing interpretation of opium culture in its various dimensions, it leaves some questions unanswered or open to debate. The move from opium to new drugs was far from even across the country. Canton, Hong Kong, and south China, for example, remained impervious to the new drugs. Repression of opium smoking seems to have accompanied a change of practices rather than being a determinant in the change itself. The change of mood among the elites was clearly a decisive element and, in relation to it, the impact of discourses on their perception of drug use. The choice of covering the whole of China brings about spatial or chronological jumps within chapters, for the sake of argument, but this weakens the general demonstration. We need more locale-centered monographs to explore in depth the links among drug use, public policies, popular sensibilities, and changes of practice. But this book definitely stands as a solid scholarly contribution to the history of drugs.

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ANDREW D. MORRIS. *Marrow of the Nation: A History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China.* Foreword by JOSEPH S. ALTER. (Asia: Local Studies/Global

Times, number 10.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 368. \$49.95.

Until recently, sports were not considered an appropriate set of processes through which societies in Asia could be examined, and academic studies such as this by Andrew D. Morris were limited in number. Joseph Alter, in his early work on wrestling in South Asia, argued that this was partly explained by the conceptions of those societies preferred by Western scholars. A sort of Orientalism existed whereby organized sports, fierce competition, intense physicality, and corporal play were considered unlikely or atypical in cultures thought to be rigidly defined and controlled by the strictures of caste, tradition, class, or gender. Morris's book is the latest in a range of studies that have sought to address this. As its title suggests, the book covers the period 1912 to 1949, and it sets as its objective the task of tracing "the many national, racial, sexual, social and political threads of discourse that came to interrogate and define the realm of physical culture in Republican China" (p. 15). The author explains that "physical culture" is in fact a limited translation of the Chinese term *tiyu*, which can mean "body cultivation" or "physical education." Morris states that the period after 1912 represented a "decisive break" from previous modes of *tiyu*. The changes wrought in China's conceptions of *tiyu* in these years were to make "possible the organizational and philosophical directions of the Chinese Communist Party's later 'red' physical culture" (p. 15).

The book succeeds in convincing the reader that this was a time of frantic experimentation with and participation in an array of "modern" sports. Western groups like the Young Men's Christian Association consciously "taught sports as a way to transform China" (p. 19), but Japanese models were equally as important as European or American organizations. National meetings were quickly established at which the best athletes and players could compete, and teams from abroad were invited to test the skills of the Chinese. Sport was not simply a set of activities to be engaged with as a participant. Spectatorship developed, and the big international meetings could draw significant crowds; 16,000 spectators paid to watch the China-Philippines football match in 1927, and boy scouts were employed to prevent those locked out of the corresponding basketball game from breaking through the perimeter fence. Commercialism was not far behind, and the image of the Quaker Rolled White Oats advertisement featuring the brand name alongside "a muscular, tousle-haired Chinese soccer player, ball at his feet" (p. 75) is particularly striking, mingling as it does the dynamics of sport, art, commerce, body and diet in a period of cultural change.

In a book packed with examples, Morris succeeds in tracing the ways in which competing discourses of the nation sought to incorporate sports, both Western and those thought to be from Chinese "traditions," into visions of a new China. He states that this is an

ongoing process; the motto of the Beijing Olympics of 2008 is "*xin Beijing, xin Aoyun*," which translates as "New Beijing, New Olympics." Morris argues that this shows that China feels it now has the power to reshape and make new the forms of modern sport. The book should be read not only for the excellent research it contains but also for its spirited engagement with the historiography of Chinese sport; his argument that Fan Hong's analysis of women's sporting participation is "in May Fourth fashion" (p. 93) summarizes neatly the misgivings about her work.

Yet historiography is chief among the shortcomings of the book. In the first place, Morris is rather selective in his reading, referring to Partha Chatterjee's work on Indian nationalism (p. 224) or Kathleen McCrone's work on English women (p. 95) when it suits him rather than engaging fully with comparative literatures that might have informed his analysis. This lack of a wider sense of the issues means that the book leaves the reader with an image of "China's male managers of physical culture" (p. 95) energetically imposing ideas as they occurred to them on the population. Only occasional glimpses of wider society hint at how the wo/man in the street approached modern sports; the spectators' riot at the football match mentioned above, sparked by the opposing players coming to blows, gives a vivid sense that urban groups had their own ideas about sporting occasions that often frustrated or contradicted the designs of the elites who sought to shape and define sport. There is an array of studies available on sporting crowds and sporting violence to inform his analysis, so it is to be hoped that Morris brings his research skills to the issue of how ordinary Chinese perceived and shaped sports in the future to provide a "bottom-up" view that completes the picture presented here from the top down.

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CHRISTIAN HENRIOT and WEN-HSIN YEH, editors. *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation*. (Cambridge Modern China Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 392. \$75.00.

In their preface and introduction, the editors of this important volume make it clear that the focus of the contributors will go far beyond customary topics related to warfare and politics. In order to explore the wider domains of culture and economics, Christian Henriot and Wen-hsin Yeh ask what the war years 1937–1945 meant to the civilian population of the great metropolis. They ask how the brutality of siege and occupation changed "civic patterns of authority and association" and how they reconfigured "the material landscape of the city?" (pp. x-xi). To the credit of editors and essayists alike, this sweeping study of Shanghai under Japanese occupation answers those questions and many others and illuminates our under-

standing of wartime struggle and survival in China's most modern and international city.

Henriot discusses the fortunes of Shanghai's industry during the eight-year crisis period. He finds that the structure and geography of industry changed markedly. Large industrial plants of the pre-1937 era struggled under the tight controls of the Japanese military and the various puppet regimes. At the same time, new enterprises and small workshops, better able to escape controls and participate in the black market, emerged and flourished in the western parts of the city. Parks M. Coble presents a case study of the Rong family enterprises (textiles and flour milling) to illustrate the options sometimes opened and sometimes closed to large-scale companies accustomed to dominating the market. The Rong managers were nothing if not adaptable in maintaining ties with both Chongqing and the Japanese Imperial Army but in the end, geography played a large role in determining their fate. Factories unlucky enough to have been located in Chinese portions of the city were mostly destroyed or confiscated; those in the foreign sectors survived and kept the family afloat.

Chinese "fixers" are the subject of Sherman Cochran's essay on the marketing of medicine across enemy lines. Fixers were the dauntless middlemen who managed to maintain good relations with the Nationalist authorities in Chongqing, the remnants of the fading Western interests, the puppet regimes, and the Japanese military. The notion of *gudao*, that Shanghai was an "isolated island" after 1937 and certainly after 1941, is firmly rejected by Cochran in his essay on the fixers' role in "marketing medicine across enemy lines." This challenge to the *gudao* concept is perhaps the most common theme running through this book.

Mao Zedong's armies were in the main preoccupied with base-building efforts well north of Shanghai, but Allison Rottmann presents a fascinating study of the Communist Party's "Central China Base." Relying heavily on memoirs of a party worker in the Shanghai underground, she argues that the city played an active role in Communist base-building projects in the countryside. Frederic Wakeman, Jr., whose interest in this era of China's history goes back more than forty years, contributes a chapter on "Shanghai Smuggling" that explores some of the most bizarre and contradictory aspects of the city under occupation. To name just one, Wakeman notes that Chiang Kai-shek inaugurated a "Smuggling Prevention Office" that employed 60,000 men. At the helm of this organization was Dai Li, whom many "old China hands" regarded as the ruthless power behind the throne in Chongqing. By all accounts, Dai Li was the greatest smuggler of his day. In spite of the apparent contradiction, it can probably be argued that there was no one better able to manage, if not "control," smuggling.

There was one major wartime puppet regime—that of Wang Jingwei—but there were numerous ephemeral governments. Timothy Brook, who like many of the contributors handles both Chinese and Japanese

sources with facility, analyzes the fate of one of these entities, the "Great Way Government." It prevailed in Shanghai, 1937–1938, with archaic slogans about brotherhood-like *Dadao* (Great Way). Brian G. Martin dissects the activities of the "Shanghai United Committee," which was established to coordinate pro-Guomindang activities in occupied Shanghai. Martin's study brings under scrutiny Du Yuesheng, the head of this shadowy organization. From the early 1930s, the Nationalists had a compact with Du, whose criminal organization, the Green Gang, might have had more authority and raw power in Shanghai than any official entity.

Although the European colonialists appear frequently in many of the chapters of this book, two studies focus directly on them. Robert Bickers looks at the end of British hegemony in Shanghai's International Settlement, and Christine Cornet examines the demise of the French Concession and French influence in Shanghai. The collaborator Wang Jingwei made a strong effort to build support from among the large trade union movement in Shanghai; the Communists hoped to radicalize the workers; Chongqing and the Japanese also targeted the labor unions. Alain Roux, however, finds that workers were divided and ambivalent in their commitments and did not play a major part in Shanghai politics. Carlton Benson's essay on the "resurgence of commercial radio broadcasting" uncovers a complex ebb and flow between the familiar world of entertainment and advertising on the one hand and resistance propaganda on the other. The picture is clouded by the fact that many of the stations were in the International Settlement and beyond direct Japanese control, at least until 1941.

Three chapters are devoted to women. Susan Glosser's contribution, "Women's Culture of Resistance," relies heavily on an analysis of the pages of *Shanghai Funii* (*Shanghai Women*). "The most prominent 'activist' that emerged . . . was the frugal housekeeper who kept her family healthy and contributed her small bit to the war effort," Glosser writes (p. 322). Nicole Huang contributes "Fashioning Public Intellectuals: Women's Print Culture in Occupied Shanghai (1941–1945)." She uses select women writers of the era, such as Su Qing and Eileen Chang, to explore the gradual feminization of print culture during the war years. Paul G. Pickowicz concludes the volume with a postwar perspective on women in wartime Shanghai. In it he explores a number of remarkably revealing stage and film productions, especially *Liren xing* (*Women Side by Side*), which shed light on the fate of women in the occupied city.

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MICHAEL R. AUSLIN. *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 263. \$45.00.

Modern Japanese history is full of ideas that emerged from the moment of change and continue in our interpretations. The accounts, perspectives, and memories of the actors often prevail in our historiography. This is true of Japan's foreign relations despite (or because of) the long rise of Japanese studies amid the Cold War, cemented by the very strong bond between the United States and Japan. It is striking that we have had so few monographs on U.S.-Japan relations and fewer still on Meiji foreign policy. It is a familiar story: in 1854 Commodore Matthew Perry "opened" Japan from its isolation, in 1858 Consul Townsend Harris negotiated the first of the "unequal treaties," and Meiji leaders finally renegotiated those treaties in 1894.

Now Michael R. Auslin gives us a monograph that fills in the story of foreign policy negotiations during the critical final years of the Tokugawa era. It tells of bakufu (military government) efforts to take charge of foreign policy, to negotiate with the United States and Great Britain, primarily in order to avoid being colonized, and to defend the "ideological, intellectual, and physical boundaries between [Japanese] and Westerners" (pp. 9–10). Auslin is at his best when he pieces together the documents, especially letters and dispatches, to lay out the negotiations and the unfolding of bakufu policy. He brings out the predilections and persistence, the folly and determination of these elite figures, the officials and agents representing various countries, showing how they shaped this part of the past. His most welcome contribution is to historicize the early encounter and the unequal treaties, unsettling the common narrative line. He goes over the many incidents in which Western countries sought entry to the archipelago prior to 1854 (too bad that he did not include Commodore James Biddle's failed 1846 attempt), and he covers the changing attitude of bakufu officials, and later Meiji leaders, toward treaty negotiations. We see the bakufu focused on limiting access generally, disregarding issues surrounding trade and tariff, and we learn that the most onerous conditions were agreed to by the Meiji government in the treaty signed with Austria-Hungary. (It is regrettable that this treaty, a "major break," did not receive the same level of analysis as bakufu negotiations.)

We are at a moment in our historiography when we sense that many of the categories and narratives that we have inherited are no longer apposite and seek new frameworks. Auslin is to be commended for his ambitious thesis that "the transformation of diplomatic culture led to sweeping changes in Japanese society" (p. 2); he brings us "the beginnings of modern Japan's international history" (p. 3). But by concentrating on the bakufu and stopping in 1872, he has given us more of an ending than a beginning. More important, Auslin's beginnings are framed by notions of negotiation and of a culture of diplomacy. Negotiation allows him to argue that the bakufu possessed agency and "resisted" the West (p. 4), supplanting an older pattern of encounter/reaction, or stimulus/response. Diplomatic culture stands in for traditional/modern, placing the

interaction within an international system rather than situating it in an encounter between two completely different forms of social/cultural relations, one based on status and tribute and the other based on reason and money.

As implemented in this book, however, such an approach using negotiation and culture of diplomacy returns us to the teleology of modernization. The idea of negotiation narrows our field to the interaction between representatives of the various Western nations and those of the bakufu speaking for Japan (succeeded by Meiji officials). But because "the ideological, intellectual, and physical boundaries" that Japanese sought to defend are ill defined, we return to those oft-repeated units of analysis, Japan and the West. Diplomatic culture, interestingly, allows reentry for the category of the primitive. The bakufu comes out as one of those "uncivilized partners" (p. 7) whose sole purpose is to "preserve and protect" (p. 16) those boundaries. Antiforeignism reinforces this theme. Omitted from the story is the complexity of this moment: the contestation of the several major actors (such as Satsuma and Chōshū) as they engaged with the West to enhance their position only appears in the conclusion (pp. 202–203), and we fail to learn about the efforts of numerous Tokugawa officials and intellectuals such as Honda Toshiaki, Sakuma Shōzan, Yoshida Shōin, and Yokoi Shōnan to reform the system to acknowledge trade and the monetary economy as well as the utility of Western concepts. While the antiforeignism theme persists into the Meiji period through the deliberative councils called for in Article One of the 1868 Charter Oath, Articles Four and Five, which recognize the new international conditions as well as the importance of acquiring knowledge from Western countries, are absent.

In the end, I cannot help but feel that this monograph was rushed. The will is there, as is a robust empirical base illustrating the simplistic nature of the standard narrative on bakumatsu foreign policy. There is a need for more work before we can appreciate the role of the unequal treaties in the trajectory of modern Japanese history.

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ALEXIS DUDDEN. *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power*. (The Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2005. Pp. x, 215. \$45.00.

From their first days in power, the leaders of Japan's Meiji government (1868–1912) understood the importance of capturing the minds of their Western counterparts through the use of "standard"—i.e. European—diplomatic rules and vocabulary. Indeed, says Alexis Dudden, language was nearly (although not quite) as important as actions in winning international

support for Japan's colonial takeover of Korea between 1873 and 1910.

In a short work that is sometimes meandering, often polemical, and always provocative, Dudden argues not only that Japan mastered that era's "vocabulary of power" (p. 1) and of "enlightened exploitation" (p. 8) but that the colonial nations of the West cooperated wholly—and willfully—in what was, in effect, the "legal erasure of a country" (p. 12). While Japan's activities in Korea have been described quite fully by other scholars, most recently in Peter Duus's *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea* (1995), Dudden is the first to analyze their "discursive aspects" (p. 2). Drawing on a rich menu of diplomatic treatises (French, English, and Japanese), journalistic accounts (including Korean newspapers), missionary archives, and government documents, she discusses both the importance of rhetoric in shaping international relationships and the need to incorporate Japan's experience into the broader theories of imperialism, most of which have either ignored Japan's case or glibly labeled it "late" or "different" (p. 24).

Dudden's dominant point is that Japan showed a brilliant, if hypocritical and inhumane, capacity for using Western legal discourse to justify each step toward its 1910 annexation of Korea. She shows how Japanese diplomats replaced the centuries-old, Chinese-dominated "*kanji* order" with English-based diplomacy, insisting early on that English be used as the mediating language in negotiations with the Chinese over Korea, first at Tianjin in 1885 and then in ending the Sino-Japanese War at Shimonoseki in 1895. She also describes Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi's astute understanding of Western rhetorical nuances when he labeled the Sino-Japanese War a "Korean War of Independence" and called Japan a "victorious liberator and benevolent protector" (p. 48).

In less than two decades, Dudden shows, Japan's officials "negated the old regional order . . . and they did so in the fully legal terms of enlightened exploitation" (p. 49). Even the era's leading internationalist, the Quaker Nitobe Inazō, used Western legal structures early in the 1900s to develop a new Japanese academic field of colonial policy studies, which justified "planting people" (p. 133) as the proper task of a civilized nation.

The thing that makes this use of Western legal discourse so important is its role in securing world support for Japan's policies. In episode after episode, Dudden shows that the Americans and Europeans gave wholehearted approval to Japan's colonizing steps, ignoring or denying Korean complaints about cruelty and unfairness. She argues that the powers' approval was more complete than earlier scholars, such as Duus and Akira Iriye, have previously acknowledged. When Koreans approached the Second International Conference on Peace at The Hague in 1907 to argue the case for Korean independence, for example, the conferees refused even to listen to them, maintaining that "according to international law, without Ja-

pan, Korea no longer existed in relation to the rest of the world" (p. 8).

In one of the book's more vivid sections, Dudden portrays American diplomats and officials giving full approval to Japan's actions in a brutal 1911–1913 roundup of Korean activists, which included jailings, torture, and even deaths—because, in the end, Japan had followed standard "civilized" trial procedures. Even brutal floggings were countenanced by the Westerners because Korea was "barbaric" and because flogging was "an 'old Korean custom'" (p. 116). And why not, she adds, since all of the colonial powers allowed their own "useful exemptions" in the colonies to homeland legal practice? (p. 115).

Dudden's work suffers occasionally from an overly polemic tone. It also is diminished by a skimpy index that omits most concepts and many names. And the narrative is disjointed at times, with some topics (e.g. Nitobe's defense of Japan's takeover of Manchuria in the 1930s) discussed at length without a clear tie to the work's central theme. A chapter on people who dissented from Japan's colonial policies catalogues a wide variety of interesting and important dissidents but never shows how their views related to the "discursive aspects of Japan's annexation of Korea" (p. 2)—or to each other.

That said, this book is a welcome and important addition to a growing body of works that show not only Japan's emergence as an imperialist power but its integration into the broader colonial system. It casts the entire imperialist enterprise—with Japan as an integral part of that enterprise—in a fresh light, even while it raises disturbing questions about the implications of Japan's experience for contemporary America.

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INDRANI CHATTERJEE, editor. *Unfamiliar Relations: Family and History in South Asia*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2004. Pp. 302. \$60.00.

This thought-provoking collection of essays traces the reproduction of the family through time, adding to recent scholarship reevaluating kinship and gender in South Asian history. The volume's particular strengths lie in the questions it raises about the *longue durée* history of family, and in highlighting the manifold ways in which kinship was constructed in cultural codes, genealogies, languages, and other discursive and material power structures. The more creative essays straddle the "divide" between the "precolonial" and colonial period and critically assess the extent of change in the constitution of kinship during the transition to British rule.

Editor Indrani Chatterjee's precise and pointed introduction asserts that the history of kinship, hitherto a "poor relation in South Asian history," needs to be studied in its own right (p. 1). Chatterjee distinguishes the questions fueling this book from prevailing dominant analyses of the family, which, she suggests,

have been preoccupied with the “ideological deployment” of the family against colonialism and the role of the kin group in fashioning nationalism and gendered projects of modernity in colonial India (p. 2). One influential framework cited is that of Partha Chatterjee, for whom the family was a core part of the inner/spiritual domain (as opposed to the outer/material sphere) that, as a sphere autonomous of colonial control, was used by the nationalist elite to reconstitute a reinvigorated masculinity and sense of “self.” The editor also refers to Tanika Sarkar’s assertion that the family and the conjugal relationship were sites of power governed and disciplined by Hindu males in the latter’s endeavor to construct a militant nationalism in late colonial India. While acknowledging the importance of these scholarly contributions, the introduction cautions against plotting such nationalist imaginings of family, intimacy, and gender relationships onto the earlier history of kinship and treating the “family” as a hermetically sealed and static category. The conscious aim of the volume’s essays, in contrast, is to show that “the boundedness of the category—the family—was itself a historically produced effect” (p. 33) and that the family as a cultural idea and a political and material unit was constituted through conflict and ruptures and was shaped by state formation and the political economy.

The arrangement of the articles along a definitive chronology is helpful and central to the methodological approach of the book. Ramya Sreenivasan’s rich analysis of elite Rajput genealogies and literary narratives in Rajasthan between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries demonstrates how written and oral histories representing the families of “elites in the making” (p. 47) were shaped by considerations of regional power, conflict, and material interests. Thereafter, Sumit Guha’s important essay on the manipulation of elite family feuds in the powerful eighteenth-century Maratha kingdoms illustrates the inextricable connections between elite families and state formation. Importantly, these essays emphasize the inapplicability of binary categories such as “public/private” and “inner/outer” to the family in the “precolonial” world.

In what might be seen as another section, William Dalrymple’s study, entitled “White Mughals,” and Michael Fisher’s essay examine how intimacy was shaped by the imperatives of race and gender in the eighteenth century during the transition to British rule. Fisher’s contribution, which traces the rise of his protagonist Begum Samru from slave concubine to sovereign ruler of a vast territory in north India, is particularly adept at demonstrating how the Begum manipulated claims of “belonging” to a multiplicity of different power structures, whether British or Mughal, and created a racially hybrid, if fractured and conflicted, household, based on fluid ties of kinship, to assert power and overcome her marginal and “unfree” status.

Finally, Pamela Price, Sylvia Vatuk, Indrani Chat-

terjee, and Satadru Sen chronicle different aspects of the history of the family under British rule. Of particular interest are the essays examining how colonial legal discourses defining kinship, domesticity, and sexuality transformed gender relations and, alternately, were appropriated by indigenous litigants and other players. Thus Vatuk’s layered study of the claims of the Nawabs of the Carnatic for pensions from the East India Company underscores how language became the site of conflict over definitions of family for both parties. Pointing to the flexibility of Persian and Urdu, where, unlike in English, the words used for “family” also described other identities such as “community” and “tribe,” she illustrates how the Nawabs and the British manipulated legal/linguistic definitions of family in efforts to demarcate the boundaries of the kin group and the entitlements of those designated as its members. Employing a different methodology, Chatterjee’s engaging article shows how authors re-writing the genealogies/regional histories of the *rajas* of Tripura in the early twentieth century selectively appropriated colonial legal definitions of family and sexuality. Increasingly, regional genealogies consciously removed slave concubines and their children from the domain of the “family,” negating the contribution of slavery to the reproduction of kinship and erasing the central role played by violence, acquisition, and slavery in constituting familial relations in the past.

The essays engage with the core questions and goals laid out in the introduction and converse with and complement each other. The result is a diversity of creative and nuanced frameworks offering fresh insights and methodologies for the study of the family, defined as a shifting range of discursive, cultural, political and economic “formations” and practices (p. 14). The collection successfully underlines the analytical importance of kinship in writing history and for tracing the histories of region, class, caste, and community. It also contributes to current scholarly debates on the transition to colonialism and the extent and limit of its impact on gender relationships.

However, a few oversights have to be mentioned. There is little explicit analysis of the relationship between masculinity and kinship in the book, which is unfortunate, given the rich material on this theme in many of the essays. More importantly, the book’s ambition of retrieving alternative and marginalized histories of family does not fully accord with the almost exclusive focus on elite families in the essays—except for Sen’s study on convicts in the Andamans. Yet these shortcomings do not detract from what remains an original addition to the exciting and expanding field of the social and cultural history of gender in South Asia.

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ELIZA F. KENT. *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 315. \$47.50.

This book by Eliza F. Kent is an important addition to the growing corpus on conversion to Christianity in colonial South Asia. It is not concerned with belief, or the mystique of individual conversion where analytically elusive promptings of conscience are supposed to inspire a leap from one faith to another. Rather, it probes the dynamics and the substance of the changes that the leap occasions in the converts' behavior as a group or community. Focusing on an upwardly mobile caste, the Nadars of Tamilnadu, the book "examines the formation of and negotiation over ideals of femininity and masculinity in Indian Christian culture" (p. 12) in three specific areas: marriage, domesticity, and sartorial style. It also examines the social, institutional, and ideological backgrounds of the Western missionaries who labored to effect conversions and tried, with varying success, to shape the emerging Indian Christian culture(s). Kent selects for close examination two successful Western single women missionaries, Amy Carmichael and Eva Swift, who arrived in India "in the midst of a vast influx of women into the mission field" (p. 102).

The book unravels the interplay of class, caste, race, and gender in colonial South India. Whether it related to the missionaries, or the converts, or their mutual interaction, the interplay was always contentious, and the ensuing consequences were riddled with ambiguities and contradictions. The dogged presence of the very entity that conversion was meant to erase, the converts' natal religion, further aggravated these ambiguities and contradictions. For, given its pervasion into the deepest interstices of indigenous life, formal renunciation of the natal religion brought the converts but limited release from the modes of thought and feeling they were born into.

The result is a fascinating account of the unfolding of ambivalence in the lives of the women who came to convert and of those who were converted. Working in missions that were male preserves, the "converting" women acted in ways that alternated between complicity with and resistance to patriarchy. As white evangelists—despite certain attitudinal differences between the Americans and the British—they betrayed a similar ambivalence vis-à-vis race and imperialism. In the case of the converted Nadar women, given their triple subordination on grounds of gender, race, and caste, ambivalence naturally manifested along a different trajectory. To cite but one example, besides being relatively emancipated and empowered as a result of conversion, they were also socialized into sexually constricting notions of respectability.

What, then, is new here? Has the theme not been optimally theorized and documented across cultures? Ambivalence is always and never the same. It is the never-sameness of it that makes every sensitive retelling of it, like Kent's, new and fascinating. Any attempt

to understand the fluidity of social "reality" must balance the heuristic need for a stable pattern in which to fit that reality and the refusal of that reality to be so fitted. The challenge is to defer and minimize that artificial closure to the utmost. Although generally dexterous in handling a body of evidence pointing in opposite directions, Kent is at times quick and categorical in positing a pattern that is just not there. This, significantly, happens more when she relies on secondary works. Relying, for instance, on Kenneth A. Ballhatchet and Mrinalini Sinha, she uses the *Pigot vs. Hastie* case to support her argument about what she believes was "the most significant limit that white women of all kinds—missionaries, wives, widows, and reformers—had to negotiate to carry out their projects." It lay in the "discourse of protection that took shape around stereotypes of the lustful Indian male and the desirable European woman" (p. 85). In the process are excised a host of glaring facts. Hastie, for example, was first seized by jealousy in relation to Miss Pigot on account not of a "lustful Indian male" but of a fellow Briton. Further, the reactions the case provoked could not simplistically be seen as racially inspired.

Otherwise well researched, the book remains strangely prone to elementary errors. Here is a random sample: Reverend Lal Behari Day is listed as a Brahman (p. 44); Annie Besant as the first president of the "Congress Party" (p. 84); William Hastings as governor-general (pp. 39, 308); *Indulekha* as a drama (p. 215); Nadars are designated as a race (p. 192); the English divorce law is linked with British myths (p. 174). Even as a typo, "Prime Minister of India J. W. Gladstone" (p. 257) is a bit too disconcerting.

SUDHIR CHANDRA

YASMIN SAIKIA. *Fragmented Memories: Struggling to be Tai-Ahom in India*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 327. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

History, like other social science disciplines, has until recently not only taken the national order of things for granted, but historians played a key role in putting together narratives of national history. In Yasmin Saikia's words, such narratives are constructed by "claiming, coercing, coopting, and often erasing" (p. 258) multiple histories. Despite Subaltern Studies—the powerful critique of national narratives that grew out of the study of Indian history—there is no strong intellectual tradition in India of looking at local pasts in autonomous terms. The hold of nationalism, secular as well as "communal," has undoubtedly been a factor. In Northeast India there is growing interest in autonomous histories at a popular level. But academic history has not quite caught up with it. Historians based in the West are unable to contribute because the Indian government rarely grants research visas to foreign scholars to study the region.

In this context a theoretically informed book by a

U.S.-based and Assamese-born historian that engages Assam's precolonial and colonial past as well as the present is a significant publication event. Saikia's work is no conventional history. It is about the identity movement of a little-known and tiny minority community: the Tai-Ahoms related to the pre-British Ahom kingdom that ruled Assam until 1826. According to Saikia, the term does not refer to a "fixed people"; it is only a "name in circulation" (p. 251) and a "powerful memory" (p. xv). Operating "between history and memory" (p. 13), Saikia reads the Tai-Ahom movement as an effort to "overcome erasure from national history" and to "create a 'different' sense of collectivity" (pp. 38–39).

The community acquired the suffix Tai relatively recently, a reflection of the way words and ideas travel in our times. The interest of intellectuals in Thailand in Tai cultural groups outside the country and the Thai discovery of their ethnic cousins enabled Ahom activists to add the suffix "Tai" and invoke "a mythic connection" to Southeast Asia (p. 68). Elements of the Tai-Ahom movement are quite radical; indeed, Saikia writes about an overlap between the Tai-Ahom movement and the United Liberation Front of Assam that seeks the restoration of Assam's independence through armed struggle. Yet the picture that emerges is not of an irreconcilable conflict between the local and the national. Tai-Ahom politics is primarily about recognition; it is about access to public resources and about "admission and rights to the nation as citizens" (p. 260).

I find the argument fascinating, bold, timely, and on the whole, quite persuasive. The book is a refreshing departure from the conventional division of labor between historians and political scientists that study South Asia, the former stopping at 1947 and the latter limiting themselves to the period after independence. But unfortunately, Saikia is not always on firm ground on the latter period. Some of her assertions about contemporary India require qualification. That some regions are privileged in India's politico-economic dispensation is indisputable. But the notion that "North India" is "at the top" of a "two tier society" (p. 256) is debatable. After all, two of India's most dynamic and globalized cities—Bangalore and Hyderabad—are in South India, and areas like Bihar that have become synonymous with economic and social stagnation are in North India. The argument that the peoples of the frontiers are "more isolated" in the postcolonial period (p. 51) is hard to sustain. The use of "pejorative" and "caste Hindu civilizational terms" such as *mlecchas*, *asuras* and *antariya* (p. 264) to describe the peoples of the region may have been common once, but it is hard to argue that it is an issue yet to be settled.

Saikia's transliteration of Assamese words is idiosyncratic and confusing. She uses *Aham* instead of *Axom* or *Asom* to refer to Assam and *Videkhi* instead of *Bidexi* or *Bidesi* for the Assamese word for for-

eigner. A note explaining her reasons for not following standard practice would have been helpful.

Saikia's account of the Tai-Ahom story contains important insights on why the modern nation-state has been so unkind to minorities. In India, despite official rhetoric about unity in diversity, regions with small populations lose their voice "in the cacophony of the majority of the Indian parliament" (p. 256). But the way society treats minorities, said Mohandas K. Gandhi, is the measure of civilization. Having contributed disproportionately to the invention of nations, one hopes that a new generation of historians will respond to Saikia's call for "rewriting a new, composite, national history," one that is "everyone's history, not an artificial construct given to the people as a directive from above" (p. 265). But such history, one might add, has to go beyond national geographies. Perhaps historians could learn a lesson or two from Tai-Ahom activists: to restore the autonomy of local pasts, one has to be alert to transnational ties of the past that today's national maps might obscure.

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RAVI KALIA. *Gandhinagar: Building National Identity in Postcolonial India*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 165. \$29.95.

Gandhinagar, the capital of Gujarat in western India, is a planned city, as are two earlier state capitals likewise conceived after independence in 1947. The pioneer was Chandigarh, designed by Le Corbusier. He had the enthusiastic support of then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who understood that locating the new nation within the best world architectural praxis could contribute to his general objective of bringing modernity to India. The next state complex, at Bhubaneswar in Orissa, was built under the guidance of Otto Koenigsberger, who was heavily influenced by Le Corbusier. When, a generation later, the decision was taken to build Gandhinagar, the first flush of independence had faded and the context had altered. The city was not completed until 1982. Different imperatives affected how it was conceived, planned, and executed.

Ravi Kalia's monograph explores those imperatives, using the two city's predecessors for comparison as well as, sotto voce, that earlier imperial enterprise in urban grandeur, New Delhi. Their presence looms large in this detailed and illuminating monograph, which builds on the author's preceding two volumes but stands on its own. Every point here is pushed back to distant origins. Thus the achievement of statehood for Gujarat in 1960 and the perception of a need for a new, custom-built capital distinct from yet near the thriving old city of Ahmedabad is traced through the region's periods of Islamic and British rule into independence and thereafter. In a similar fashion, the book traverses architectural debates in the United States

and provides details of university training to explain the antecedents of architects, both Indian and foreign, involved in the project. Kalia provides all the information possibly needed to understand the issues involved in choosing the city site, its design, and the architects responsible. This is an interesting, if densely textured, account.

On one side were Le Corbusier and his ideas about the advent of modernism creating an alternate city life that could bring down the old walls that had imprisoned India. His vision survived in the Indian architects he influenced and through major buildings, including two in Ahmedabad. On the other side was Louis Kahn, who created a breakthrough complex for the city's Indian Institute of Management. His sponsors, progressive mill owners, wanted him to plan a new city that would expand modernism and implement the way he brought poetry back into architecture by the application of his ideas of Order and Form. They wanted what Kahn had already achieved in Ahmedabad: buildings that had, as local architect B. V. Doshi put it, "fantastic unfolding spaces, . . . marvelous changes of light" (p. 77), effects derived from spatial elements in Mughal architecture.

In the end, the architect who won the contract did not fit comfortably into either approach, although Le Corbusier had trained him. The appointment satisfied the increasingly strong demand that Indians create their own spaces and structures, ones coping with the conflicting trajectories of an Indian past and a contemporary modernist location. H. K. Mewada was Indian, not an outsider. He was sensitive to Gujarat's pasts, its proud political record personified in Mohandas K. Gandhi, and its rich cultural and religious heritage. Thus his Assembly building drew on symbolism of the lotus and of the sanctum sanctorum to weave "an air of mystic sanctity" (Mewada's office, cited on p. 117). Kalia stresses, however, that Mewada consciously resisted interweaving the secular and religious spheres. Acknowledging their continued potency, he used both to create an Indian style that was neither hybrid nor mindlessly derivative.

Kalia argues that Mewada's creation of Gandhinagar was important in the emergence of a self-confident Indian architecture. He argues that modernity is a state of mind that does not easily apply to India, and that it is not enough to build modernist structures if they do not come from changing mindsets. Mewada's approach did not enable him to plan for all contingencies. As Kalia points out, Mewada did not allow for the massive increase in car traffic in the 1990s, so that the city has serious congestion. As a capital city, Gandhinagar has not been a great success; not all instrumentalities have relocated from Ahmedabad. The site is now less the location for government and administration than for computer science. It is becoming a technology park, reflecting a different aspect of modernism from that which Mewada, Le Corbusier, and others had in mind.

Through Indian architecture, Kalia explores the nature of postcolonial identity formation in recently independent nations and their associated drive to articulate identity. While the story is partly about postcolonial constraints and bureaucracies, the author places it within other compelling interpretive contexts. He sees it as a victory of indigenous design, which is neither traditional nor modernist. He makes a strong case for his interpretive position, through a plethora of detail culled from extensive primary research, interviews, and site study. He also provides an excellent base from which to assess present-day Indian architecture, its achievements and failings, its excesses and restraints, and its successes.

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MICHAEL L. LEWIS. *Inventing Global Ecology: Tracking the Biodiversity Ideal in India, 1947–1997*. (Series in Ecology and History.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2004. Pp. 305. Cloth \$ 55.00, paper \$26.00.

This extremely well-written book is engaging, creatively researched, and a welcome contribution to the twentieth-century history of both Indian wildlife conservation and the rise of biodiversity conservation ideas globally. Tracking the emergence of a constellation of ideas about nature conservation, Michael L. Lewis follows the tested methods of many intellectual historians and historians of science. Key figures in India and the United States are subject to biographical scrutiny for what they can reveal about broader intellectual, institutional, and scientific developments. Lewis begins with chapters on Salim Ali and George Schaller, two ecologists—one Indian, the other American—whose work was foundational to scientific, field ecology-based advocacy for nature and wildlife conservation in India.

Lewis notes that, at the eve of Indian independence, some leaders of India's freedom movement were powerfully influenced by Ali's work at the Bombay Natural History Society. An expansive nationalist sensibility, at its height in the 1940s, fostered this appreciation. By the mid-1950s and into the late 1960s, however, Indian ecologists were compelled to bolster their arguments with the research findings and recommendations of influential, and sometimes even unknown, American biologists. The World Wildlife Fund set up shop in India in 1969, becoming the rallying point for Indian and American conservationists recommending national parks, tiger reserves, and other protected areas where human impact would cease and, thus, create favorable conditions for wildlife conservation and ecological research. As Lewis observes, "the desire for an unpeopled nature was almost universal among the U.S. ecologists . . . humans appear only as scientists, not as components of the ecosystem" (p. 78). Leading Indian scientists, at the time, shared this perspective.

This part of the book adds some interesting twists to the discussion of colonial scientific imperialism, and

the role of indigenous or peripheral field research in shaping metropolitan scientific advances. But the history of international scientific knowledge creation in the later decades of the twentieth century is also part of the murky history of the Cold War. Field research in tropical ecology and biological research for defense purposes were at times tangled in the same web of finance and intention. This fact, however, did not prevent a new generation of Indian ecologists training in the United States, as did Madhav Gadgil with E. O. Wilson in Harvard in the late 1960s. Gadgil returned to India and created a world-class research program in theoretical ecology, informed by field research, from his base in Bangalore's Indian Institute of Science.

Moving into the 1970s and 1980s, Lewis considers why the Indian government selected conservation strategies that emphasized large parks and reserves. He gives short shrift to ecosystem ecology as it developed through the work of the Odums and Herbert Bormann and does not discuss the political-economic factors shaping the policies of the Indian government. But Lewis does discuss in detail the emergence of conservation biology from island biogeography, and the role of Wilson and Jared Diamond, among others, in promoting the idea that bigger reserves were more likely to preserve greater biodiversity. In dealing with this more recent history, the second half of the book moves out of the archives. It relies more on interviews with major figures in ecological research in the United States and India and benefits from Lewis's travels with Indian researchers to field sites all over India. He also spent time in the Wildlife Institute of India, studying research and training programs there since 1985. These ethnographic touches add a fine-grained element to analysis of organizational alignments, historical contingencies, and personal aspirations that shape the trajectories of researchers and the fate of projects in which ecological expertise about Indian wildlife is built.

The odd misspelling of Indian names (Karanath for Karanth, Maratha for Maharashtra), and the occasional sociological inaccuracy when referring to caste practices, reveal that Lewis has a shaky grasp of some of the intricacies of Indian history and terms. But these minor errors do not take away from a fine book with an important argument and a balanced, carefully researched perspective on the shaping of a key scientific field: biodiversity research. A more serious complaint may be that Lewis pays less attention to the ideas and aspirations of the key bureaucrats who shape conservation policy in India after the 1980s. He never really tells the reader how cultural imperialism and globalization are different and why these are important categories for thinking about the science and politics of conservation in India. Despite these quibbles, however, I recommend this book highly to readers in environmental history, history of science, intellectual history, and the history of India. It will be a valuable

text for graduate and undergraduate courses in interdisciplinary environmental studies.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

A. DIRK MOSES, editor. *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*. (Studies on War and Genocide, number 6.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2004. Pp. xiv, 325. \$40.00.

The destruction of the way of life of the Aboriginal peoples of Tasmania is often cited as a "classical" case of genocide. Thus in a 1995 article in the *New York Review of Books*, Bernard Bailyn stated that in Tasmania there was a "goal of extermination" and that Australian "ranchers" treated remnant indigenous populations "like vermin." In 1998, D. C. Watt described the Tasmania experience as one of the two greatest pre-twentieth-century examples of state-directed genocide.

The history of Tasmania, indeed of the Australian colonies, is, however, more complex than is acknowledged by scholars with little detailed knowledge of Australian history. The most highly credentialed contributor to this volume is Henry Reynolds, one of the pioneers of the new wave of research that transformed historical understanding from the 1970s. Reynolds observes that most international commentators "appear to be unaware" that in the critical period of conflict in Tasmania, the second half of the 1820s, the colony "was immersed in fierce guerrilla warfare." The depiction of the small population of Tasmanian Aborigines "as helpless but pathetic victims" is "entirely patronizing." Rather than a simple policy of extermination, the government was involved in a form of limited warfare to stabilize outlying regions. Reynolds concludes that "many settlers undoubtedly were extirpationists at heart, but it is not clear if this was true of the officials and military officers" (pp. 146–47).

If this collection does nothing else than draw attention to the complexity of the Australian experience, then it has perhaps merited publication for an international market. Commissioned and edited by A. Dirk Moses, a specialist in German intellectual history and the comparative study of genocide, the book includes twelve chapters and an epilogue. It is the second Australian collection in the last four years to interrogate the genocide concept, following the 2001 special edition of the journal *Aboriginal History*.

The collection of essays is grouped in three categories: conceptual and historical determinants; frontier violence, with particular focus on the nineteenth century; and the policy of removal of Aboriginal children, concerned primarily with the twentieth century. One odd feature is the inclusion of two chapters dealing with aspects of Nazi policy, the "colonisation" of the east, and the policy of child removal. These chapters

were included at the suggestion of the series editor, Omer Bartov, "because of the enduring and massive presence of the Holocaust in debates on genocide in Australia and elsewhere" (p. xiii). Moses comments that it has been left to readers to "judge for themselves how relevant these cases are for Australia" (p. xiii)—a strange observation when the Australian contributors themselves conspicuously fail to engage with the German material.

With regard to the process of dispossession of Aboriginal populations, there is agreement that the harshest policies were implemented in the colony of Queensland, not Tasmania. Indeed, Raymond Evans argues that Queensland not only presents "the most troublesome frontier story" (p. 160), but its frontier "was arguably one of the most violent places on earth during the global spread of Western capitalism in the nineteenth century" (p. 167). While five chapters deal with frontier conflict, there is little attention to a major theme in the studies of the last two decades: cooperation and conciliation between Aborigines and Europeans. Missing are the views of leading historians, including D. J. Mulvaney, R. H. W. Reece, Ann McGrath, Richard Broome, and Bain Attwood. (A more nuanced discussion of the spectrum of relations embracing both conflict and accommodation is well represented in the 2003 collection, *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, edited by Attwood and S. G. Foster.) In Moses's collection, the balance is particularly toward conflict; further, some of the contributors give insufficient attention to the need to exercise caution in the handling of tenuous historical evidence.

The book's second major concern is an examination of the forced removal of children. This subject has provoked much controversy in Australia over the last decade, given prominence by assessments made in the 1997 report of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Bringing Them Home*. Pamela Watson, in her study of the history of the Karuwal people of southern Queensland, mirrors *Bringing Them Home* in the application of the United Nations' definition of genocide, with reference to the transfer of children and earlier times. It is a perspective shared by a number of contemporary Aboriginal writers. Thus Larissa Behrendt has observed that "the political posturing and semantic debates do nothing to dispel the feeling Indigenous people have that [genocide] . . . is the word that adequately describes our experience as colonised peoples" (p. 17). In contrast, Robert Manne, one of Australia's leading public intellectuals, much involved in media debate over child removal policies, here presents the fruits of extensive research from which he concludes that in the treatment of Aboriginal children, particularly in the 1930s, "genocidal thoughts" are in evidence, but no more. The authorities who advocated a genocidal policy "neither possessed even remotely the financial resources, the bureaucratic machinery or, in the vast regions they administered, the kind of social control in depth that they needed if their schemes were to have any prospect

of success . . . 'Genocidal thoughts' and 'genocidal plans' are more adequate descriptors of what they were implicated in than 'genocidal crimes'" (p. 238). Russell McGregor, concerned with post-1945 Aboriginal assimilation policies, also argues against the applicability of the genocide concept. In his assessment, postwar policies were a form of "sociocultural assimilation . . . the first in more than a century to seriously envisage Aboriginal survival" (p. 290). McGregor regards *Bringing Them Home* as seriously flawed.

This book highlights the inherent weakness of collections of essays when there is minimal integration and dialogue among the contributors. This weakness is accentuated in a publication directed at a nonspecialist, international market. In this collection, there are several competing overviews, a degree of repetition that attempts to review the historiography without a comprehensive overview of one of the richer fields of Australian scholarly endeavor. For the nonspecialist reader, the detailed case studies can do as much to confuse as to enlighten. There are embarkations on many journeys, but no consolidated conclusion, not even an index or bibliographic listing of major works.

Moses attempts to advance understanding of the concept of genocide and its applicability to the Australian experience. His introduction is particularly valuable for his wide reading and detailed referencing. But his analysis is informed by a somewhat naïve belief in the prospect of resolution of conceptual differences through rigorous consideration of their constituent elements. Closer to reality is an understanding that recognizes that, rather than one conceptual approach that will win adherence across the ideological spectrum, there are several tenable positions. At the broadest level, the logic of colonialism may be understood as inherently genocidal in that it necessitated the destruction of ways of life, of civilizations. But a broad concept of genocide can be a blunt instrument. When historians scrutinize actions and intent, significant differences become evident within the one polity, even more so between colonies and nations. For those with interest in the specificity of history there is much promise in comparative studies of New World colonialism to highlight and to further understanding of the distinctive in historical experience.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

RICHARD W. VAUDRY. *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, Series Two, number 25.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 315. \$60.00.

Historical study of religion in Canada has flourished over the past quarter-century, driven by a series of excellent scholarly monographs devoted to Protestant

evangelicalism and Roman Catholicism. However, Anglicanism has remained a relatively underdeveloped current within this new historiographic trajectory. Scholars of Canada's religious past have been reluctant to critically approach the study of Anglicanism for two major reasons. First, existing major treatments of Anglicanism have ineluctably identified it with a "failed" British attempt to transplant a church establishment that underpinned a system of aristocratic, conservative values to its North American colonies following the American Revolution. There is an implicit tendency to view Anglicanism as a major part of an obsolete social order doomed to destruction in the face of the "natural" democracy and religious voluntarism characteristic of the Canadian social environment. Second, the very existence of an institution whose identity was so emphatically "British" offends the nationalist proclivities of most Canadian religious historians, whose attention is fixed on those churches whose anticolonial or "North American" tendencies energized nation-building, both in English Canada and Quebec. At best, within the Canadian religious narrative, the colonial Church of England functions as a convenient foil to the inevitable triumph of religious pluralism, voluntarism, and political democracy.

Richard W. Vaudry's book departs from these hoary scholarly stereotypes. Based on an intensive study of the Diocese of Quebec from the 1790s to the 1860s, framed by the episcopates of Jacob Mountain (1791–1825) and his son George (1837–1863), the book anchors the colonial church within the complex intellectual and cultural developments that occurred in the Atlantic religious world following the American Revolution. Perhaps the most refreshing aspect of this work is its departure from the usual practice of casting Anglicanism as but the religious expression of political conservatism. Indeed, Vaudry makes a persuasive case for seeing transformations in the cultural and religious landscape, and more directly, within the Anglican polity itself, rather than in the political sphere, as determinant of the direction of the colonial church. The author's downplaying of the religio-political element leads to a further alteration in historiographic direction: in contrast to previous studies, this book eschews the older notion that prior to disestablishment in the 1850s, the church was a monolith whose identity was inflexibly dictated by leading individuals like John Strachan or Jacob and George Mountain. Although bishops like the Mountains adhered to a moderate high churchmanship that sought to navigate between the extremes of the ritualism of the Oxford Movement and a rising tide of evangelicalism, the history of colonial Anglicanism, according to Vaudry, was marked by fracturing and fragmentation—both ethnic and theological—rather than unity around conservative principles.

One of the major strengths of this book lies in its elucidation of a complex series of "networks" that both tied the colonial church to its British metropolis and divided and factionalized Anglicanism in Quebec.

Vaudry is particularly acute in his analysis of the intellectual and theological basis of the dominant strand of moderate high churchmanship that characterized the Diocese of Quebec throughout this period, and the nature of the evangelical challenge to the leadership of the Mountains. Lacking control of the episcopal office and powerful church societies such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which recruited a significant proportion of the colonial clergy, Anglican evangelicals were particularly energetic in activating counter-networks based on a vibrant transatlantic print culture and local groups of laity, led by men like Jeffrey Hale, who sought to impose constitutional limits on the power of local bishops. Vaudry's telling of the story of the synodical controversy of 1857–1859, the first overt clash between high church and evangelical groups, is particularly illuminating in terms of both ecclesiastical politics and the grasp of the theological and personal issues that divided the two camps.

In short, Vaudry's work poses a number of challenges to Canadian religious historians. There is an urgent need to question the predominance of the nation-building paradigm within the historiography, as well as to reassess what was once posited as a monolithic "British" identity as a series of overlapping, fragmentary, and frequently conflictual allegiances. Finally, because Anglicanism's cultural authority rested on both print culture and ritual, it provides an effective prism through which to move beyond denominational history to explore the parallel trajectories of Protestantism and Catholicism.

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RICHARD HARRIS. *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900–1960*. (Themes in Canadian History, number 7.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. x, 204. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Caught as I am here between past and present, between history and social science, and between town planning and urban studies, I read this well-written and enjoyable little book with mixed emotions. In part, it was with the pride that comes to someone who recognizes a story about his own experience mixed with the dread that one's experiences are now indeed the stuff of history. In part, it is the comfort that comes to a scholar listening to a familiar story told by an accomplished storyteller mixed with a scholar's skepticism that is only heightened the better the story is told. In part, it is an exasperation with the conventional wisdom and platitudes that too often plague the practice of town planning combined with the uneasy balance in the social sciences between model simplification that allows testable hypotheses and the rich and nuanced accounts that too often do not.

Richard Harris is a well-known historical geographer with interests in social issues and social geogra-

phy and a string of lively and interesting books to his credit. This latest book will leave no one disappointed. At one level, it is an account of the making of the Canadian suburb divided into three periods: an early automobile period that stretches from 1900 to 1929; a hiatus period from 1930 to 1944, during which much new housing policy arose in response to the Great Depression and, later, the need for wartime housing; and a final period from 1945 to 1960 when automobiles had become prevalent. The book describes suburbanization and housing during each of these periods. At another level, the book is a travelogue that revisits classic examples of Canadian suburban design: the early planned suburbs of Uplands in Victoria, Shaughnessy Heights of Vancouver, and Coldbrook Garden City in Saint John, the 1920s grid streets in East Toronto and Edmonton, the curvilinear streets of postwar suburban Lethbridge, Hamilton, and Calgary, and the Park Royal shopping center in West Vancouver.

As its title suggests, this book asks whether increased suburbanization in Canada has meant greater conformity. At first glance, this would seem trivially obvious from at least a couple of viewpoints. After all, much of the population growth in Canada, particularly after 1945, was concentrated in the corporate suburbs that sprang up around the major metropolitan areas. For more and more Canadians, the view from their front door was becoming standardized: homes around them like their own, a standard infrastructure in terms of sidewalks, paved streets, street lighting, and storm sewers, neighbors who looked like themselves, with schools, parks, local shopping, and places of worship not far away. The view inside the home arguably also became increasingly similar: standardized ceiling heights, a window in every principal room, bedrooms and bathrooms off hallways, a closet in every bedroom, standardized heights for kitchen counters, and an attached garage. In these respects, there has been a creeping conformity in residential environments and experiences. However, Harris is quick to point out that in fact there has been much diversity in residential developments: evidence that would seem to undercut the creeping conformity hypothesis. As I read this book I came to appreciate that, although Harris acknowledges such diversity among suburbs, he has a bigger fish to fry. As he concludes, "the deeper conformity of the postwar suburbs was the way that they mandated a high level of consumption, encouraging people to define themselves through what they purchased by acquiring debt" (p. 173).

The conclusion cited above is cast in a passive voice. As I like to say in such cases, it is not clear who is doing what, to whom, and why. Was there some conspiracy here to remake Canada as a debt society? If so, who were the conspirators; what were their motives; what tools did they use to accomplish this objective; how was resistance, if any, manifested? As far as I can see, these questions are not addressed in the book. If the author's intent was to advance a conspiracy argument,

the book would not be compelling. However, I see an alternative (behavioral) interpretation to the author's conformity hypothesis, which is that individuals and families drove themselves into debt in advancement of their own desires. In contrast to the conspiracy theory approach, the behavioral approach can be paraphrased as "I have seen the enemy and it is me." If this is indeed the author's intent, how does one make that argument compelling? One possibility is to think that, in the period from 1900 to 1960, something happened that allowed individuals to drive into debt in ways that had never before been possible. I would argue the importance of two long-term trends here. One was the commodification of labor, by which it was transformed from a cooperative to a paid activity; the consumer could then borrow against the future flow of money into the household. I would imagine that this commodification of labor was largely the result of off-farm migration in the early part of the twentieth century. The second trend is change in the financial system, by which consumers borrow to consume (or possibly to invest as well). In both Canada and America, since at least the Great Depression, federal governments have seen improving access to mortgage lending as important to reducing the costs of homeownership and spreading its benefits to a wider population. From 1945 to 1960 in particular, eased mortgage lending meant that many more households were now able to incur debt. Since 1960, there have been many other changes to financial markets, some induced by policy and some the result of globalization, that have further helped to convert what had been narrowly defined home finance into a broader notion of household finance.

If the author's approach is indeed behavioral, and if my analysis is correct, I think that Harris may be missing something important. The book's concern with creeping conformity in the period from 1900 to somewhere around 1945 might best be linked to the commodification of labor, while the period after 1945 might better be linked to changes in lending practices. Unfortunately, the book does not focus on either of those things. There are only brief discussions of changes in residential finance (pp. 10-11, 119-21, and 133-36). What we get instead, I think, are orderly and at times speculative musings on the outcomes of that process: the dwellings and communities designed, planned, and constructed. Harris does a nice job of this and we come away with a more comprehensive sense of how the suburbs formed. Perhaps this is the jumping off point for his next book. If so, I look forward to reading it.

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PAUL STARR. *The Creation of The Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications*. New York: Basic Books. 2004. Pp. xii, 484. \$27.50.

Paul Starr's book joins a rapidly growing body of new scholarship concerning the role of media, telecommunications, and information over the past four centuries. It examines the development and role of media in North America from the 1600s to 1941. While the author provides comparative discussions relating to the role of media in Great Britain, France, and Canada, the book focuses squarely on the American experience. Starr describes the development of newspapers, books, postal systems, telegraph, telephone, radio, and movies.

Starr argues that the rise of modern media cannot solely be explained by economic or technological developments. He demonstrates that political considerations were often of greater influence, ranging from constitutional provisions to protect freedom of expression and to encourage distribution of newspapers, to creation of a national postal system, to various controls placed on communications and electronic media and films. Starr claims that decisions made about the nature of media in an earlier time continued to influence subsequent patterns of development and use. Like so many other students of American media, however, the author acknowledges the unique path of evolution taken by the United States: "The origins of that path lie in the country's founding as a liberal republic and its response to the peculiar challenges of building a nation on a continental scale" (p. 2). He credits a myriad of political decisions made in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for giving American communications and media a commanding global leadership in the deployment and evolution of communications. These decisions were tied to the requirements of the new state, such as making it possible for newspapers to circulate in the nineteenth century to inform citizens and, late in the twentieth century, deployment of the Internet to facilitate creation of economic opportunities and access to information by the American public.

The book is organized in three parts. The first describes the opening of the public sphere and the development and expansion of early media in America, from 1600 to roughly 1860. This section covers such topics as the effects of the American Revolution, Constitution, post office, and the expansion of information available to Americans. The second reviews the development of technological networks from 1840 to 1930. It is here that Starr describes the emergence and evolution of the telegraph and telephone, and the political decisions that made it possible for these technologies to expand. The final section, covering the years 1865 to 1941, concentrates on the rise of mass media, struggles over First Amendment issues, emergence of movies, and how the American government dealt with radio.

Although the individual stories of how one type of media or communications emerged will not seem like news, by looking at the role of political decisions affecting media, Starr reminds us that technology and economics are not the sole arbitrators of media's

evolution. In addition to being a well-written book, with a solid command of the subject, this publication plays the useful role of putting media and communications into the larger context of major political and cultural developments of the nation. Finally, by providing comparative analyses of the parallel, yet different, paths taken largely by France and Great Britain in using the same media and technologies, he is able to highlight the effects of politics and culture. This book is based largely on secondary material. The end notes contain much additional discussion.

Starr has written an excellent overview of the emergence of American media and communications to the beginning of World War II. Combining the skills of a sociologist and the techniques of a historian, he makes a solid contribution to a growing body of scholarship devoted to the study of information in America.

JAMES W. CORTADA
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JONATHAN LURIE. *Military Justice in America: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces, 1775-1980*. (Modern War Studies.) Rev. ed. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2001. Pp. xiii, 348. \$25.00.

Jonathan Lurie has prepared the seminal history of the development of the United States Court of Military Appeals for the Armed Forces. Pursuant to its constitutional power to "make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval forces," Congress created the Court in 1951 as a component of the consolidated Uniform Code of Military Justice (commonly referred to as the UCMJ). The intent was to create a civilian appellate mechanism to provide oversight and create harmony in the interpretation of military law across all of the branches of the armed forces. The court also serves as a counterbalance to the potential for the erosion of justice within the military as a result of command pressures. The creation of the Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces is the definitive indicator of Congressional desire (on behalf of the American people) to implement core values against the backdrop of civilian standards by molding the practices of American military judges and lawyers around the world rather than allowing an unchecked evolution of practice from the British Articles of War. The establishment of the court culminated the extension of judicial authority over the eclipsing power of unchecked command discretion.

Lurie's meticulous documentation of the history of the court is an invaluable resource for any serious student of our criminal justice system as it has developed within the military context. His portrayal is predicated on a broader view of the role of military courts within our constitutional republic. Congress created military courts-martial as an aspect of the President's Article I authority more than a decade before other federal courts were created, and as such they are properly seen as the first federal judicial power. Indeed, the potential for imposition of criminal

punishment is one of the backbones of military discipline and professionalism that is an essential aspect of the creation of a standing army. The necessary corollary, which Lurie documents with particularity, is that the military justice system must be flexible, adaptable, deployable, and suitable for the reinforcement of military culture. Military professionals serving the republic have developed a distinctive military culture and sense of discipline that is one of the hallmarks of the profession. However, if the application of military justice were ever allowed to degenerate into the raw pursuit of the commander's personal will, the military justice system would undermine the rule of law and betray American values.

Lurie uses the case law of the court to document the manner in which the court has attempted to balance this tension. One of the drawbacks for practicing military attorneys is that the case law described in the book is not as fully developed as one might hope. Nevertheless, Lurie does an admirable job of tracing the exercise of military discipline that has given the United States some of the most notable and historic trials in its history, including that of the Lincoln assassination conspirators and the Billy Mitchell court-martial. In addition, Lurie gives wonderful portrayals of the incidents in political and military life that have brought civilian oversight of the military into conflict with the military commander's perceived prerogatives. For example, the account of the military commissions held in Louisiana after the Civil War is riveting. The account of the Ansell-Crowder disputes over the proper role of the judge advocate in relation to congressional authority and the commander's function is the single best source for understanding this benchmark in the evolutionary path of military justice.

Since 1776, the fault line between the executive branch obligation to defend the American people and the normal criminal functions entrusted by the framers to the Article III federal courts has been an ongoing source of tension and dispute. Lurie's book very nearly disproves Walt Whitman's opinion that "the real war will never get into the books." The detailed historical record documented is enlivened and in large part explained by insightful glimpses of the human conflicts that so often shape the arc of history. These conflicts—between judge advocates and commanders, judges and lawyers, commentators and Congress—have been the real driving force behind the progressive development of a distinctly American brand of military justice. No other federal appellate bench has functioned both in the shadow of the Pentagon's forceful personalities and under the watchful eyes of the congressional oversight committees. This work documents the creation, operation, and maturation of the Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces in a way that provides an essential framework for anyone who desires to understand the modern military justice mechanism.

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VIRGINIA DEJOHN ANDERSON. *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 322. \$37.50.

The story of European imperialism in the Americas has been analyzed politically, economically, and religiously, but ecologically only in recent decades. It turns out that the invaders were successful not so much because they were monarchists or capitalists or Catholics or Protestants but because they were transmitters, sometimes unconsciously, of certain kinds of organisms. Virginia DeJohn Anderson's book is a bushel basket of examples, along with informed analyses of the examples.

Her analyses are based on careful readings of the early histories of the English colonies in New England and the Chesapeake Bay region. These were scenes in the seventeenth century of the arrival of not one set of colonists, she says, but of two, the English and their livestock. Omission of the second makes understanding of the relations between the first and the incumbent humans, the Native Americans or Indians, impossible.

The English, who had lived with domesticated animals for millennia, looked upon them as an essential ingredient of and a signification of Christian civilization. Fully qualified human beings, the newcomers thought, had many kinds of servant animals: cattle, swine, horses, sheep, goats. The Indians of the North American Atlantic coast had only one, the dog. The Europeans initially thought that the Indians could learn to live like proper Englishmen if they adopted European animals, especially the slow and unhysterical cow. The Indians took a long time even to comprehend and accept the concept of domestication, much less to become herdsmen, which caused trouble from the start. Kill a deer for food and everyone is happy. Kill a cow and criminal accusations will follow.

Domesticated animals became not a means of reconciling the indigenes and invaders but a cause of conflict and even of war. The problem was that the English could not live up to their own standards as masters of the barnyard and meadow. There were not enough of the colonists to do so. They let their animals wander and find sustenance in the forests while they themselves cultivated their food crops, raised tobacco and other things for export, and in general established themselves as farmers. In Virginia the English cultivators needed five to ten acres of woods for their cattle to graze in and for their pigs to root in, for every acre planted in tobacco.

North and south, the livestock roved into the interior, many becoming feral and often encroaching on Indian cultivated fields. Livestock became the avant-garde of European settlement. When and where the Indians did adopt livestock, these animals in turn encroached on English fields, and the immigrant farmers blamed the indigenous people. The friction stemming from the literally thousands of disagreements

associated with domesticated animals boiled up into two of the worst conflicts in American colonial history in the 1670s, King Phillip's War in New England and Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia.

Anderson's book is necessary reading for anyone who wants to understand colonial history. She has, in my estimation, read all the relevant original sources, assessed them wisely, and written her opinions in clear and sometimes eloquent prose. The only point on which I would disagree with her is her identification of the 1616 epidemic on the New England coast as smallpox. We can be sure that it was not that because the few Europeans on the scene, who would have been very familiar with the disease, did not recognize it as such. Furthermore, when smallpox did arrive less than a generation later, it does not seem to have spared the older Indians, most all of whom would have been immunized by exposure to the infection *circa* 1616.

But that is a minor point in a book not on epidemiology but on livestock. I recommend this book to all students of American colonial history and especially to those focusing on the sad tale of the relationship of the original with the new settlers.

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APRIL LEE HATFIELD. *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 312. \$39.95.

April Lee Hatfield was intrigued by a simple question: if Peter H. Wood (*Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* [1974]) found that Barbados played a fundamental role in bringing slavery to South Carolina, then why did Edmund S. Morgan (*American Slavery American Freedom* [1975]) not find any substantial external influence in the development of Virginia slavery? Their contrasting interpretations "first made me ask whether intercolonial influences might have shaped Virginia's history, as they did South Carolina's" (p. 230, n. 6). Hatfield answers that Virginia slavery had substantial Barbadian influence. She contends that historians, following Morgan's lead, have overdetermined Bacon's Rebellion, a "local" event, as the causal factor in the formation of racism and slavery in Virginia. Rather slavery and racism developed within the milieu of an intercolonial discourse, especially between Barbados and Virginia. European colonies did not develop in isolation of one another but were part of an ever-changing, widening web of trade and travel in the Atlantic basin. The development of both servitude and slavery in Virginia and Barbados was a departure from English labor relations and "uniquely American" (p. 139).

Hatfield's study is grounded in geographies, "plural," she says, because "there was no one way of understanding the Chesapeake geographically during the seventeenth century" (p. 8). Sea routes, Indian

paths, riverside plantations, soil quality, and political and cultural boundaries all helped to shape Virginia. Farms and plantations hugged the peninsular coastline in the seventeenth century. As producers for export, planters generally were tied directly to the Atlantic world. Mariners moved in and out of Chesapeake, docking at planters' wharves and bringing news from other ports of call. Skirting cultural boundaries, non-conformist missionaries preached to coreligious and traveled time-worn paths to proselytize to Indians. Fugitives traveled these same roads.

At first seventeenth-century Europeans conceived of Virginia as an island surrounded by its estuaries and a sea of Indians. By the last quarter of the century, they began to think of Virginia as part of a continent menaced by hostile Indians. English people's first imaginings of America came from reading Spanish accounts of their own interactions with Indians. The English quickly learned that they had to contend with the Powhatans, who were unlike the Indians that they had read about. They were dependent upon their knowledge of the terrain. They soon coveted Powhatan territory for its farms, which they usurped by mid-century. Nevertheless, the Indians' continental grasp was such that the English conceived of Virginia as an island.

By the end of the century the English began to think of their colonies as a strand of contiguous settlements. This development, too, was reactive to the Indians. With the demise of the coastal Algonquians, including the Powhatans, settlers moved into the piedmont. Without the buffer of the Algonquians the colonists felt the threat of the Iroquois, whose Great War Path ran from Iroquoia through Virginia to the Gulf of Mexico. Frightened that the Iroquois might align themselves with the French, intercolonial elites strategically began to think of themselves continentally for security. Fear of the Indians moved them to develop the Covenant Chain, which tied together the colonies from Maine to Virginia. The English continental elites began to separate themselves from identifying with the colonial Caribbean.

Perhaps Hatfield's most important insight is the regional distinctions that she finds. She contends that the fertile soils of middle peninsula and peninsula allowed for the growth of the highly prized, sweet-scented tobacco. The colonists there maintained the best market for their tobacco and a direct transatlantic trade with England. London's Virginia could count on a steady supply of servants and a market for sweet-scented tobacco. The southside and the eastern shore had less fertile soils and sported Orinoco tobacco. They could only sell their tobacco in the intercolonial market. They developed a more diversified economy and ancillary trades for these markets, including grains, naval stores, livestock (cattle and hogs), and meats, finding buyers in Barbados and other Caribbean markets. The eastern shore settlers, too, developed ancillary trades in livestock and grain. Their markets were New Netherlands and New England. What

emerges from this intercolonial movement of people, ideas, and goods is a "complex but patterned web" (p. 42).

Hatfield offers this book as an example of how to approach colonial history. Historians would be wise to study it carefully.

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JAMES A. SANDOS. *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. (Western Americana Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 251. \$35.00.

In the wake of the controversy over the possible canonization of Junipero Serra, the Franciscan responsible for the founding of the first nine California missions, James A. Sandos reassesses the missionization of California Indians. Refusing to take either a "Christophilic Triumphalist" or a "Christophobic Nihilist" position, as he describes the pro-Franciscan and anti-Franciscan divisions that have marked scholarship over the last century, Sandos suggests a third alternative. He claims that "Indians and Franciscans *together* created mission culture" (p. 184), making irrelevant the question of who were the heroes and villains. Employing what he calls a "theohistoric" method of inquiry, along with ethnohistory, Sandos focuses attention on conversion in an effort to "put Gods, both Indian and Christian, at the core of this fundamentally religious struggle" (p. xviii). To that end, he traces the history of the Franciscan mission attempt to "transform Indians into new Catholic-Spanish people" (p. xviii) while also probing the competing Indian responses.

Much of the narrative revolves around the person and work of Serra, the "first father president" of the mission system and the one who most influenced their shape from 1769 to 1784. Sandos paints the picture of a man of extreme piety who embraced a waning medieval worldview where religion triumphed over the secular, in an era of growing Enlightenment thinking that venerated the secular and sought to free it from the confines of the religious. Furthermore, Serra demanded of his fellow missionaries the strict disciplines of celibacy, hair shirts, and self-flagellation that he practiced, despite the church's movement away from such asceticism. Inspired by the piety of Franciscan founder Francis of Assisi, the Marian devotion of theologian John Duns Scotus, and the mystical life of María de Agreda, Serra believed that he was uniquely commissioned and equipped by God to struggle against Satan for the very souls—and lives—of the California Indians. He fought against church officials, military personnel, and wayward missionaries to instill his utopian missionary vision with all the fiery passion and devotion of the zealot. He remained, nonetheless, an outsider among his Spanish cohorts, who envisioned Indian laborers free of church control. Ultimately, Serra not only failed to realize his dream of

converting many of the California Indians to Christianity, but he was complicit in the near destruction of the very ones he came to save by his refusal to see them as other than children in need of protective oversight and discipline.

Since Franciscans equated conversion with baptism, once baptized, the missionaries assumed moral and material responsibility for the new "converts" to such an extent that they were cautioned to baptize no more than they could clothe and feed at the mission. "Spiritual debt peonage" was less exacting than the labor exacted by the military (p. 178), but Indian failure to live up to Franciscan standards of behavior and expel all Native beliefs was labeled sin against God and summarily punished. The need to pursue frequent "run-aways" only served to reinforce Franciscan belief that the Indians were still children, even after years of service at the mission. California Indians, who did not share the same assumptions about baptism, found ways to subvert their Franciscan overseers, not only by running but also by slowing down the work, inscribing graffiti on church property, continuing their own religious practices covertly, and even carrying out major assaults on both priests and property. Perhaps only ten percent of the mission population, according to Sandos, bought into the Christianity the Franciscans offered, and these were the select few who could sing the songs that fueled the Mass. These became the mission elite whose musical abilities were crucial to celebrating the Mass and so gave them special status in the mission, as well as the means to make the faith more their own. These were the Natives who stayed, even when secularization of the missions allowed them to leave.

Sandos's final assessment of the California missions does not lend strong support to his thesis that the Indians and Franciscans shaped mission life together. Between 1770 and 1830, the death rate at the missions was seventy-four percent, while the overall death rate in California since contact was twenty-one percent (p. 179). This is only mitigated somewhat by his note that the death rate of the 125 Spanish Franciscan missionaries at this time was nearly fifty percent (p. 12) and in the twelve years following the gold rush of 1848 the Indian population declined another eighty percent (p. 183) when gold seekers and settlers waged all-out war on Indians. Despite these statistics, Sandos does provide a provocative and more balanced look at California Indian missionization. He refuses to sanctify or vilify the main characters, Franciscan or Indian, allowing that they operated under opposing worldviews but without ill intent. It seems evident, however, that the bulk of the power lay in the hands of the Franciscans. If Indians had had the power of becoming priests themselves, the story may have ended more favorably for all.

BONNIE SUE LEWIS
University of Dubuque Theological Seminary

KRISTINA BROSS. *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 257. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$21.95.

In this crisply written literary analysis, Kristina Bross sheds new light on the "Eliot tracts" published between the 1640s and 1670s by missionary John Eliot and his supporters to publicize their evangelism of New England Indians. Scholars have taken divergent approaches to these seminal writings, treating them variously as crass propaganda, transparent statements of fact, or jousts between colonists' hegemonic aspirations and Indians' camouflaged resistance. Bross sees the Eliot tracts as all these things and more. Colonists, Englishmen, and Natives jointly produced mission literature by manipulating the idea of the "praying" (or Christian) Indian in response to an emerging Atlantic world.

Bross identifies two watersheds in the Eliot tracts' development: the English civil wars of the 1640s, and King Philip's War of 1675–1676. Her treatment of the first divide is especially original and important. During the 1630s, New England colonists not only ignored their earlier pledge to Christianize Indians but celebrated Natives' devastation by epidemics as God's encouragement for a Puritan Israel in America. Yet when the English civil wars shifted the Puritan front-line from New England to old, Massachusetts elites suddenly rediscovered their commitment to the Indians. Conspicuously, Eliot waited until the mid 1640s to launch his missionary work, but thereafter he and other colonial Puritan leaders trumpeted it as essential to the expansion of Christ's kingdom and the English Atlantic empire. Eliot compared his role among the Natives to the biblical prophet Ezekiel using God's breath to resurrect dry bones. In Bross's telling, the mission restored New England's lifeblood, too.

Bross submits that Eliot's mission accounts became sites of transatlantic politics and colonial encounter. Colonists used the writings to define themselves at home and abroad, critique England, solicit funds, lobby parliament, and rebut charges (stemming from the Antinomian affair) that they could not contain heresy. London's Puritan elites, the tracts' main audience, cited praying Indians in debates about the Natives' descent from ancient Jews and the possibility of their conversion ushering in the millennium. Christian Indians shaped the tracts by forcing Eliot to address their cultural priorities, theological concerns, and their continued exploitation at colonial hands. Bross echoes other scholars in attributing the end of this exchange to the rise of colonial Indian hating during and after King Philip's War. Yet she adds a new twist to this theme by suggesting that captivity narratives, with their casting of Indians as Satan's wolves and colonists as God's flock, replaced missionary tracts as the main literature for depicting praying Indians and their relation to New England colonial identity.

Bross's study would have benefited from a more

comprehensive historiographical discussion, finer qualification of the mission's colonial support, and consideration of post-King Philip's War missionary publications. Bross never weighs her case for the influence of the English civil wars against Richard Cogley's argument that the Massachusetts Indians' 1644 "submission" to Boston inaugurated the mission by convincing leading Puritans that the Natives sought Christianity out of their own accord. Without such treatment, it is difficult to gauge whether events in America or England took precedence in the mission's beginnings. Readers are likely to question whether the Eliot tracts' message was widely shared, for although Bross acknowledges widespread skepticism toward Christian Indians even before King Philip's War, in the next breath she implies that colonists derived common purpose from the mission. Finally, Bross ignores the persistence of New England evangelical work and writings after King Philip's War, when the focus shifted to the longstanding, but previously under-publicized, missions in Plymouth, Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket. The Vineyard's Mayhew family authored missionary tracts well into the eighteenth century. Considering these works might have forced Bross to modify her argument for the impact of King Philip's War, if only somewhat.

These shortcomings aside, Bross's book is essential reading for anyone interested in the Eliot tracts, for no other study places those writings in such a full transatlantic context. Moreover, this book is the strongest example to date that colonial New England cannot be understood in isolation from its Indian missions. Bross's work should restore life to the dry bones debate over New England identity by illustrating the potential for shared histories of colonists and the people they colonized.

DAVID J. SILVERMAN

George Washington University

THOMAS S. KIDD. *The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 212. \$40.00.

Happily, the title of this short book by Thomas S. Kidd identifies its guiding concept, while the subtitle indicates the problem it addresses. The author's thesis is that "the political and military necessities after 1689, the sense of participating in an ongoing war for the fate of Christianity with Catholic foes, and the ways of print allowed elite New Englanders to imagine themselves part of an international Protestant community" (p. 2), which, when combined with the settlement of the Glorious Revolution, "provided the foundation upon which a post-Puritan New English dissenting establishment could be protected" (p. 3). Thus, the argument is explicitly linked to major themes in the New British History and fits well with recent perspectives on transatlantic history during the eighteenth century.

Kidd is obviously on the right track. Interpreting the

religious and intellectual history of provincial New England in isolation is clearly untenable. The approach here is essential. But the question remains whether the work is sufficient as either a description of New England's religious life or its Atlantic context. The argument is clear and the evidence apt, but the work is often repetitive, suggesting that it would have made a superb article rather than a decent book. Nonetheless, it remains worth careful reading.

After a solid introduction that well states the thesis, the book is organized into six thematic chapters in roughly chronological order covering the era, *ca.* 1689–1730. The first stresses Benjamin Colman's role as a transforming mediator between New England's reputed, but exaggerated, parochialism and a more ecumenical posture, aided by his "extensive British network of correspondence and friends, orthodox Calvinism, and latitudinarian ethos" (p. 29). Kidd also tellingly notes that Colman, especially after the Rising of 1715, overtly connected the fate of the Hanoverian Succession to "God's continuing project of reforming state and society" (p. 38). However, there is too little analysis of either the theology or the reforms he advocated within either New England or British contexts.

Chapters two and three, on the Catholic challenge to 1713 and print culture, tie important strands of recent historiography into the synthesis. Almanacs, for instance, reflected shifts in "national identity, international Protestantism, and popular scientific belief" (p. 75). The cycle of imperial wars engulfing Western Europe and the New England frontier certainly encouraged a common front among British Protestants and a conviction that "revivalism," or some form of renewal, was "the only hope for world Protestantism" (p. 71). The next chapter, on Father Rale's War (1722–1725), a devastating conflict in northern New England, is valuable in helping to explain why the zeal for militant international Protestantism did not flag among the region's clerical leadership after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Another current historiographic concern, the role of narratives in forming social identities, is used well here.

An interesting ideological construction, "Imagining a High-Church Jacobite Threat," is the topic of the next chapter. In its course, a four-fold typology of British politico-religious opinion is offered: Dissenters of varying stripe, Whig and low-church Anglicans, Tory high churchmen, and British Catholics, few in number if one omits Ireland, as the author does. Again, this is useful but lacks nuance and requires more explication. In particular, the impact of Anglican moralism on New England thought needs sustained exploration.

Eschatology, centered on the 1727 earthquake and speculations about the conversion of the Jews, is the topic of the last chapter, providing a good contextual foretaste for the Great Awakening (which, of course, remains outside the parameters of this book). The epilogue, after mentioning "a transatlantic concert of

prayer" in 1747, notes the use of "the latest techniques of mass communication media" (p. 173) as a perennial trait of Protestant evangelicalism. The author wisely reiterates doubts that modernity necessarily entails secularism.

In connecting multiple historiographic themes, this book provides a good outline for considering an important problem. However, it omits too many factors to be a satisfactory answer. For instance, New England's leading clerics were, as Francis Bremer, Charles Cohen, and Stephen Foster abundantly demonstrated, international Calvinists from the founding, and Colman was hardly their first influential transatlantic figure. That seventeenth-century tradition and its transformations were crucial to later participation in the evolving British Empire. Another understated factor was the moderate Enlightenment, including social reform movements and Augustan literary and theological genres, which did not so much challenge as confirm the New England elite's role in helping to shape a transatlantic British identity. Clearly, however, this book is a valuable contribution to resolving the puzzle over New England's religious culture after 1689.

RICHARD P. GILDRIE
Austin Peay State University

RICHARD R. BEEMAN. *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 366. \$39.95.

In this work, Richard R. Beeman, one of the most respected scholars of colonial American politics, provides a synthesis of recent scholarship dealing with political behavior in eighteenth-century America. His intent is to provide a sharper understanding of the emergence of democracy in the American colonies. He does not intend to analyze the evolution of ideas about democracy; rather, he wishes to study the political behavior that lay behind the development of those ideas. The principal theme that ties his material together is the belief that there was no single American political culture. Instead, Beeman sees "numerous, diverse political cultures, diffuse and fragmented, often speaking altogether different political languages" (p. 2). Further, he admits that his thinking regarding eighteenth-century politics has been shaped by those scholars working within the republican paradigm. For Beeman, though, republicanism exists as a starting point for testing, rather than endorsing the "power and efficacy of republican rhetoric in shaping the reality of eighteenth-century American political behavior" (p. 4).

Beeman structures his study around an analysis of the manner in which the few governed the many within a republican context. That is, how successful were the few in convincing the many that they were a virtuous, disinterested group serving only the public good? To answer this question he devotes individual chapters to

Virginia, Massachusetts, the manor lords of upstate New York, the merchant planters of South Carolina, the southern backcountry (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina), the northern frontier (Maine), Pennsylvania, and northeastern cities (Philadelphia, Boston, New York). Within each of these areas, he focuses on men he considers to be representative individuals and relates their stories in such a way as to reveal the larger issues facing the areas in which they resided.

For those conversant with eighteenth-century American political development, Beeman tells a familiar story. The ruling elite in Virginia struggled to maintain their status as disinterested and virtuous public servants in the face of increasing contradictions within their own ranks and a growing restiveness among evangelicals and other marginal groups within the colony. In Massachusetts the late colonial years witnessed the stripping away of whatever veneer of deference had remained among the populace. And yet, the state's new constitution revealed that the attachment to traditional republican values died hard. The manor lords of upstate New York, rendered by factionalism resulting from competing family groups, still managed to retain their oligarchic hold on the state, uneasy as that might have been. Only the merchant planters of South Carolina managed to remain "complacent oligarchs" throughout the entire era. A far more individualistic, egalitarian ethos began to emerge in the backcountry of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. While similar attitudes developed in Maine, that region's goal of independence would be reached within far more traditional conceptions of law, order, and property. Pennsylvania, with its proprietary elites, Quakers, Paxton Boys, and divergent ethnic groups, resulted in the most paradoxical combination of popular and oligarchic behavior in all the colonies. This also placed the colony in the forefront of a movement toward a more egalitarian, democratic future. It was the cities of the northeast, however, that formed the vanguard of the movement toward democratic pluralism.

In his concluding—and most original—chapter, Beeman maintains that no matter how diverse the political cultures of American politics, they were all moving in a similar direction: "toward a mode of political discourse and action that gave freer rein and greater legitimacy to those libertarian and popular impulses that would eventually be articulated in the Declaration of Independence" (p. 279). Even though American citizens moved unself-consciously toward some basic convergence of values and aspirations, their colonial pasts still played a large role in shaping their postrevolutionary politics. The character of those colonial politics either tempered or accelerated the essentially democratizing nature of the American Revolution. States like New York, South Carolina, Massachusetts, and Virginia—where the traditional leadership retained relatively secure control throughout the revolution—developed governments that were models of traditional republican values. It was Penn-

sylvania that would point the way most clearly to a democratic American future. Even in the keystone state, with its paradoxical relationship between democracy and oligarchy, this process was uneven and, like the larger American experience, would remain incomplete long into the nineteenth century.

Beeman has given us a beautifully written and clearly reasoned treatment of America's eighteenth-century political experiences. It is what he claims it to be: a synthesis of the best scholarly literature of the past several years. And yet, it is a synthesis that bears the unmistakable imprint of a master historian. In Beeman's hands, familiar material takes on new meaning and provides fresh insights into the eighteenth-century experiences of America's colonial past.

ROBERT E. SHALHOPE
University of Oklahoma

JOHN DEMOS. *Circles and Lines: The Shape of Life in Early America*. (The William E. Massey Sr. Lectures in the History of American Civilization.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 98. \$19.95.

The contrast between cyclical and linear conceptions of time and experience has long fascinated philosophers, scientists, and historians. In this slim volume, based on the 2002 William E. Massey, Sr. Lectures in American Civilization at Harvard University, John Demos casts the American Revolution as the crucial turning point in the triumph of "time's arrow" over "time's cycle."

Demos deftly depicts a seventeenth century in which the cyclical framed both consciousness and experience. So tightly bound were colonial Americans to nature's cycles, in which repetition and stasis were expected, that members of the first generations could not even reckon with their own break from tradition when they migrated across the Atlantic. "Circles" refers to the sun's daily movement, the monthly lunar cycle, and the annual change of seasons: cycles that largely determined the contours of daily experience as well as of the life cycle, as Demos demonstrates with fascinating figures depicting annual cycles related to weddings, conception, births, illness, and death (pp. 12–14). To be sure, colonial life was anything but predictable, what with eclipses, Indian raids, and epidemics. Demos suggests, however, that these events were read as disruptions of cycles rather than turning points, starting points, or, indeed, endings.

The second lecture suggests that during the eighteenth century, and especially through the period of the American Revolution, "changes in experience, changes in behavior, came first, while changes in mentality lagged behind" (p. 45). That is, everyday life itself began to unfold in linear rather than cyclical ways long before Americans gave voice to new ideas about contingency, agency, progress, and decline (all linear modes of thinking). To prove this contention, Demos calls for more research into the "inner life experience among average people who lived through the Revolu-

tionary era" (p. 52), neglecting to mention Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *A Midwife's Tale* (1990) or Mechal Sobel's *Teach Me Dreams: The Search for Self in the Revolutionary Era* (2000). These are surely two of the most thoughtful studies of everyday experience and consciousness written in recent decades, although neither provides evidence of a shift from cyclical to linear time orientations.

It is clear, though, that building a new nation only heightened the preoccupation with newness, itself a linear mode of thinking. Americans tried to forge a "new language," a "new system of law," a new "climate of religious experience," and a "new Culture" (pp. 40–41). At the same time, technological innovations like the railroad and electricity enabled the mastery of nature and its cycles. In making a case for the American fascination with new beginnings, new selves, and new things, which clearly came to the fore after the revolution, Demos underplays the continuing importance of cycles in thought and daily life through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For instance, the centrality of Sunday in nineteenth-century practice and thought points to a world view in which the weekly recurrence of the first day was fundamental to personal, communal, and national well-being. As my study *Holy Day, Holiday: The American Sunday* (2000) shows, Sunday was at the heart of American temporal rhythms, which I see as one sign of the persistence of a cyclical orientation.

Nearly forty years ago the great English social historian E. P. Thompson proposed that in the 1820s and 1830s time discipline replaced task orientation. Demos errs in exactly the same way as did Thompson: in boldly seeking to mark out paradigms related to time consciousness, each forecloses the possibility of multiple temporal senses shaping perceptions of time, and by the same token, of life experience. Historians and sociologists have shown that task and time orientation coexist; historical evidence demonstrates that circles and lines define the lives of most peoples across space and time. To suggest otherwise is to engage in a similar nostalgia that made out the lives of peasants as free from time pressures.

But I do not think this is what Demos intended to do. His lectures muse on the shape of time in the first three centuries of American life as well as in his own life, as he acknowledges in closing. In doing so, Demos ranges widely, drawing on decades of work in colonial, social, and intellectual history. That he passes over much that would amplify his contentions, as well as much that would contradict them, does not diminish the value of this volume for students of history and of life itself.

ALEXIS MCCROSSEN
Southern Methodist University

MICHAEL KAMMEN, *A Time to Every Purpose: The Four Seasons in American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 336. \$39.95.

One of the great pleasures of Michael Kammen's new book are the forty-eight color plates of paintings, vases, prints, and other media representing seasons of the year. The richly reproduced works of art range from Roman mosaics and medieval tapestry to paintings by Jasper Cropsey, Marsden Hartley, Paul Cadmus, and Felix de la Concha and prints by Jennifer Bartlett and Will Barnet. Even before one starts reading, the sumptuous plates are an invitation to reflect on the theme and variations of seasons as they have been handled in different eras. This visual narrative is matched by a remarkable catalog of American writers who over the course of two centuries have written about seasons, both literally as observers of the natural world and figuratively as poets developing metaphors for the cycles of life and creativity. Kammen is at his most eloquent in appreciating the work of writers like Henry David Thoreau or Wallace Stevens, who integrate a powerful sense of the seasonality of nature with an equally profound sense of seasons in human life and work.

A second great pleasure of this book is observing the historian as collector. Occasionally in the text Kammen refers directly to his fifteen or more years seeking out visual and literary works that treat nature's annual cycle, and as is true of any passionate collector, he relishes sharing his discoveries with the reader. One is especially grateful for his introduction to contemporary artists, some of whom he interviewed in order to render their own aspirations in adopting the four seasons as serial motifs. Kammen has also gone into archives and to reviews to explore both artists' intentions and public receptions of works that he describes in thoughtful detail. He relies on commentators—a fulsome William Styron, a perversely terse Jasper Johns—to help him develop his own larger arguments about the changing meaning of the seasonal motif to Americans.

Kammen aims to take the measure of American cultural exceptionalism by looking closely at American artists' and writers' particular handling of what seems a universal—because natural—phenomenon of seasonal change, especially in temperate climates. He deftly surveys classical and Christian conventions of representing cycles of time and nature before highlighting the enormous influence of James Thomson's 1746 pastoral poem, "The Seasons," on three generations of American artists and writers, who first imitated Thomson and then used seasons to mark out a unique national geography, distinguished, for example, by the brilliant colors of a New England autumn. Still, Americans intent on mastering nature matched sentimental renderings of national landscapes in different seasons with close empirical investigation of local ecologies. Once Thoreau organized *Walden* as a scientific as well as moral record of the year's unfolding, American naturalists had the template for their rich and varied studies of seasonal change in all parts of the country, a template that Henry Beston, Hal Borland,

and Edwin Way Teale turned into an enduring popular genre in the twentieth century.

Kammen argues that seasons allowed Americans to express feelings not only about a unique and vast landscape but also about the passage of time and especially the transition from a rural to urban world. The classical motif of seasons had been linked to the labors of cultivation. In an industrial society, to invoke and often to domesticate seasonal rhythms, Kammen suggests, was to look backward to a prior cultural era. That impulse, which he variously calls nostalgic or antimodern, gained resonance as cities materially altered Americans' experience of nature and seasonal change. Not only are contemporary Americans insulated from the weather, they are far more likely to encounter seasons as cycles of holidays rather than of labor. Yet, even as consumer appropriations of holidays have reworked the modern calendar, consumer culture's sentimental depictions of seasons also feed the American impulse to turn to nature for relief from the excesses of a pecuniary civilization. Thus, Thoreau's legacy yielded the seasonal meditations of both Norman Rockwell and Aldo Leopold.

It is hard to keep the terms "nostalgic" and "anti-modern" historical; as analytic tools, they risk becoming as timeless as seasonal cycles themselves and thus lose some of their explanatory power for why American artists and writers have invested so much imaginative energy in contemplating the turns of the year. But Kammen takes a fresh and rewarding tack in the concluding chapters by exploring how recent artists and writers have closed down seasons as a retrospective theme and instead opened them up as a synchronic structure—what Jennifer Bartlett calls "symbolic serialism"—in order to express ideas about subjectivity, sexuality, and creativity. Probing contemporary artists' ambivalent relation to the tradition he has just documented, Kammen himself pays tribute to artists' and ordinary people's expression of nuanced, personal, and local attachments through their observations of the all-encompassing experience of changing seasons.

ELIZABETH BLACKMAR
Columbia University

CAROLINE COX. *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 338. \$37.50.

For the past thirty years, historians have paid considerable attention to the individuals who bore arms for the revolutionary cause. Who were they? Where did they come from? Why did they serve, and what happened to them? All of these questions have been central to broadening our understanding of the War for Independence from the vantage of those who actually fought it, and we now know a great deal more about these men and women than we did a generation ago. Caroline Cox's book continues in this vein but

adds a remarkable new layer of subtlety and detail to the subject.

Cox's new departure comes with her focus on the gulf between officers and rank and file, an aspect of the revolutionary military that she sees as fundamental to understanding early American social relationships and values generally. Her chapters tell the story, detailing the differences in social expectations of officers and men, in their training and living conditions, their punishments, medical treatment, circumstances as prisoners of war, and even funerary arrangements. In all cases, it was clear that patriots routinely saw common soldiers as representatives of the lower social strata from which many, if not most, had enlisted. Officers, by contrast, were military manifestations of the social betters they considered themselves as civilians; they were men with aspirations to gentility, and it was "civilian standards of gentlemanly honor" that the army relied on to "maintain the distinctions of rank under all circumstances" (p. 71). The revolution, as Gordon Wood and others have reminded us powerfully, offered fundamental challenges to many existing social norms; but the army was a relatively insular organization that prized discipline and hierarchy, and such challenges had little place.

Cox presents a convincing case in this regard. The harshest aspects of military discipline, for example—the lash and other frequently brutal physical ordeals—were reserved for enlisted men; gentlemen were rarely flogged as civilians, nor were they whipped or subjected to humiliating punishments as officers. Sick and wounded officers seldom endured the horrors of army hospitals, which many soldiers rightly saw as way stations to death. Rather, commissioned ranks usually had better access to doctors, medicines, and treatment in private homes. Captured officers might be paroled, but common soldiers usually languished in squalid and often fatal prisons. And distinctions in rank persisted even in death. Whenever possible, officers were buried with the honors of war, and even memorialized in some fashion. Personal effects frequently were sent home to families. But a common soldier was much more likely to end up in a common grave, often unmarked, and the lower ranks often had little or nothing to send home anyway—if they had a home. Of course such disparate social values existed in the civilian world as well; but in the army they were actually enforced by custom and even military law. The war may have been waged in the name of liberty and freedom, but hierarchy remained the norm. Indeed, Continental Army officers clearly saw themselves as entitled to the prerogatives of legally established authority and the traditional deference accorded eighteenth-century gentlemen.

As difficult as their lot was, the army's enlisted men generally accepted the recognized order. But as Cox explains, the regulars' forbearance stemmed from more than mere deference (although deference remained a significant element). Officers and men were united in a shared military mission, which all ranks

understood. Relationships between the ranks generally were harmonious as long as commissioned and enlisted personnel accorded a proper respect to one another's rank, no matter how inferior. Officers had their sense of honor, but so did the rank and file. Their ranks were subordinate, but they were an essential part of the army and knew it, and they took umbrage at needless insults that disparaged their value as good soldiers. In fact, disrespect on the part of the officers was one of the likeliest sources of grumbling or truculence in the ranks. That the army held together, according to Cox, was attributable in large measure to the fact the officers and men "knew their rank[s] and acted accordingly" (p. 71).

This is a very good book indeed. Cox's writing is concise and graceful throughout, her organization is admirably clear, and her argument is compelling. Moreover, she has a fine appreciation of the grim irony inherent in the disconnect between the popular myth of a yeoman soldiery and the harsher realities of the social status of the Continental Army regulars. The entire volume represents deep and convincing scholarship, matching genuinely exhaustive original research with a thorough command of the literature of the patriot armed forces. It is no stretch to call this book one of the most compelling and significant works on the revolutionary military to appear in the last decade.

MARK EDWARD LENDER
Kean University

ANDREW S. TREES. *The Founding Fathers and the Politics of Character*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 208. \$29.95.

Political life in the early American republic often looked more like a court without a king than the classical polities idealized by the founders. Instead of the eloquent Cicero or the incorruptible Cato, the new nation's capitol seemed to be populated by courtiers, poseurs, and political operators on par with the capitol of Europe. To the chagrin of the likes of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, by 1800, calumny and the odious spirit of party seemed to have overtaken classical virtue as the defining traits of national politics. In this elegantly composed study, Andrew S. Trees explores four founders' efforts to reconcile this new, contentious political world with their classical ideals. But, following the lead of Joanne Freeman, Trees looks neither to ideology nor to the myriad policy imbroglios of the era to illuminate this dissonant moment in American politics. Instead, he focuses on a single aspect of the founders' premodern system of values: namely the notion of character, by which Trees seems to mean the exterior display of merit. It was to character, Trees argues, that the idealistic founders looked for a way through the cruel, often personal politics of the 1790s.

For Jefferson, Trees suggests in his opening chapter, the chief indicator of character was friendship. It was

the ability to forge and maintain bonds of affection—above political disagreement—that distinguished the virtuous from the not virtuous. Focusing on a single letter to the unpredictable Elbridge Gerry, Trees deftly explores Jefferson's rhetorical strategies for mastering the gentlemanly protocols of friendship. In chapter two, we learn that for Alexander Hamilton, character revealed itself in the defense of one's personal honor, a point made plain in his published response to accusations that he abused his privileges as secretary of the treasury. For Adams, the subject of Trees's third chapter, good character came from a distinct form of virtue, expressed poignantly in his personal diary, as a quest for faultless sincerity and candor, whatever the political cost. And, finally, for James Madison, it was ultimately justice and the peoples' determination to uphold a just constitution that would reflect fundamental character. Madison makes his case for this particular aspect of character most explicitly, Trees believes, in *Federalist* 37.

Trees links these four portraits with several subordinate arguments, some of which are better developed than others. On the point that these varying notions of character reflected their advocates' varying conceptions of American national identity, Trees is fairly convincing. Citing David Waldstreicher, among others, he notes the common use of physiognomic and psychological metaphors to characterize the body politic. A nation of friends would thus be akin to a giant affectionate family; a nation of honorable men would be a nation united by the passionate determination to defend itself, whatever the individual price; a sincere republic would be harmonious, since there would be no way for politicians to conceal interests that deviated from the peoples' interests; and a nation defined by a just constitution would cohere and flourish precisely because law, rather than the petty habits of mortals, would be the foundation of government.

Some might wonder just how far these conceptual distinctions advance our understanding of the post-revolutionary settlement. Trees does, at points, mention a new American "public," but in this study it exists more as specter than political or social fact, much as it did with the older ideological school. Similarly, Trees has much to say about how the founders' varying ideas of character influenced their vision for the nation's future. But he skirts the matter of exactly how, if at all, these ideas shaped the institutions of government. In his discussion of Adams, for instance, he reminds us that Adams saw in the very un-republican popular appetite for arbitrary social rank a means of harnessing the latent good will of the people. But he offers very little about how, if all, such thinking played itself out in the emergence of, say, a new American navy.

Trees's least well-developed theme centers on the familiar notion that, in the eighteenth century, writing was usually as much a public political performance as a personal act. Trees cites several students of early American literature, including Thomas Gustafson and Robert Ferguson, on this point. But his own contribu-

tion here is not clear. We know that writing—even allegedly private writing—was never really private in the eighteenth century, especially for that aspiring, reputation-obsessed class from which the founders came. Trees is aware of this but he says little about how, if at all, this actually shaped what was written. In a world where anything committed to paper could and often did end up in the hands of political enemies or social competitors to devastating effect, the written word took on the awesome weight of an entire reputation. If, as Trees insists, any full understanding of what the founders said depends partly on a better understanding of the media in which they said it, one would expect more about precisely what it meant to produce a personal letter, a personal defense pamphlet, a personal diary, or an anonymous newspaper essay—the four forms on which Trees focuses. All of these forms—very different in their production and use—presumably had both conscious and unconscious effects on their users, yet Trees says very little about this. The omission makes it difficult for him to disguise the fact that he is more interested in the founders themselves than their fraught and often wayward writings.

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TIM MATTHEWSON. *A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American Relations during the Early Republic*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xii, 159. \$64.95.

The last decade has seen a welcome expansion of scholarship on the impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic world. Tim Matthewson's book makes an important contribution to this literature by providing a careful analysis of how political leaders in the United States responded to and sought to shape the course of Caribbean revolution. Organized chronologically through chapters on the Washington, Adams, and Jefferson administrations, the work effectively analyzes the strands of thinking that generated varying and at times sharply contradictory policies.

Matthewson's work draws on state documents produced by presidential administrations and on correspondence of prominent leaders. His treatment of the Washington administration, whose response to events in Saint-Domingue has received little attention, is a welcome addition to the scholarship, and the work's examination of the Adams administration is superb. It provides us with new and important perspectives on the crucial period in the Haitian Revolution, which saw the "first intervention" of the United States in the Caribbean, when Adams provided naval support for Toussaint Louverture in his war against André Rigaud, who controlled the southern part of Saint-Domingue. This action, Matthewson argues, "established a precedent for military intervention in the Caribbean" and was a precursor to the Monroe Doctrine and the declaration of "an American sphere in the Americas" (p. 92). The fact that military support was provided to

Louverture and his army of former slaves, however, usefully highlights the complexities of U.S. attitudes toward the Haitian Revolution. The work's treatment of the better-known policies of the Jefferson administration, and of the central role of Haiti in the transfer of Louisiana, is also insightful.

At some points the treatment of the Caribbean context could be stronger. In his introduction, Matthewson overstates the influence of the ideologies of the American Revolution in Haiti. He claims, for instance, that the unit of free-colored soldiers who fought with the French army at the siege at Savannah included "many future leaders of the Haitian Revolution," and that they brought "the ideology of the American Revolution" to Saint-Domingue (p. 7). In fact, it is not clear exactly which future leaders actually served in Savannah, and their role as a conduit from one revolutionary movement to another is difficult to establish. Matthewson also presents a limited view of the diverse engagements and perspectives of the slave insurgents of Saint-Domingue when he writes that they "seemed less interested in abstract theories of freedom than in their provision grounds or garden plots" (p. 8). Since the work rests on the claim that the Haitian Revolution played a central role in defining politics surrounding slavery in North America during this period, a better presentation of the political history of this revolution would have strengthened the work.

What impact did the Haitian Revolution have on the United States? Matthewson notes that it spoke powerfully both to "defenders and opponents of slavery, providing them with ideological armor that helped them combat or support calls for emancipation" (p. 141). While he acknowledges its role in inspiring U.S. antislavery activity, Matthewson ultimately argues that the major impact of Haiti's revolution was to buttress proslavery ideologies in the United States, as it "legitimated the proslavery orientation of American foreign policy" and "restored racial fears to the center of attention in the Southern United States" (p. 141). Although I am not sure that "racial fears" had ever receded, Matthewson does convincingly show how reports about slave insurrection were mobilized in the political sphere to buttress the proslavery party, which "achieved a strategic ideological victory in their interpretation of the Haitian Revolution and in their proslavery foreign policy" (p. 146). The government's willingness, evident during the Adams administration, to support figures like Louverture in pursuit of broader geopolitical goals ultimately ceded, during the Jefferson administration, to a diplomatic approach to Haiti that was saturated with racism.

But Matthewson's narrative usefully emphasizes that the Haitian Revolution also generated sympathy in the United States, and not only among communities of African descent. Indeed, one of the important contributions of his work is to highlight how complex and contradictory the response to Haiti was, even in the mind of a single figure like Thomas Jefferson, as well as how prescient many U.S. observers were about the

course of the revolution. This book, then, provides a wealth of interesting details and useful interpretations of the choices and reactions of U.S. leaders during a formative period in the history of the Atlantic world.

LAURENT DUBOIS
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SCOTT C. MARTIN, editor. *Cultural Change and the Market Revolution in America, 1789–1860*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. vi, 298. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.

The proposition that a market revolution occurred in the United States during and just after the Jacksonian era is by now well settled in American historical analysis. A good sign of the triumph of this idea is the appearance of essays such as the ones collected here, in which the market revolution forms an understood and generally uncontested backdrop to a variety of cultural changes. Only one or two of the contributors to this interesting volume question the existence of a market revolution, or its extent and timing, and only a few focus on specific economic developments and behaviors. It is, as editor Scott C. Martin explains, the “cultural impact of the market revolution” (p. 7) that is the subject here. This turn toward culture is not in itself notable; what is novel about this volume is that the market revolution is so often invoked and so little described. The clear implication is that there is no longer much need to tell the reader about cash crops and railroad schedules, or of daughters who spun yarn and thread in factories rather than at home. What are the unexplored cultural implications of economic changes we now know well, and seem largely to accept?

Confidence in this moment of historiographic transition is reflected in the substantive foci of these essays, which range across American culture to some of its geographic and ethnic edges—French Canadians in Vermont, Choctaws in the Mississippi Delta—and to movements and productions that would not be the first to come to mind as exemplars of the larger cultural response to the market revolution—black protest thought, exhibitions of exotic animals, and Edwin Forrest’s portrayal of an Indian chief in the play *Metamora* (1859). In these and in other essays on such subjects as Yankee clock and tinware peddlers in the South, Lafayette College’s program of manual labor education, and Timothy Shay Arthur’s temperance novel *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room* (1855), there appears to be no pressing concern to prove the extent and significance of the market revolution by probing the experiences and cultural responses of broad and manifestly representative groups. The important exception is Catherine E. Kelly’s thoughtful analysis of rural and small-town sociability, which, Kelly argues, changed during the last two decades of the antebellum period in response to new, big-city patterns of middle-class social life, incorporating in a selective fashion whatever new ideas and styles could be comfortably accom-

modated to the less formal and smaller-scale social networks of provincial towns. The setting is New England, a large enough zone of analysis, but it is clear that Kelly’s insights can be extended much further, perhaps to most of a rustic American landscape that revolved ever more tightly around emerging urban centers.

Kelly’s essay leaves us in little doubt about our being in touch with main lines of cultural change during the Jacksonian market revolution. But even here the revolution itself is kept at a certain distance. What Kelly examines are not changing market relations but bourgeois patterns of social life that are assumed to have been created anew within the centers of the market revolution. The same can be said of Patrick Rael’s fine discussion of “The Market Revolution and Market Values in Black Protest Thought.” Rael’s essay has several interesting dimensions, but central to it is a sequence of cultural influence that leads from the market revolution to middle-class formation to bourgeois notions of respectability to black leaders’ conceptions of injustice and racial uplift. Again, the market revolution is a step or more removed from its apparent cultural outcomes. Is there no need here for examining the first stage of this sequence? Could “bourgeois” values not have developed within more traditional market economies, and if so, is there so clear a relation between black protest thought, or changes in provincial sociability, and new relations of production and exchange? Others, myself among them, have made more and less detailed connections between the market revolution and bourgeois or middle-class formation, and it is on a body of earlier historical work that the present authors rely to help sustain their arguments. I do not wish to undermine these arguments—far from it!—but I would again point to the manner in which they proceed from assumptions about the market revolution that not so long ago were contested issues.

In one or two of the essays in this volume market relations are closer to hand. In James Taylor Carson’s examination of hunting and cattle-raising among Choctaw Indians, and in Joseph T. Rainer’s delineation of new modes of peddling Yankee clocks and tinware, we find new economic forms that led more directly to cultural consequences. In these essays, indeed, it is the economic details that are more fully spelled out. Carson tells us how new experiences in cattle-raising were accommodated to older Choctaw patterns of ritual, kinship, and community, while Rainer observes forms of resistance to sharp Yankee sales techniques among rural southern customers. But what is most likely to remain with the reader are their explications of changing economic modes in these two very different southern worlds. It should be noted here that to the extent that Carson and Rainer do connect economic change to culture it is to describe accommodation and resistance, not change, in the realms of values and cultural practice. Resistance is part of Kelly’s story, too, and we encounter it again in Jeffrey

A. Mullins's account of the manual education program at Lafayette College. This experiment in combining scientific and professional training with manual work failed, Mullins argues, because it could not bridge the cultural gap between middle and working classes grounded increasingly in the very experiential divide—work with the “head” and work with the “hands”—that Lafayette and several other institutions were trying to eliminate. Students, it turns out, quickly learned to disdain sweaty manual labor on their way to a distinctly nonmanual middle class. And what cultural change shall we find on the French-Canadian “frontier” of northern Vermont? Kevin Thornton does well to contrast frontier ethnicities related to modest geographic expansion from an adjacent cultural region with those resulting from more distant and decisive migrations, but the results he describes seem more conservative than radical in the realms of both market and culture.

The final three essays of this volume concern cultural productions that were sold to readers and paying audiences; hence, they are simultaneously about culture and the marketplace. But do they illuminate a revolution in the market? Brett Mizelle's examination of exotic animal exhibitions, and Martin's close look at Forrest's *Metamora*, fit somewhat uneasily into this volume. Mizelle makes a number of references to an expanding market culture, but many of the exhibitions he describes occurred during and shortly after the 1790s, and it is difficult to see how they changed in structure or in meaning during the Jacksonian era. Martin devotes most of his attention to discounting the connection between the popularity of Forrest's play and support for Jackson's policy of Indian removal, and he seems less interested in discussing possible differences in American theater before and after the market revolution. It is in Graham Warder's essay on Timothy Shay Arthur that we find the most interesting and persuasive observations about the nature and meaning of marketed culture, in this case in the form of the temperance novel. Again, resistance and accommodation are important themes: “The novel was a commodity that denied its own commodification” (p. 238), denouncing the disruptive effects of a market revolution that included an expanding traffic in alcohol, even while contributing to a nationwide revolution in the distribution of books.

The nine essays in this volume vary widely in the manner in which they connect the market revolution to cultural change in Jacksonian America. Some are more persuasive than others, but they are all interesting, and they are all worth reading. The collection as a whole, and the relative youth of its contributing authors, suggest that this is an area of American history from which we can expect much fruitful continuing research.

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CARL OSTROWSKI. *Books, Maps, and Politics: A Cultural History of the Library of Congress, 1783–1861*. (Studies

in Print Culture and the History of the Book.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2004. Pp. x, 261. \$39.95.

In this cultural history of the Library of Congress, Carl Ostrowski demonstrates that the library was “a site where competing visions of the national character met and played out” (p. 2) during the period from independence to the Civil War. He does this largely—although hardly exclusively—through a detailed examination of the collections, and of the debates over those collections, as is reflected in the title. In so doing, he not only illustrates how the Library of Congress reflected Congress's political or cultural concerns, but he sheds light on the development of the library in relation to the nation's print culture and on the development of the Library of Congress and of libraries generally as institutions within a democratic society.

Within a chronological arrangement that starts with proposals for a library to serve the young Congress and moves through the early years of the republic into the Jacksonian era and then into the immediate antebellum period, Ostrowski looks at the collections, the users of the collections, and the physical facilities, and frames them within the discourses of the developing nation. One of the book's great virtues is a clear organization with threads of Ostrowski's arguments drawn from one period of the library's development to another. Although at times the sight of many book titles on a page might tempt one to skip paragraphs, Ostrowski manages to utilize this specific evidence of the interests of Congress and how the purposes of the Library of Congress differed from other libraries of the time, such as Benjamin Franklin's Library Company of Philadelphia, without bogging down. In fact, the contrasts and comparisons with other libraries provide a unique perspective on the knowledge deemed important by those crafting the United States' foundations.

Ostrowski also contextualizes his work in the general print culture of the time, from the attitude toward books as luxury items in the earliest years, to the antipathy to foreign language materials, to a growing interest in a national belles lettres and a growing belief in the role of publishing and libraries in the diffusion of knowledge and creation of an informed citizenry. Users, too, reflect the changes in United States' culture, expanding from Congress alone to other officials and their families, to a grudging tolerance of some of the general—though clearly still elite—populace. Women's “separate sphere” in society was mirrored in the titles apparently selected for women's reading and for their viewing when they visited the Library of Congress on social occasions. The facilities reflected the changes in attitude toward both the library and the national interest in supporting literature and the arts, as the collections were housed in progressively finer—although still restricted—quarters.

But Ostrowski also demonstrates that the collections of the Library of Congress responded directly to the

specific concerns of its users, especially regarding defining, protecting, and expanding the territory of the young nation. From its earliest days Congress demanded maps of the United States and contiguous areas as well as geographies and travelogues. By 1861 the Library of Congress had not only gathered materials in support of Manifest Destiny but had begun to collect material about Central and South American countries, as southerners began to look for areas into which they might expand slavery and as interest in a canal across Central America increased (pp. 192–193).

While Congress's support for a working library slowly increased during the period covered in this study, the legislative appropriations and statutory supports grew even more slowly. Congress was not interested in supporting a national library in the antebellum period; the appointed librarians were hardly knowledgeable bookmen, and the Joint Committee on the Library took varying levels of interest in the collections and role of the library. The ambiguous relationship of the Library of Congress to the newly founded Smithsonian Institution and the slow adoption of a copyright deposit law both demonstrate how conflicted Congress was regarding the role and symbolic status of its library. Considering this slow start, it is remarkable that the Library of Congress today functions as a de facto national library.

Ostrowski grounds his work not only on solid histories of the library but also on the work of print culture and library historians, as well as a huge number of primary sources including accessions lists, borrowers' registers, bills of sale, letters, Congressional documents, and contemporary periodical literature. The notes and index are more than adequate—with one tiny exception: I wished for a footnote for the seldom-used definition of "filibuster" as a noun meaning an individual fomenting insurrection in South America in the mid-nineteenth century. This book is a good example of the ways in which library collections, their users, and their uses can shed light on larger phenomena. When those phenomena include the changing ideologies and attitudes of the shapers of a nation, the study can be significant. This one is.

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MARK DOUGLAS MCGARVIE. *One Nation Under Law: America's Early National Struggles to Separate Church and State*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 256. \$38.00.

Debates about religious disestablishment in America have frequently centered on the meaning of the first amendment's establishment clause: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Thomas Jefferson, for example, insisted that the first amendment had erected a "wall of separation between church and state." Mark Douglas McGarvie agrees that the Constitution constructed a wall, but he finds

its chief masonry in the contracts clause of article one, which was, he suggests, "absolutely crucial to the resolution of the church-state relationship" (p. 12). Moreover, McGarvie ascribes to the Supreme Court's *Dartmouth College* case (1819) the kind of disestablishing force typically reserved for twentieth-century cases proscribing state aid to religious institutions. There, the Court interpreted the contracts clause to invalidate New Hampshire's attempt to seize control of a private, religious college. By characterizing Dartmouth College as a private institution, according to McGarvie, the Court laid the framework for divorcing religious institutions such as churches and schools from their public role as providers of necessary social services. This divorce inexorably led to separation between religious institutions and government. The *Dartmouth College* decision thus "privatized religion" and "secularized and expanded the public realm" (p. 188).

Of course, the history of disestablishment in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is primarily about disestablishment in the states, since no national church ever existed. Moreover, the history of disestablishment in the states during this period has little connection to the Constitution's first amendment, since the latter applied initially only to actions by the federal government. Claims that state governments had deprived citizens of religious liberty or had improperly established religion fell initially under state constitutional provisions relating to religious liberty and disestablishment. But McGarvie suggests a supplemental account of disestablishment in the states during the early republic, which focuses on the transformation of churches from public to private institutions as a result of emerging principles of contract law.

The law of contracts undoubtedly assisted in the restructuring of churches and religious schools from public to private institutions. Accordingly, McGarvie's work is important for detailing this assistance and locating it within a broader historical context. Yet, before religious institutions were privatized, religion itself had to be stripped of at least some of its public character. Important aspects of this privatization of religion occurred during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, before republican contractualism made its presence felt. Protestant pietism privatized religion by locating its essence in the encounter between the individual and God. Lockean liberalism privatized religion by marginalizing the social significance of faith and denying the appropriateness of governmental involvement in the propagation of that faith. McGarvie seems to acknowledge all this, but at times his emphasis on the significance of the contracts clause is stated forcefully enough to conceal a more nuanced historical reality. He acknowledges, for example, that the political decision to remove government support for religion preceded the kind of institutional separation accomplished by the application of contract principles. But it is surely an exaggeration to say, as he does, that the elimination of public support for religion came "comparatively easy" (p. 9).

McGarvie focuses almost exclusively on the separation of church and state as institutions. Thus, he provides little assistance in understanding what separation might have meant, or mean, as to government and religion more broadly construed. Nevertheless, the continued resilience of what Mark DeWolfe Howe termed “de facto establishments of religion” at the level of public symbols and ceremonies probably reinforces McGarvie’s claims about the importance of the law of contracts in disestablishing religious institutions. Contract analysis was especially potent in the context of institutions, less so in the context of ceremonies and symbols and other features of civil religion. We might thus expect institutional separation of church and state, buttressed by the contracts clause, to be more vigorous than symbolic separation of church and state.

It has been extraordinarily difficult for observers of disestablishment in America to avoid isolating one particular actor in this drama as the key to understanding the implications of this momentous historical process. The Supreme Court, in its early forays into the meaning of the first amendment’s establishment clause, assumed that the predominantly secular voice of Jefferson could be trusted to announce the true meaning of this clause. Over the past half century, more scholars have emphasized the voice of Protestant dissent in disestablishment. McGarvie is most convincing when his analysis inspires readers to pay more attention to the voice of the law—contract law in particular—in understanding the historical process of disestablishment. He is less convincing when he privileges this voice above the many others whose ideological polyphony invented religious liberty in America.

TIMOTHY L. HALL

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DAVID PAUL NORD. *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 212. \$35.00.

In a series of articles published in the last ten years, David Paul Nord has expanded an idea he first articulated in 1984 about the evangelical origins of mass media in the United States. He has now assembled his reflections and research in a short, clearly argued book that is a valuable contribution to the study of print media and an illustration of how much scholars owe to the “History of the Book in America” project sponsored by the American Antiquarian Society.

Nord begins his narrative in the early republic with the formation in New England of a large number of Bible, tract, missionary, and Sunday School societies. The Society for Propagating the Gospel led the way in committing these associations to the free distribution of books, Bibles to be sure but also spelling books, psalters, and a variety of devotional and moral pamphlets. Many of these not-for-profit benevolent societies were in fact among the first corporations in Amer-

ica granted state charters to accumulate, manage, and perpetuate capital. They were very much in the vanguard of America’s emergent market economy. That market, however, according to Nord, never quite subverted their purposes, which included the dissemination of values critical of the materialism associated with profit-oriented capitalism.

Developing businesses with the intention of giving away most of the product to people whether they wanted it or not saddled the early benevolent societies with some formidable logistical problems, beyond the issue of how to manage a bottom line when no sales supplanted the costs of manufacture and distribution. Nord recounts their organizational strategies, not all of them successful, and the truly daring way Bible and tract societies laid out large amounts of capital to invest in new print technologies. Stereotypography and steam-powered presses took hold in Bible societies before commercial publishers made similar investments.

To improve efficiency, the not-for-profit societies moved toward centralized production managed by national societies with numerous local auxiliaries for distribution. Two of these, the American Bible Society (1816) and the American Tract Society (1825), chose to locate in New York City, the emerging capital of American commerce. The third, The American Sunday School Union (1824), settled in Philadelphia. In the period from 1829 to 1833, these organizations produced a million Bibles, 15 million tracts, and a half million Sunday school books. They failed in their final aim of putting religious reading material into every home in America. Even with a system of salaried colporteurs, more books found their way into the hands of middle-class urban dwellers than into the hands of America’s barely literate citizens living at scattered fringes of the frontier. To make ends meet, the societies started to sell, with differential pricing, a portion of their output, a move that struck some of their benefactors as a corruption. Still, most of their print material was free and was as ubiquitous a commodity as any other product that circulated in antebellum America.

Nord draws on research done by Alfred Chandler to argue that not-for-profit religious publishers were “early adopters of techniques of internal organization and communication that would become, by the end of the century, standard operating procedures of the modern, large-scale business firm” (p. 91). “A step ahead of commercial corporations,” they substituted the “visible hand” of administration for the invisible hand of Adam Smith. Direct comparisons would be needed to make this point completely convincing. However, Nord is surely correct in saying that religious benevolence was a large-scale enterprise that required clever innovation and adaptation to new forms of product distribution. A more general point emerging from Nord’s book is that many ideas associated with industrial capitalism, the division of labor for example, can in fact be related to the expansive evangelical

moral impulses of antebellum American rather than a simple desire to make money. Christianity restrained the commercial practices of many businessmen who gave generously to sustain the benevolent societies.

Nord does not write extensively about the men who founded and ran these societies. But in his final two chapters, he talks about readers, making sensible interventions in ongoing debates about how prescribed reading techniques affected actual practices of readers and how they understood texts. The reports that colporteurs wrote back to the societies provide Nord with a rich source of evidence about reading practices and tastes. What the reports reveal may not be especially surprising, but they help to bring Nord's own readers into intimate contact with readers of the nineteenth century.

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CLYDE R. FORSBERG, JR. *Equal Rites: The Book of Mormon, Masonry, Gender, and American Culture*. (Religion and American Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 326. \$35.00.

Through manifold parallels, Clyde R. Forsberg, Jr., presents Mormonism as "a revitalization of Masonry" (p. 51) that Joseph Smith, Jr., established as "both a church of Jesus Christ and a Commandery of Knights Templar or Medieval Latter-day Saints" (p. 47). This revisionist, provocative book is myopic and disappointing.

Early America, Europe, and the ancient Middle East have many kinds of parallels to Mormon documents, teachings, and practices—archetypal, biblical, cultural, ecclesiastical, liturgical, magical, philosophical, radical, social, textual, theological—but other academics acknowledge significant exceptions from the particular one(s) they emphasize. Forsberg, however, doggedly affirms the legitimacy of only one parallel: the fraternal.

He dismisses other antecedents, or counters that Freemasonry embraces all. Mormon restatement of the "four-square gospel" (p. 145) is Masonic because the "sacramental life of the Knight Templar, moreover, consists of faith, repentance, baptism, and the 'gift' of the Holy Ghost" (p. 148). Religiously orthodox formulations in the *Book of Mormon* "may not be simple biblical revamping but Masonic recitative based on the Bible" (p. 105), are "more than likely a Masonic variation" (p. 176), "could be a defense of Christian Masonry" (p. 180), or "as easily be seen as Masonic speculation" (p. 195). Even when acknowledging Mormon departures from "Masonic mainstream" or orthodoxy (pp. 173, 129), he regards these as reformist Freemasonry (pp. 127–28) rather than admit their close affinity with non-Masonic antecedents. Inclusion of a woman in a dream of salvation is "shocking" (p. 94) only because Forsberg sees the *Book of Mormon* as "surrogate for Masonic ritual" (p. 86), refusing to regard it as a religious text. "Swedenborgian-like

ideas" are "Masonic subtext" (p. 158), while "classic Jacksonian economic theory [is] in keeping with the general Masonic understanding of such things" (p. 227).

This tautological reductionism undermines Forsberg's analysis, which is sometimes contradictory. "There are also reasons to suspect that" Smith became a Mason before his own Mormon lodge admitted him in 1842 (p. 45), that "in 1820 he was old enough to have been a juvenile Knight Templar" (p. 64), and "perhaps Smith became a Mason in 1830 and kept it a secret" (p. 45), versus Forsberg's discussion (p. 51) of absolute barriers against non-Mormon lodges admitting him as a younger man.

No Mormon text even implies Forsberg's outrageously misogynist "exegetical possibility" that "Lucifer had a radical, Evangelical-feminist agenda, that he spoke on behalf of and thus his [Lucifer's] angels were largely women" (p. 175), who were "lobbyists for an equal rights amendment to the divine rule of heaven" and a "demonic-inspired, Evangelical-feminist-like campaign for equality per se" (p. 182), plus this beyond-exegetical reading of the Mormon text: "Lamanite women are not attractive even to Lamanite men" (p. 215). Those statements amplify his preface's disparaging references to "the feminist quarter" (p. xviii) and "tyranny of the (female moral) majority" (p. xx).

Factual errors abound. Instead of "Josiah Stowell, [being] the farmer who brought him [Smith] up on charges" (p. 52) in 1826, Stowell's nephew made the criminal complaint and Stowell testified in favor of Smith's treasure-digging. Forsberg implies the 1830 *Book of Mormon* is "quoting Grand Master Rob Morris" (p. 73), whose publication first appeared in 1860. Pre-1837 publications cannot be examples of "widespread Victorian belief" (p. 92). Few theologians would agree that "the heavenly flesh theory" of Anabaptists is "equivalent to the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation" (p. 169). Smith died when thirty-eight, not "at just forty" (p. 191), and Charles B. Thompson was never one of "Smith's advisers" (p. 221).

There are strange lapses. Despite referencing an earlier article by Michael W. Homer, Forsberg fails to cite his comparison of Mormonism and Royal Arch Masonry, although that is crucial to Forsberg's book, which cites fifteen other articles from the same periodical in which Homer's article appeared in 1994. Despite frequent comparison of Masonic-Mormon illustrations, there is no illustration of "actual Royal Arch tracing boards" (p. 34) that allegedly have identical Hebrew and Greek phrases that appear on an esoteric parchment possessed by Joseph Smith's family (illustration 11). Although Forsberg cites the source calling Mormons "republican jacks," he gives no citation for this being "a term for Masonic sympathizers" (p. 44). Specific names are missing to illustrate that "the New York record is silent concerning the membership of some of the order's most distinguished

Masons" (p. 45), while sources are absent for Leo Tolstoy's alleged assessment of Mormonism as "a case of lies for a good purpose" (p. 80), and "The orthodox in Masonic circles believed that early Mormonism had a radical feminist agenda" (p. 91).

If one wants to understand a religious tradition as absent any cultural influence except Freemasonry, this is a book to read.

D. MICHAEL QUINN
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KARIN E. GEDGE. *Without Benefit of Clergy: Women and the Pastoral Relationship in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 290. \$49.95.

Lyman Beecher, vigorous defender of Calvinist orthodoxy and patriarch of a large and influential family of reformers, was skittish about his prospects as a young minister-in-training. His parishioners, he feared, would not be as appreciative of his pastoral talents as his peers and future historians would prove to be. "The people watch me as narrowly as a mouse is watched by a cat," he complained in his diary (p. 146). This cat-and-mouse relationship between American pastors and their (largely) female congregants—distant, adversarial, suspended uneasily between the need for mutual cooperation and the fear of unhealthy dependency—neatly captures the essence of Karin E. Gedge's argument. Far from being the "uneasy alliance" first sketched by Ann Douglas some thirty years ago in *The Feminization of American Culture* (1977), an alliance forged by practical necessity (women outnumbered men in the pews in all churches throughout the century) as well as by common interest, the relationship between ministers and the women they served in the nineteenth century was marked by mutual distrust, dislike, and even fear. Examples of ministers who abused their power by emotionally and sexually manipulating the impressionable women in their charge were everywhere on display in nineteenth-century popular culture, but sorting out who was the prey and who the predator in these fraught relationships is no simple matter, as the young Beecher learned to his discomfort.

Deftly weaving her way through the large (and frequently entertaining) literature produced by Americans to describe and critique the pastoral relationship between 1800 and 1880, Gedge divides her analysis into four broad sections: perceptions, images, ideals, and experience. Her decision to move from the imagined to the real lends a certain dynamic to the story, as we progress from stereotypes of clerical venality (ministers as sexual predators, despots both tyrannical and benevolent, effeminate and ineffectual "half-men") to the depressing reality of anxious pastors and the needy women who so frightened them revealed in the private diaries of men and women. Her conclusion is thoroughly discouraging and hard to dispute: alienation, not intimacy, characterized the relationship of Amer-

ican ministers to their most important constituency, and neither party (nor the church) was well served as a consequence. Gedge is an astute and sympathetic reader of popular texts and never condescends to her historical subjects, be they sentimental novelists or craven (my word, not hers) seminarians more interested in promoting their careers than serving their parishioners.

One wonders how the story would read if the sections were reversed, if we began with accounts of individual men and women struggling to find a middle ground between the lofty ideals of a professionalized, vigorously evangelical church and the cold realities of America's newly decentered and commercialized religious market, and moved on to consider the cultural prejudices they were up against. It is hard to imagine the conclusion would be much different, yet the reader's sympathies might subtly shift away from the ignored women in the pews to the clueless pastors in the pulpit. It was the young Beecher, after all, who likened himself to a mouse at the mercy of his relentless parishioners. Both predator and prey, American ministers were in a singularly unenviable position, if Gedge is right, vis-à-vis the women who listened to their sermons, requested their assistance in times of trouble, housed and fed them on their travels, and persuaded husbands and fathers to pay their salaries. The costs to both were certainly high—nervous young men too afraid to do their job fell prey to depression, acute status anxiety, and fears of emasculation, while women felt abandoned if not abused by the very men to whom they entrusted their souls and affections—but Gedge's primary sympathies, perhaps understandably as a feminist scholar interested in redressing a historiographical distortion, lie with the latter. The very title of the book hints at this; it is the women who were "without benefit of clergy" who most interest Gedge.

The work of Douglas has cast a long shadow over the story of nineteenth-century American religion, where the "feminization" of the church has come to be associated with political marginality, cultural suicide, and spiritual debility. A "feminized" church in Douglas's "nightmarish interpretation" (p. 217) cannot help but be an intellectually and culturally impoverished one, hence all the easier to ignore or dismiss, and Gedge is determined that the women who made up that church not suffer the same fate. I do not mean to suggest that there is a polemical or strident edge to Gedge's analysis; far from it. She is at all times a generous and engaging host, writing with admirable command of the theological and personal stakes at risk. To her credit, she never loses sight of the larger cultural war while reckoning the personal casualties inflicted on both sides. And the very accessibility of her prose invites us to share in the struggles and anxieties of the men and women whose stories she recounts; this is a book I will use to introduce my students to the sexual politics of America's regnant Protestant culture in the nineteenth century. If they come away more drawn to the women who were promised so much yet

received so little from the architects of this culture than to the all-too-human men who failed them, I will not be unduly bothered. Beecher, after all, hardly deserves our pity, even if his youthful fear of being devoured by his rapacious parishioners speaks to the very real distress shared by so many of his less successful colleagues. America's ministers continued to enjoy the "benefit of clergy" after disestablishment, even if their path to respectability and influence was bumpier than they would have wished.

SUSAN JUSTER
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STEVEN CONN. *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 276. \$35.00.

In this scrupulous and imaginative study, Steven Conn examines nineteenth-century American intellectual preoccupations with Native Americans. The century gave rise, Conn argues, to voluminous writing sweeping across the fields of art and photography, history, ethnology, linguistics, anthropology, archaeology, natural science, and pseudo-sciences of various kinds. This constant, if not always fruitful, inquiry was driven by a quest to understand who Native Americans were, why they lived as they did, and, often, what defined their relationship to history. Ironically, and tragically, even as amateurs and experts pondered such weighty questions, the nation pursued policies and military campaigns that provided some definitive answers to the last question, at least. There is little evidence in this account that the Indian removal generated an equal degree of enthusiasm among intellectuals to prevent the real, as opposed to putative or cultural, extinction of tribes in the United States. On the contrary, the scholarship generated often served to rationalize if not advance the goals of conquest and annihilation.

The varied studies Conn analyzes merit examination mostly for what they reveal about the world views of the nineteenth-century Americans who produced them. As Conn observes, "writings about Native Americans in the nineteenth century traversed the full spectrum from the serious and learned, to the silly and laughable" (p. 7). The ends of the spectrum are not always entirely distinguishable, however, as Conn details the earnestness with which nineteenth-century intellectuals pursued a range of theories and ideas long since discarded by more contemporary scholarship.

In a fascinating chapter on archaeology, for instance, Conn tells the story of the "greatest pursuit of nineteenth-century American archaeology: the hunt for the Mound Builders" (p. 120). Convinced that mounds located in the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys were built by a single people unrelated to the region's contemporary Indians, antebellum archaeologists initially advanced explanations rooted in biblical and classical texts. Such interpretations mirrored pre-

vailing methods for understanding the course of human history and attracted much popular interest in the archaeologists' research.

Excavation of Indian sites and antiquities, Conn argues, also joined the imperatives of American archaeology to the promotion of national pride as writers catalogued America's prehistory. But rather than promoting an appreciation of native peoples, many of these studies took pains to emphasize the distance between the extinct race of mound builders and the living tribes still visible in the mid-nineteenth century. The latter were "backward, savage" people incapable of such mysterious and extraordinary cultural feats (p. 130). In time, these historically based, if flawed, notions gave way to an archaeology more deeply rooted in anthropological modes of understanding. During the late nineteenth century, "postwar scientific archaeologists succeeded in slaying the Mound Builders" (p. 135). By then, much of the public had lost interest in the question as the "Indian problem" itself reached its sorry resolution.

Conn finds a similar evolution of thought and disciplinary culture in the other fields of inquiry he surveys. For in the century-long conversation about Native Americans, Conn argues, intellectuals gradually came to discard explanations based in religion and classical history in favor of secular and scientific methods and claims. Extraordinarily detailed and painstaking studies of Indian languages, for example, were viewed as pathways not only for missionaries to convert Indians but also as ways of enriching understanding of human history. By century's end, however, anthropology had absorbed the study of Indian languages as a component of methodology without preserving deeper ties to historical inquiry. "What had once been seen as the key to understanding Indian history," Conn writes, "was now used primarily to create a system to classify Indian groups" (p. 9).

By the 1890s, history itself had made of Native Americans little more than a "shadow," a group of people with a past, yes, but not a history joined to the central narratives that dominated the study of United States history. The romantic historians could not easily integrate Native Americans into their highly stylized and optimistic renditions of the nation's founding and progress as a democratic society. Instead, Native Americans were relegated to a "pre-historic" past that antedated European settlement of North America and the chronological parameters history itself imposed. According to Conn, scientific historians of the late nineteenth century not only failed to correct such distortions; they ceased paying much attention to Native Americans at all. Indeed, despite all the additions now made to the historical record and all the attention shown to native peoples by contemporary scholars, survey courses and textbooks still routinely begin with the European discovery of North America. As Conn concludes, "in America 1492 still stands as a historical rupture so complete and total that for the most part all that came before, and much of Native

history that happened after, stands outside standard historical narratives" (p. 228). One cannot be encouraged by the story Conn tells of scholarly predecessors that the world of letters and ideas will inevitably correct such distortions in years to come. This valuable book helps us understand why that is so.

ELLEN FITZPATRICK

University of New Hampshire

MICHAEL SAPPOL. *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 430. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Michael Sappol's "subject is the anatomical acquisition, dissection, and representation of bodies," presented in "a series of interlinked narratives and interpretations about anatomy, death, and the body" (p. 3). Had Sappol focused only on his effort to "recast" the history of American medicine and medical education in the nineteenth century as "an anatomical narrative" (p. 48), the story would have attracted a limited audience. But he sets himself several wider goals, including showing how "the anatomical body became our body" (p. 1) and how the study of anatomy contributed to "the making of American class identity and the modern self" (p. 2). The latter effort is not entirely persuasive.

The author has delved deeply into various records to demonstrate the increasingly important role anatomy played in medical education. As medicine shifted from theory to empirical knowledge in the nineteenth century, giving doctors the cachet of science to bolster their status, anatomy was the first tool they had. In the second half of the century, increased use of the microscope and the germ theory added to the scientific aura of medicine but reduced the importance of anatomy to the profession. One result was the popularization of anatomy, begun by the doctors themselves, but eventually taken over by businessmen who ran museums of anatomy, often full of curiosities and freaks of nature, that were popular after the Civil War.

In seeking to understand the motives of the doctors and to place anatomy in the forefront of nineteenth-century cultural history, Sappol claims that scientific knowledge of the body became part of the search for "bourgeois identity" and a tool for the creation of the "bourgeois self." Curiously, these terms are never clearly defined, and they are not included in the index, despite their recurring importance. Postmodern sensibilities for such things as "performance," "discourse," and "hegemony" are duly noted, and "cultural politics" and "poetics" are discussed in the framework of contested values. It is possible to agree with Sappol that anatomy was "linked to the creation of a distinctively bourgeois social order and culture" (p. 11), but to question not only the strength of that link but also the flow of the casual connection. Perhaps anatomy was useful as a metaphor and tool for those already engaged in asserting their cultural dominance and

desire to reform, and was not quite so much the driving force.

The first half of the book focuses on anatomy in medical education. Chapter one discusses the roots from which the new anatomized body emerged and reflects on how new funeral customs meant bodies should be treated with dignity, not dissected. The second chapter is devoted to the cooperative efforts of medical school professors, their students, and patients to make anatomy the centerpiece of scientific medicine and a claim to respectability. Dissection as an act of ritual and performance is the concern of the third chapter, in which the ability to control one's nerves to dissect is seen as an initiation rite for new doctors, as transgressive behavior created fraternal bonding. Chapter four explores the dilemma of supplying more bodies to expanding medical schools that increasingly emphasized dissection. A "traffic of dead bodies" emerged to supply cadavers, with few questions asked. Eventually doctors prevailed upon state legislatures to permit unclaimed bodies in prisons and poor houses to serve medical needs. The familiar story of alternative medical enterprises in the nineteenth century is addressed in chapter five, where Sappol shows how even the critics of regular medicine soon adopted anatomy as part of their training and rhetoric.

The place of anatomy in popular culture moves to the foreground in the second half of the book. Chapter six examines how reform movements made use of the vocabulary of anatomy to pursue various goals. The body as house became a useful metaphor, permitting upkeep, but also disassociating the body and spirit, making dissection less of an intrusion of the self. The seventh and eighth chapters focus on three authors who found the new vocabulary useful in their fiction. But this seems a small foundation for the interpretation erected on it. The final chapter explores anatomy museums and their popular appeal. Here, as elsewhere, the story is essentially New York City, or at most the Boston-Philadelphia corridor. Does the interpretation hold for the West or South? Given his attention to how race and class exposed certain Americans to the anatomists' scalpel, Sappol might have examined what happened in the South. Northern doctors assumed African-American bodies could be used to teach the anatomy of white bodies. Did the same hold true in the South?

Certainly medical historians will want to read this book. Cultural historians may also find it worthwhile, although the claims regarding the role of anatomy in the fashioning of identity and self are, at least to this reader, less well established.

ROBERT V. WELLS
Union College

ANTHONY CAVENDER. *Folk Medicine in Southern Appalachia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 266. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

A prominent theme of scholarship in Appalachian Studies over the past twenty-five years has been to argue that while Appalachian culture has many strong elements that link it to the region's past in ways that have perhaps disappeared from much of the rest of America, that culture itself is not a unique way of life that is completely unknown in other places. Scholars who write about Appalachia have been finding increasing amounts of evidence to disprove the well-known adage that Appalachia is "in but not of America." In Anthony Cavender's new book on southern Appalachian folk medicine, he puts himself squarely in the middle of this current interpretation of the mountain South's culture when he writes in his preface that "Southern Appalachian folk medicine is best understood within the context of Euro-American folk medicine." In fact, he asserts that "there never was nor is there now a variety of folk medicine unique to Southern Appalachia" (p. xiii).

Throughout the study, Cavender provides ample evidence of the place that folk medicine has played in the lives of Appalachian people of every social stratum. While the author provides examples of folk medical beliefs and practices in southern Appalachia that have persisted from the late eighteenth century to the present, he is most concerned with exploring and explaining the many ways that folk medical beliefs in Appalachia changed and evolved over time and "mirrored the changing health care environment of America" (p. xiv). Because of this interaction with events and developments in health care in and outside the mountains, Cavender can argue, like most other contemporary Appalachian scholars, that in the field of folk medicine and the healing arts, "Southern Appalachia was not shut off from the rest of America at all; to the contrary it was very much part of it" (p. xiv).

Cavender begins his study of Appalachian folk medicine with a brief history of folk medicine scholarship in the region with an emphasis on the folk medical beliefs and practices in the mountains from the late nineteenth century to World War II. In this introduction the author connects the interest in folk medicine that arose in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries among outsiders to a similar interest that emerged in Appalachian folk music, crafts, and cultural preservation in general. Cavender sees folk medicine and the various home remedies that were a major part of it as evidence of the resiliency and stamina of Appalachian people. While, according to the author, health conditions in southern Appalachia in the late nineteenth century were deplorable, they were not much different from those in the rest of America. "Living in an era when the cause of many diseases was unknown and medical resources in some areas were scarce or nonexistent, Southern Appalachians did all they could to adapt and survive" (p. 29). For most people in southern Appalachia well into the twentieth century this meant the widespread and persistent use of folk medicine.

The sheer quantity of information the author presents in this short volume is, in places, rather daunting. For example, in an early and very interesting chapter, Cavender explores both the Appalachian belief system about the fundamental causes and treatments of illness and the historical origins of that belief system. He seems to want to cover nearly every conceivable ailment and illness that might have afflicted anyone living in Appalachia during the last one hundred to one hundred and fifty years. The heart of the study consists of two chapters in which the author goes through an encyclopedic list of the natural materials available to people in Appalachia as medicines and how these "folk materia medica" were applied to various conditions and illnesses. In his chapter on folk treatments he covers botanicals, animal substances, commercial medicines, ailments of the respiratory system, the gastrointestinal and excretory systems, eye and dental care, the nervous system, and skin disorders, among others. Lengthy sections are given over to discussions of the treatment of illnesses and diseases of children and women.

The book concludes with two chapters that investigate Appalachian folk medicine in the recent past and present. First Cavender looks at the way folk medicine has endured into the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries by scrutinizing the lives of several mountain folk healers, including the rather well-known purveyor of herbs, Clarence "Catfish" Grey of West Virginia. In the book's concluding chapter, the author reviews recent cross-disciplinary research in his field and concludes that the persistence into the present day of folk medical practices and beliefs in Appalachia causes grave concern among the region's professional medical caregivers, given the significant improvements in the quality and availability of modern medical practices and services.

Cavender's conclusions are useful. Among the generalizations he asserts are that folk medical beliefs and practices are shared by people in Appalachia in all walks of life and from all income levels. Other conclusions are that "the knowledge and use of folk medicine among Southern Appalachians has diminished over time" (p. 185) and that many beliefs will certainly disappear completely soon. Cavender's book informs the reader that religion does not limit health care delivery in Appalachia and that southern Appalachian people are witness to a sort of medical pluralism that encompasses much more than just folk beliefs and modern medicine.

RICHARD A. STRAW
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RICHARD A. STRAW and H. TYLER BLETHEN, editors.
High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place.
Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004.
Pp. vi, 240. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$20.00.

In his introduction to this much-needed and important book, Richard A. Straw, co-editor with H. Tyler

Blethen, tells what happened when, in 1970, he suggested to a professor the idea of teaching a course in Appalachian history. Such an undertaking would present a problem, the professor said, "because Appalachia has no history." So some progress has been made, and today we can say, yes, there is an Appalachian history. For overwhelming evidence I refer to these splendid essays by distinguished scholars, not only of history but of several other disciplines as well. Approximately half of the fourteen contributions to this highly readable text deal with historical subjects from Native Americans to modernization, while the remaining ones are concerned with cultural themes such as folk life, language, literature, religion, and stereotypes.

In his celebrated book, *The Hero: a Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* (1936), Lord Raglan reminds us that there are two types of truth, historic and dramatic or mythical. So, wisely, do the editors of this text.

Blethen's essay on "Pioneer Settlement" identifies the theme of the book and the challenge to scholarship throughout the region. Much discussion, he says, "has revolved around the notion of 'Appalachian exceptionalism' whether the region developed a unique culture that sharply distinguishes it from the rest of America. Recent scholarship argues that it did not" (p. 25). For example, Blethen says that "Appalachian farming households produced mainly for their own consumption, but contrary to stereotype few were completely self sufficient" (p. 22). The phrase "contrary to stereotype" could have served as a title for the text. If there is what one might call "a mother of all myths of Appalachia," it is that of cultural isolation, especially before the Civil War. In essay after essay, regardless of the subject under investigation, that myth is confronted by considerable evidence to the contrary.

There is not time nor space to identify every myth that is challenged in this text, but John C. Inscoe suggests the implication for a reassessment of our culture when he says that "Census figures alone refute misconceptions of the racial purity of the southern highlands. Slavery had infiltrated almost every Appalachian county by the mid-nineteenth century, although it did so more sporadically and much more sparsely than was true for the rest of the South" (p. 34).

It now appears that Appalachia might be a bigger player on the national stage than any of the flatter territory that surrounds it, owing in large measure to the remarkable group of settlers that in large numbers began coming unto these hills back in the eighteenth century, the Scots-Irish, not the only group of immigrants, as Blethen and others show, but an influential one. Considering both the complex history of Appalachia as well as the current political and cultural scene in the region and nation, there is every reason to believe that a course on Appalachian history could well be the hottest on campus, north or south, and the text

for that course could be this book. As Herman Melville said, "America begins at the Alleghenies."

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East Tennessee State University

VICTOR GREENE. *A Singing Ambivalence: American Immigrants between Old World and New, 1830-1930*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2004. Pp. xxvii, 215. \$39.00.

On one level, Victor Greene's book attempts to cover a vast terrain: the song lyrics of multiple ethnic groups who immigrated to the United States in the hundred years from 1830 to 1930. On another level, it is a very focused work, looking for evidence of an ambivalence about the emigrant experience that transcends the identity of any individual ethnic group. Greene seeks to uncover the emotions felt by individual immigrants but shared among the various groups as well, revealed through the texts of the songs they sang. He succeeds admirably in this task.

The introduction to this work, although less than thirteen pages in length, is an invaluable survey of the scholarly literature on song and ethnicity. This is an essay in which the footnotes are as important as the text itself, for they lead the reader through a wide range of anthropological, ethnomusicological, and other multidisciplinary studies related to the task at hand. The author provides a wide spectrum of views, so much so that the reader may be tempted to begin making a personal reading list of titles taken from these footnotes.

The introduction is followed by eight chapters looking at ten immigrant groups: the Irish, Germans, Scandinavians and Finns, Eastern European Jews, Italians, Poles and Hungarians, and finally, among non-European immigrants, Chinese and Mexicans. Each of these short chapters, almost all of them consisting of fewer than twenty pages, takes a brief look at the musical repertoires associated with each ethnic group. One of the difficulties in trying to assess a past musical culture, especially before the advent of recorded sound, is the evidence itself. How does one determine which of the hundreds of songs were truly a part of the active repertory of a particular group? Moreover, how does one determine the way in which a particular individual or group interpreted the song or understood its meaning? Like a cookbook with hundreds of recipes, the vast majority of which the owner has never attempted to make, so a published collection of songs does not mean that any one song was ever sung by a significant number of people. A possible solution to this problem is the one Greene employs. He covers a tremendous range of materials from different ethnicities, geographies, and historical periods and looks for those sentiments that seem to cross all of these differences. Greene finds ample evidence of a deep ambivalence in the immigrant experience of

all ten groups, what he calls "the uncomfortable anxiety over the emigrant experience" (p. 113).

The danger of covering such a vast amount of territory is that one can easily misstep. For example, in the chapter on the Irish Greene uses the song "The Emigrant's Farewell" as an example of an Irish song (pp. 9–10). Actually, the song under discussion is a popular song from 1843, "The Lament of the Irish Emigrant," with words by Mrs. Price Blackwood and music by William Dempster, neither of whom were Irish or Irish immigrants. The song he quotes in the final chapter, "To the West, to the West," was again a popular song from the stage entertainment "The Emigrant's Progress, or, Life in the Far West," by the Englishmen Henry Russell and Charles Mackay (p. 155). These are small details, but they point to the one element that discomforts this reader: the lack of distinction among a variety of forms such as native songs, popular songs, and professional entertainment. To what extent do commercial creations reflect an immigrant group's feelings and emotions and to what extent do they create them? Written accounts of musical activity can help situate the place of music within a community. One such example that bolsters Greene's argument is a story of Irish-American troops during the Civil War. At night with Union troops encamped on the north shore of the Rappahannock River, and the Confederates on the southern, a song began and was quickly taken up by both armies: "Deep in Canadian woods we've met, from one bright island flown; Great is the land we tread, but yet our hearts are with our own. And ere we leave this shanty small, while fades the parting day, We'll toast old Ireland, dear old Ireland! Ireland, boys, hurrah!" Such stories would add a vivid sense of actual musical activity within an immigrant group.

With its thorough documentation and complete citations, this book will undoubtedly serve as a springboard for further and more detailed studies of the emigrant experience as manifested in song lyrics. But it is precisely because Greene surveys each group in broad strokes that we come to see the commonalities among people of different backgrounds and generations. Greene's work is a significant addition to the scholarly study of immigrant musical life and its significance for historians and social scientists.

ROBERT R. GRIMES
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JOSHUA D. ROTHMAN. *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 341. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Joshua D. Rothman's provocative analysis of interracial sex and families in Virginia adds many layers of nuance and detail to the study of race and sex in the South. In six thematic chapters, Rothman demonstrates that in pre-Civil War Virginia, as in other places and earlier periods, whites and blacks had sex

with each other far more often, in more varied contexts, and with more variable outcomes than a strict reading of southern whites' supposed gender, race, or sexual beliefs would suggest was possible. Rothman also argues that sexual encounters across the color line might contravene conventional (elite) white morality—and the law—at one level and yet still also have their own "ethical norms" (p. 50). Respecting or violating those norms could make the difference between toleration and harassment, "common knowledge" and "public knowledge," prosecution and conviction, a sentence and its execution, at least until the 1850s, when white Virginia began to draw stricter lines and to police them more vigorously (p. 16).

Looking first at Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings, Rothman argues that white Virginia took interracial sex more or less as a given in a biracial society and established norms for dealing with this conventionally unethical and even illegal behavior. If sufficiently discreet, a white man in a long-term interracial affair could avoid falling afoul of laws against fornication and public opinion. The second chapter explores a similar theme in a lower stratum of Virginia society, with the intriguing case of Nancy West and David Isaacs, a free woman of color and a white Jewish man, who had several children together. Merely crossing the color line did not provoke a campaign to stop or punish them; rather, it took a series of property transfers and cohabitation to provoke legal charges of fornication, interracial marriage, or, paradoxically, both. As subsequent chapters show, while interracial socializing and prostitution in Richmond occasioned considerable hand-wringing, the city made little comprehensive effort to shut down its night life and sex trade until the 1840s and 1850s. Nor was interracial sex so repugnant to whites as to be automatic or instant grounds for divorce. Instead, many spouses continued to try to make the best of their bad marriages for months or even years—or so their eventual divorce petitions claimed. Interracial adultery did, however, improve the chances of a successful petition, especially for men. Even where violent crime across the color line was concerned, white Virginians' reactions involved many contingencies. Blacks accused of killing whites faced near-certain conviction, but their death sentences were sometimes commuted to transportation following white petitions for mercy. Gender, sex, and class played a significant role in whether and how whites acknowledged mitigating circumstances. A black man who killed a white man for raping his wife rarely gained much sympathy, even though white men's honor might have prompted them to violence in similar circumstances. But whites might seek clemency for a slave woman who killed her rapist-owner if there was some additional circumstance, like incest.

The final chapter explores how Virginians decided "whether someone was white or black" (p. 205). Looking back to the colonial period and forward to the postwar one-drop rule, it explores ancestry, appearance, and social reputation in defining the color line

or, more often, failing to do so. Virginians acknowledged many phenotypical differences among the nominally black or mulatto, but they disagreed about whether visual common sense could in fact distinguish a white person. Social reputation could be equally unreliable. White Virginians could accept that some people in their midst were racially indeterminate, and when they were forced to resolve an ambiguity, they did not always agree. Indeed, given the ways in which Virginians interacted sexually, it stands to reason that they would not agree on who was black or white, let alone whether those categories could encompass the entire population.

On the whole, this is an intriguing and impressive book. It may attract a wider readership than many monographs because of the topic and the relegation of much historiographic debate to the endnotes. This does not mean that Rothman is interpretively timid—far from it. However, he does not engage the burgeoning scholarship on colonial sexuality, for example, in the text proper. Similarly, we get no ringing claims about how his findings reshape old questions about antebellum black communities' definition of family or assessment of black women's sexuality. One reason for this seeming omission may be that this book is more about whites than blacks: even though black men and women appear in plenty and vividly, whites seem to have had the last say in terms of how the color line was drawn, policed, enforced, flouted, and punished. At one level, this reflects the undeniable truths of power in Old Virginia and is central to the overall argument about how power gave whites the luxury of choice in terms of when and how to enforce the color line. And yet, Rothman's data surely gave him opportunities to speculate more fully how the rest of Virginia defined race, sex, family, and the "ethical norms" that governed them (p. 50).

KIRSTEN E. WOOD
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JONATHAN H. EARLE. *Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil, 1824–1854*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 282. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Jonathan H. Earle's book traces the ideological contributions of radical Jacksonians to the political movement against slavery in the antebellum United States. After starting with a chapter on the origins of free soil ideas in the 1830s, Earle details the emergence in the 1840s of Democratic Party antislavery thought in a series of chapters focused on, successively, New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The book closes with a chapter on the 1848 election, and another covering the years between 1848 and the start of the Republican Party in 1854.

Earle's study argues two interrelated but distinct ideas. First, he writes that radical northern Democrats in the 1830s fashioned ideas that later became indispensable parts of Republican Party ideology. Second,

this book enters into a larger historiographic discussion of the Jacksonians. While recognizing that Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s interpretation needs revision, Earle argues that antislavery activism in the party of Andrew Jackson forces a reassessment of the current tendency to make "white supremacy and proslavery the underpinnings of Jacksonian political thought" (p. 5).

Earle is largely persuasive in his efforts to find many of antislavery's ideological roots in Jackson's party. Starting with three "dissident Democrats" (p. 17) in the 1830s, Earle rediscovers how William Leggett, George Henry Evans, and Thomas Morris created ideas on which Republicans later capitalized. Leggett applied "Jacksonian equal rights doctrine to blacks" (p. 24). Evans's Jacksonian dislike of the "Land-Monopoly" became the "Free Soil" of Republican slogans and eventually the Homestead Act. Ohio Democrat Morris was the first senator to denounce the slave power and its evil influences. These examples show, Earle notes, that antislavery has ideological roots in social movements other than the Second Great Awakening. Jacksonian labor radicals and even some mainstream Democrats made the transition from opposing land monopolies, corporations, and activist governments that benefited one group at the expense of others to fearing slavery and its aristocratic tendencies. Earle's book serves as a valuable reminder that evangelicals should not enjoy all the credit for the antislavery movement.

Nor, according to Earle, should the market revolution be seen as the source for all antislavery activity. Historians, myself included, have tended to talk about antislavery politics as something that could only happen if a railroad, canal, or merchant capitalist came through a region first. In his study of antislavery Democrats in five northern states, Earle argues that hard money, antimonopoly Democrats in economic backwaters became some of the earliest and most determined constituents in antislavery politics. Calling these regions the "passed-over districts," Earle locates a new constituency for antislavery and explains how David Wilmot, John Hale, Preston King, and others brought antislavery voices to Congress from remote, economically isolated areas. While usually persuasive, the inclusion of Herkimer County, New York, in the "passed-over" category seems like a stretch since it sat astride the Erie canal. In that case, an analysis that compared voting in towns on the canal with villages in the county's Adirondack Mountains would have been welcome.

Earle's book is less successful in its attempts to present the Democratic Party as anything less than riddled with proslavery (and racist) sentiment. While Earle has uncovered many antislavery Jacksonians, he also shows them battling constantly with their party's leadership over slavery. In New Hampshire, antislavery radical John Hale debated fellow Democrat Franklin Pierce over the issue of Texas annexation. While no one can doubt Hale's Jacksonian background or his antislavery beliefs, it was Pierce who later

received the Democratic presidential nomination. Indeed, the state Democratic Party removed Hale's name from their ballot soon after he opposed annexing Texas. Democrat Marcus Morton in Massachusetts may have been genuinely antislavery, but the national party forced him to recant publicly in 1845 in order to maintain his federal patronage connections. Ohio Democrats dropped the antislavery Senator Morris because of his radical speeches in the late 1830s. Thus, while Earle argues that Free Soil Democrats—even ones accused recently of racism such as Wilmot—were often motivated by a sincere desire to end slavery, their constant and unsuccessful battles with proslavery Democrats remind the reader that the party was solidly in the South's pocket by the 1840s.

Earle's book serves to remind us that the antislavery coalition was diverse. While middle-class Protestants may have given antislavery politics its largest constituency, the ideas and much of its early leadership came from the secular egalitarians and labor reformers of the Jacksonian party. As such, the book argues for an understanding of antebellum parties as especially broad coalitions of people for whom ideas lived even as they changed subtly over time.

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CARL A. BRASSEAU and KEITH P. FONTENOT, *Steamboats on Louisiana's Bayous: A History and Directory*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 277. \$54.95.

This is the first major work on southern Louisiana's steamboat industry, but the book is unfortunately very narrowly conceptualized. By focusing almost entirely on the business history of the steamboat industry, and by almost ignoring the social and cultural history of steamboats in the bayou region, Carl A. Brasseaux and Keith P. Fontenot limit the importance of their findings. The authors subtly romanticize steamboats in a way that is reminiscent of early twentieth-century steamboat historians who longed for days just then passing from view. Like those early works, this is a story about the boats, where they went, how much they carried, and how the railroads won. Furthermore, the authors discuss steamboating as a world separated from land, rather than as being intimately connected and sustaining to economic actors on the banks of Louisiana's bayous. The result is a book with strong antiquarian elements that lacks an analytical hook. The authors tell a well-worn story from the perspective of those who owned the steamboats and who profited from their success.

The book's five chapters unfold chronologically and highlight how the river industry changed over time. The first several chapters of the book describe how steamboats extended through Louisiana's bayou country, gradually replacing preindustrial forms of river transport. This section has wonderful local detail. But

because the book does not include a map of the bayou geography, the reader quickly feels lost in the swamps. Readers who have not lived in southern Louisiana or studied its complex riverine geography would be well advised to study the relative position of places such as Bayou Teche, Bayou Courtableau, Bayou Lafourche, and Bayou Plaquemine before beginning. A chapter on the Civil War allows the authors to explore a neglected part of the military history of the war while also highlighting how the war years, with their commercial disruptions, marked the beginning of the long decline of the steamboat industry. The book's final chapter continues to narrate the decline of river commerce.

Most steamboat histories focus almost exclusively on the antebellum "golden era," but Brasseaux and Fontenot nicely document how the river industry evolved in response to the rise of railroad shipping. In the nineteenth century, the authors describe the invention of postbellum floating showboats, towboats, and the development of excursion trips. In the twentieth century, they document the substitution of propeller-driven boats for sternwheelers and the rise of diesel engines over wood and coal powered engines. This material is all well researched and will aid future scholars who seek to investigate the neglected world of twentieth-century rivers.

There are numerable historical topics that the authors might have engaged to further their story, but their omission of African-American history is particularly egregious. Most of the goods that were shipped on bayou steamboats were made by slaves and later by postbellum freedmen, but these workers have been nearly erased from the text. The omission is particularly strange considering that several of the images that the authors use in the book portray African-American subjects. How did Louisiana's sugar slaves, whom Michael Tadman has depicted in the pages of the *AHR* as living in a demographic deathtrap, view the region's steamboat industry? How did their labor contribute to the success of the region's steamboat owners? Incorporating the perspective of slaves would considerably complicate this tale of technological progress.

Brasseaux and Fontenot have scoured newspapers, government records, court records, travel accounts, and other sources to tell their tale. Their annotated appendix listing steamboats that operated in the bayou country is a particularly useful part of the book. However one might quibble with their research design, this book will be an important starting point for future scholars interested in the subject.

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ROBERT D. SAMPSON, *John L. O'Sullivan and His Times*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 304. \$38.00.

John Louis O'Sullivan is a familiar name to historians of the antebellum United States, but that familiarity

tends to be based on a single piece of information: a Democratic newspaper and magazine editor, O'Sullivan coined the term "manifest destiny" in 1845 during the buildup to the U.S. conquest of Mexico. These days, O'Sullivan's name lives more or less in infamy. It has been a long time since manifest destiny called up anything other than a belligerent, racist expansionism that seems shameful to most thoughtful people today. While Robert D. Sampson's new biography hardly dispels this shadow from O'Sullivan's reputation, it will surprise many readers with its careful account of the ideological and cultural company that the author of manifest destiny kept.

In Sampson's account of his early life, O'Sullivan emerges as a strikingly cosmopolitan figure for someone who concocted so all-American an idea. The multilingual son of a globe-trotting, part-Swiss, Irish Catholic sea captain and an Englishwoman from Gibraltar, the future editor was educated in European schools and graduated from Columbia College before taking up the editorial pen. The vast majority of the book focuses on O'Sullivan's relatively brief period as an active writer, editor, and publisher between 1835 and 1845. His most famous and original venture, the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, was launched with typically bad economic timing amid the Panic of 1837. Jacksonian Democrats felt that most of the country's cultural and economic elites were arrayed against them, and the *Democratic Review* was intended as an alternative to the dominant, Whig-oriented literary publications of the day, especially the *North American Review*. In fact, while Sampson emphasizes politics, he observes that the majority of the magazine's content was literary, featuring essays, reviews, and fictional works from numerous prominent or soon-to-be-prominent authors who were active Democrats or sympathizers, including William Cullen Bryant, Walt Whitman, and O'Sullivan's close friends Nathaniel Hawthorne and Catherine Maria Sedgwick.

What made the *Democratic Review* famous, however, and what draws most of Sampson's attention, was its ambitious political content, especially the sweeping philosophical essays produced by O'Sullivan himself. Sampson follows many other authors in taking O'Sullivan's "Introductory Statement" as the defining manifesto for "romantic democracy," a term that looms large in the interpretation presented here without being clearly defined. "Democracy is the Cause of Humanity," O'Sullivan wrote, in a turn of phrase that Sampson uses as the epigraph to chapter three. According to O'Sullivan, democracy was a cause that sought to "emancipate the minds of the mass of men from the degrading and disheartening fetters of social distinctions and advantages." It was "at war" with "fraud, violence, and oppression"; it was "a cheerful creed, a creed of high hope and universal love" (p. 32).

The overarching theme of the book is that this "romantic democracy" deserves to be taken seriously despite its many contradictions (especially concerning slavery) and departures from anything resembling

nineteenth-century reality. Sampson correctly points out that, like his editorial role model William Leggett, O'Sullivan espoused a laissez-faire political economy that, contrary to later versions, was rooted a strong sense of "social justice and social rationality" (p. 30). As they saw it, government intervention in the economy usually served to protect or create economic privilege rather than breaking it down, which was true enough up to O'Sullivan's time. Active government also corrupted democratic politics by "mixing up pecuniary interests, as connected with bank charters, extensions of capital &c., with the contests of parties of which ought to be confined to principles" (p. 37). Treating Jacksonian attacks on banking as a serious response to the market revolution, Sampson closely follows O'Sullivan's editorial course in the ideological vanguard of the struggles for hard money and the "divorce" of banking from the state.

The extensive material on the economic aspects of romantic democracy is solid but familiar. Much more enlightening are the sections in which Sampson recounts the broad agenda of related causes O'Sullivan took up as an editor and as a state legislator in New York. These included replacing war with a system of international arbitration under a United Nations-like "Congress of Nations," reform of the conspiracy laws to prevent their use against labor unions, and most importantly, abolition of the death penalty. O'Sullivan wrote the New York legislature's influential *Report in Favor of the Abolition of Punishment of Death by Law* and almost succeeded in overcoming the doubts of some fellow Democrats and the determined opposition of the moralistic Whigs. Sampson also finds O'Sullivan expressing remarkably progressive views in many other areas, including women's rights. In general, Sampson provides a useful corrective to the currently standard accounts suggesting that only Whigs and evangelical Christians bothered themselves with social reform and improvement in the Jacksonian era.

Sampson is well aware of how deeply much of the rest of O'Sullivan's career undercuts the visionary ideals expressed in the *Democratic Review*. The bulk of the text follows the editor's activities as a loyal Democratic partisan, an enthusiastic patronage seeker, and an incompetent businessman of questionable ethics. At the same time, Sampson argues convincingly that these ideals underpinned even the apparently bellicose phrase "manifest destiny." O'Sullivan the hack was able to make a fairly easy transition from his longtime idol Martin Van Buren to challenger James K. Polk during the 1844 election, when he operated a campaign newspaper called the *New York Morning News*. At the same time, O'Sullivan the idealist opposed Polk's drive toward war with Mexico and used manifest destiny to describe "a peaceful and gradual process" (p. 192) that would win the continent "without resort to force of arms" (p. 201).

Losing control of both his publications in 1845, O'Sullivan spent the remaining fifty years of his life pursuing "romantic democracy" in less high-minded

and more soft-headed ways. Sampson covers almost all of this period in a lengthy but still rushed final chapter; some readers may wish that greater effort had been expended analyzing the links between O'Sullivan's early ideals and the wrong turns he took later. Despite his longstanding crusade against war and other forms of state-sponsored violence, 1846 saw O'Sullivan and his new wife honeymooning in Cuba at the home of an anti-Spanish conspirator. This visit was the beginning of the former editor's involvement with a series of filibustering plots to liberate and annex Cuba. During the Pierce administration, O'Sullivan lobbied for the Kansas-Nebraska Act and landed a job as consul to Lisbon. By 1860, he had drifted into an open embrace of the proslavery argument and disunionism that horrified old Democratic friends like Hawthorne. After spending the Civil War producing Confederate propaganda in Europe, O'Sullivan lived in exile until the 1870s, when he returned to New York, penniless, a devout spiritualist, and a forgotten man.

While O'Sullivan is a fascinating character, this is not a uniformly fascinating book. There is too much detail on patronage disputes and failed business ventures, perhaps because they are more heavily documented than other aspects of O'Sullivan's life. At the same time, too much space is devoted to summarizing various essays where analyzing and contextualizing them more thoroughly would have been better. Perhaps most disappointingly, Sampson embeds O'Sullivan's life story chiefly within a conventional narrative of Jacksonian-era political history, missing the chance to bring in ideas from cultural history (especially print culture) that might have defined the significance of the *Democratic Review* and its editor a bit more clearly. Largely absent is the sense that O'Sullivan was actually one in a long line of political publishers who had tried, since Thomas Jefferson's time, to combine partisan politics with literature and reform while still making a living. Nor does the reader get much sense of how the *Democratic Review* compared to other literary and political publications of its time. Sampson's coverage of the democratic literary movement O'Sullivan sought to foster is limited chiefly to a narrative of his relationship with Hawthorne.

These flaws notwithstanding, this is a valuable book that should be consulted by any scholar tempted to generalize about Jacksonian politics or the expansionism of the 1840s.

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RICHARD FRANKLIN BENSEL. *The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 302. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.00.

Recent explorations of "cultural politics" aside, the study of nineteenth-century U.S. politics generally remains closely tied to the functionalist theoretical models and rational choice assumptions of post-World

War II social science. Of course nineteenth-century voters carefully weighed the competing platforms put forth by the parties and voted according to their own policy preferences. Naturally the policies that nineteenth-century legislatures enacted reflected the will of the people—or at least the will of the majority. These scholarly commonplaces require amendment, and perhaps even wholesale overhaul, argues Richard Franklin Bense in this original analysis of the mid-nineteenth-century polling place.

Mining the transcripts of hearings involving forty-eight contested congressional elections between 1850 and 1868, Bense seeks to establish the variety of sociological contexts in which men voted. The contested elections in question provide plenty of regional and socioeconomic variation: sparsely settled frontier districts, rural districts in the Middle Atlantic region, and urban districts such as St. Louis and Baltimore. Underrepresented in Bense's data is the Northeast, and completely absent are hearings from contested elections in the Deep South. To be sure, the mid-nineteenth-century polling place shared common features wherever Americans voted. Important among these were the party workers who watched the polls, worked the crowds, and mounted all manner of creative efforts to suppress the opposition's vote. Election judges were also mainstays of the polling place, charged with enforcing residency, age, mental competency, naturalization, and, during the Civil War, loyalty requirements. Various forms of intimidation, coercion, and violence suffused the electoral process, as did bribery, ballot-stuffing/stealing, multiple voting, and out-of-precinct voting. And, of course, virtually all polling places were notable for the free flow of liquor.

At the heart of this book is an analysis of the interplay between the sociological environment of the polling place and the practice of voting. Mediating this dynamic interaction were the ubiquitous party agents and loyalists whose actions fundamentally shaped the democratic experience of ordinary men. In urban precincts, where anonymity prevailed, partisans relied on ethnocultural stereotypes to identify the likely political preferences of the men approaching the polls. Challenges to a man's legal status as an eligible voter, for instance, often arose from something as simple as his accent. Meanwhile the riots and violence that attended urban elections reproduced deeper ethnic and religious fissures. Thus, Bense argues, the culture of the urban polling place grew from neighborhood ethnocultural loyalties and divisions, not partisan ideologies. The same can be said for rural polling places, where community relationships based on mutual familiarity and social consensus shaped the behavior of party workers and ordinary voters alike. On the frontier, vigilante interventions kept other voters from the polls, or literally stole results—as when mobs pilfered ballot boxes. Bense's most fascinating chapter deals with Civil War elections. The war created a unique sociology in which federal agents constantly intervened at the polling place. Republican troops, provost mar-

shals, and draft officials worked to prevent the votes of those they defined as disloyal. In the crucible of war the only "democratic" outcome acceptable to these agents was victory for the candidates who vigorously backed the northern war effort.

In a variety of ways, then, Bensel establishes how community-based norms, identities, and relationships were central to the ways party agents intervened at the polls. In turn, Bensel also establishes how those same environmental factors shaped how and even why men voted or were kept from voting, as the case may be. The basic point here is that scholars can no longer accept voting returns as neutral registers of mass political preferences. The central role played by party loyalists in shaping voting behavior and election outcomes, moreover, raises fundamental questions about the relationship between mass opinion and government policies.

Bensel draws a very sharp distinction between the behavior of party agents, who intervened in the electoral process because of their political ideology and deep knowledge of the policies at stake in elections, and the mass of ordinary voters, who Bensel contends only dimly perceived the policy differences in play. Likely some readers will find this formulation troubling. Yet it seems to me that Bensel is onto something here, even if he has overstated the case (much of his material on the Civil War polling place, for instance, suggests to me that ordinary voters broadly understood what was at stake). Then, too, the inclusion of Deep South precincts during the Reconstruction era might well have modified Bensel's findings, since it is clearly the case that ordinary southern voters perceived the basic policy differences between "black" Republicans and their Democratic opponents. Nevertheless, Bensel's fascinating and original analysis should prompt us to rethink the relationship between voting and government in the nineteenth century. This is a provocative book, sure to have important consequences for how scholars interpret nineteenth-century politics.

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TUNDE ADELEKE. *Without Regard to Race: The Other Martin Robinson Delany*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2003. Pp. xxxiii, 274. \$42.00

A simplistic version of African-American history is often taught as a series of pairs of ideologically balanced leaders: accommodationist Booker T. Washington versus activist W.E.B. Du Bois at the beginning of the twentieth century and integrationist Martin Luther King, Jr. versus separatist Malcolm X in the 1960s. Regarding the nineteenth century, the cautious advocacy of Frederick Douglass is often contrasted with the uncompromising militancy of his contemporary, Martin Robinson Delany.

A free-born black abolitionist, the highest ranking black Union army officer, and a South Carolina Re-

construction politician, Delany already is the subject of thoughtful biographies by Victor Ullman, Dorothy Sterling, and Frank [Frances] Rollin. He is also a central figure in influential studies of antebellum black nationalism by Cyril Griffith, Floyd Miller, Wilson J. Moses, Nell Painter, and Sterling Stuckey. The latest study of Delany's public career by Nigerian scholar Tunde Adeleke is not a full-scale biography but rather a detailed indictment of that older historiographical tradition that the author labels "instrumentalism." According to Adeleke, the scholarly pioneers of modern African-American Studies were representatives of the desire in the 1960s and 1970s to use history to effect social change. They wrote to fill a strong demand for a new black history that was designed to inspire readers to enlist in the struggle against the nation's long racist history.

The goal of black biography in that era, says Adeleke, was to create heroes, not to portray real human beings capable of making judgmental errors. These instrumentalist biographers highlighted only their subject's radical and militant behavior. Such works, argues Adeleke, portray Delany as "the quintessence of blackness, black pride and capabilities" (pp. xix-xx). Delany's advocacy of emigration in the 1850s is translated into a nascent global Pan-African nationalism. This instrumentalist interpretation immediately won the admiration of cultural nationalists and gained Delaney a place in a pantheon of countercultural protest icons alongside Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X.

Adeleke contends that Delany's "life brilliantly illustrates the limitations of ideological pigeonholing of black leaders" (p. xxi). Breaking free from the preconceptions of instrumentalist historiography, Adeleke reassesses his subject's career and finds another Martin Delany who was "conservative and accommodationist, who compromised when necessary, and who advocated and defended color-blind policies" (p. xiv). Adeleke finds evidence for this revisionist appraisal in his analysis of Delany's youth in Pennsylvania in the 1830s. Adeleke contends that Delany's ideology was molded by such black mentors as Lewis Woodson, William Whipper, and John Vashon, who believed that economic elevation and integration into American society were possible for all members of their race embracing the prevailing middle-class values of the dominant society. Following their lead, Delany in the 1840s argued that black elevation depended on economic development, education, moral uplift, and thrift. Far from alienated, he repeatedly endorsed the progressive and democratic character of American political culture and worked with white abolitionists to demand its universal application. Only after growing frustrated at the slow pace of such reform in the 1850s did Delany, reluctantly and temporarily according to Adeleke, turn to African emigration and a more radical critique of America.

Adeleke then examines what instrumentalists regard as Delany's ideologically inconsistent behavior after the Civil War when he became a Republican politician

in Reconstruction-era South Carolina. After service in the Freedmen's Bureau, Delany entered state politics, where he publicly battled the radical wing of the Republican Party before finally defecting to the Democrats in 1876. For Adeleke, Delany's behavior is not an aberration but rather a return to the conservative, integrationist values of his youth. Delany advocated reconciliation and compromise with the former slaveholders in matters of political rights and power in order to induce concessions of economic benefits to blacks. Returning to his position in the 1830s and 1840s, Delany argued that the freedmen should focus on economic and educational achievement and forgo seeking high political offices until they were better prepared to exercise their responsibilities. While conceding Delany's naïve trust in the good intentions of the South's white redeemers, Adeleke contends that Delany's actions in the 1860s and 1870s were consistent with his fundamentally "conservative and pragmatic nature" (p. 187).

Without endorsing Adeleke's poorly substantiated accusations of intellectual dishonesty and ideological partisanship cast at earlier historians, modern-day scholars can benefit from using his findings to take a fresh look at Delany. The book contains valuable insights about the limited options available to nineteenth-century black leaders as they faced the unremitting racism and economic avarice of the nation's white ruling class. Such revelations do not diminish Delany's stature but add elements of tragedy to his heroic quest to find justice for his people. What use can we make of that history?

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JEAN M. HUMEZ. *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories*. (Wisconsin Studies in Autobiography Series.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 471. \$45.00.

Harriet Tubman is "still the most famous African American female hero," and this book attempts to sort out how and why that came to be the case. Historiographically, this study is part of a body of scholarship that investigates the role black women played in American history and the ways in which they sought to shape the representations of that history. Like her contemporaries, Tubman commandeered her own legacy, although not always to the extent she would have liked. However, Jean M. Humez believes that Tubman "produced a self-authored life story" and one of the central tasks of this study is to evaluate the differences between how Tubman was presented by others and how she presented—through life stories—her own history. The book is divided into four parts—"The Life," "Life Stories," "Stories and Sayings," and "Documents"—rendering the text part biography, part archive, and part folklore. For example, in "Stories and Sayings," the author has "assembled every individual

life history story" she was able to locate, including the three previously published biographies, into a "hypothetical version of Tubman's autobiography" (p. 7). Unconventional as it is, this is a generous and arduous endeavor, providing scholars with innumerable sources and citations for future research.

It goes without saying that readers will be fascinated by Tubman's life: her work as the Underground Railroad Moses, leading her family and countless other slaves to freedom; her participation in the Combahee River Raid during the Civil War; and her railway car protest. All make for a riveting read. But just as compelling are the accounts of Tubman's daily struggles to earn a living (and pay off her mortgage) after the war in her home town of Auburn, New York, by washing clothes and cleaning the homes of antislavery families. These stories speak volumes about the gender and racial politics of the nineteenth century, and Humez pays careful attention to them. Tubman's life intersects with key figures in nineteenth-century America including Frederick Douglass, Lucretia Mott, William H. Seward, and John Brown. And in spite of the fact that evidence is lacking in places, the author makes excellent use of these connections in the narrative.

There are places in the text that could benefit from additional information about African-American history. Tubman's life as a slave in the middle ground of Maryland, for example, brings to mind Douglass's experience as a slave in this border state. The author is, however, careful to show the tensions within and between Tubman's friends and family members, and to link these to wider debates in African-American history; there is an especially insightful discussion of Tubman's purchase of the John Brown Hall (later called the Harriet Tubman Home) that highlights the debate over whether teaching black women domestic science was an appropriate use of the space.

The second part of the book addresses Tubman's vast repertoire of life stories and provides keen analysis of the ways she delivered these narratives. Drawing on a wide range of scholarship on mediated texts, Humez highlights the process that turned storytelling into text creation. Without a doubt, Humez has remarkable evidence vis-à-vis Tubman's role in shaping her own history. The account of Sarah Bradford's biography, "Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman," which originally sold for one dollar in December of 1868, provides ample evidence of the ways Tubman participated in the process and the marketing of her own history. Printed four times, this text originated with interviews between Bradford and Tubman but morphed into a very different kind of story as Bradford revised it and "censored aspects of Tubman's witty and salty persona, as well as her politics" (p. 149). In many ways, this section seems to be the heart of the book; it demonstrates beautifully how history gets written and the part memory plays in the process.

The stories, sayings, and documents collected in parts three and four of the book allow us to glimpse

into the complexity of the biographer's craft. While it is sometimes difficult to remember the background of each storyteller or story (these have been explained in earlier parts of the book), it is worth the effort to study these carefully. There are 121 stories and sayings and 64 documents, and the reader cannot help but marvel at the tremendous archival and detective work that made such a collection possible. Humez has made the stories as approachable as possible by organizing them chronologically and by topic. In a section called "Storytelling Performances Described," Tubman's grandniece, Alice Brickler, described her Aunt Harriet "flat on her stomach and with only the use of her arms and serpentine movements of her body, gliding smoothly along" in the grass to demonstrate "the way she had gone by many a sentinel during the war" (p. 203). These stories and documents are not meant to be conclusive. The letters between Tubman biographer Earl Conrad and woman's rights activist Carrie Chapman Catt, in which they debate Tubman's role in the woman's rights movement, for example, raise significant questions about how this part of Tubman's life has been interpreted. But Humez's book is not meant to answer all of the questions about our favorite black female heroine; it is intended to raise questions about her and about the history making that began when Tubman was still alive.

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KIRSTEN E. WOOD. *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 281. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

In the Old South, ostensibly immutable differences in class, race, and gender marked elite white men as natural leaders. Yet occasional rights claimed by poor white men and even slaves challenged those "natural" boundaries, bringing into question how elites maintained authority. Kirsten E. Wood offers new insights into this power structure by singling out one exceptional group, slaveholding widows, and exploring how fully they maintained social position after the deaths of their elite white husbands. In a well-written study based chiefly on a close reading of the correspondence and personal accounts of this group, Wood argues that above all else southern elites prioritized the "mystique of privilege" (p. 179), and thus granted widows the rights of mastery due them by their slaveholding status rather than denying them such because of their gender. Although the sources are too incomplete to make Wood's answer definitive, her compelling analysis, clearly connected to the current scholarship, make this book an important contribution to the field.

In framing her provocative argument, Wood concedes a host of variables. Not only could widows' ability to extract concessions based on their social status vary by time period, socioeconomic differences

created by the major crop farmed, or the extent of slaveholding, they could also vary by the widow's age, the geographical proximity of her male kin, the presence of children, and several other contingencies. Wood most carefully explores the first of these variables, noting that the overlap between household and market production permitted postrevolutionary widows some legal and commercial control. As this overlap declined in the nineteenth century, and the rhetoric defining women as essentially delicate and helpless grew, widows confronted internally and externally an image of women left alone as "broken reeds." Moreover, in the era of the common man, southern elites came to depend upon yeomen's ownership of wives to maintain their allegiance for the hierarchical world slave law created. For all of these reasons, much of the scholarship on southern society has suggested that gender differences remained paramount. Wood counters that antislavery rhetoric and increased socioeconomic inequality unnerved elites, pressing them to endorse the power of fellow (female) planters. Rather than diminished prospects for widows in the antebellum period, she finds an impressive record of continued economic and public activity. Ultimately, widows used their status as ladies to reinforce their mastery—to gain the support of kinsmen in legal disputes with neighbors or other family members, or when undertaking any action allegedly beyond their abilities as women but required for the upkeep of their economic position. Elite men went along because "gender hierarchy both masked and reinforced class privilege" (p. 130).

In making such a case, Wood opposes the argument that planters' wives, who had to meet social expectations of women's fragility to claim the privileges of ladyhood, found slave management impossible during the Civil War because they could not marshal the necessary threat of violence. While Wood acknowledges that "slaves routinely undermined widows' mastery," she contends they acted similarly in male-headed households and were "in no position to ratchet up their resistance when a widow took over" (p. 55). Relying heavily on the very real threat of sale, and with the aid of male agents, widows wielded enough control over their slaves to run their plantations. That they could no longer maintain that control during the war, Wood insists, had everything to do with the instability of the entire social order during wartime, not women's socially constructed weaker role. Still, she concedes, "the military maw consumed most of the white men on whom slaveholding widows relied to help them surveil and punish their slaves" (p. 161).

This last observation is less of a concession than it initially seems, as Wood suggests that all slaveholders confronted this and other power-eroding shortages. But, based as it is on anecdotes of Confederate wives' numerous complaints, her distinction here reveals the methodological problem that limits either side's claim to authoritative conclusions. Without a systematic study of court and other more consistent records, both

readings—that during power struggles elites privileged class boundaries, or they privileged gender—are plausible. Wood's research does include an examination of Rowan County, North Carolina, probate records, and an extensive reading of notorious court cases. But while Wood draws nuanced conclusions from her sources, her database is necessarily small; her elaborate construction of the differences in widowhood between the postrevolutionary and antebellum period rests, more or less, on seven cases and two novels.

Wood exploits the advantage of these records—the insight they provide into the mindsets of widows, their enemies, and supporters—to the fullest, however. Her stories of the doubts that necessarily wracked independent women in the nineteenth-century South are poignant. She also provides first-hand accounts of why they chose not to remarry, evidence that bolsters her contention that they recognized that their class position overcame obstacles their gender posed. In the end, this book does just what it is supposed to do, leaving us with provocative questions that will undoubtedly stimulate new research into the lives of women (and men) on the edges of southern society.

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ALLEN C. GUELZO. *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2004. Pp. xiii, 332. \$26.00.

Allen C. Guelzo's meticulous and imaginative analysis of the origins and impact of the Emancipation Proclamation resurrects that beleaguered document as the cornerstone of freedom for America's four million slaves. Abraham Lincoln's personal commitment to emancipation has suffered egregiously at the hands of critics, both scholarly and popular, who discount his proclamation's centrality to emancipation while pointing to his zest for compensated emancipation and colonization as an indication of his true feelings—lukewarm, vacillating, and even racist—toward African-American freedom. Guelzo's masterful reconstruction of Lincoln's motives and methods, rendered within the political and military context in which they played out, challenges the notion that the Emancipation Proclamation “accomplished nothing” (p. 2) and reinforces Lincoln's genuine personal commitment to end slavery.

The crux of Guelzo's argument is his portrayal of Lincoln as an “Enlightenment president” who was steadfast in his pursuit of freedom but equally “prudent” in his efforts to attain and secure it. “Emancipation, for Lincoln, was never a question of the end,” Guelzo reasons, “but of how to construct the means in such a way that the end was not put into jeopardy” (p. 25). Guelzo surveys several possible routes to freedom: self-emancipation, military decree, congressional legislation, executive proclamation, and state legislative action. Weighing these options, Lincoln distrusted the

federal judiciary to uphold either a presidential proclamation or congressional legislation freeing slaves and considered state legislative action the only way of permanently guaranteeing emancipation. Throughout his presidency, therefore, Lincoln worked tenaciously to wring emancipation from the states, beginning with the four loyal border states. Depending on state action, however, meant that emancipation must be gradual, compensated, and voluntary and include the prospect of colonization to make it workable within a racist society. Simply put, as a pragmatist Lincoln was determined to work patiently for freedom, state by state, recognizing realistically that the means must be as legal and constitutional as the end was necessary and moral. Hence, Lincoln clung tenaciously to his dream of “state by state” emancipation—what an abolitionist critic labeled “shooting a gun a little at a time” (p. 95)—from the beginning of his presidency to the end.

Guelzo's Lincoln therefore pursued two parallel but complementary paths to freedom. Voluntary, gradual, and compensated state action was the only way to achieve an emancipation that was both immune to legal challenge and permanent. Lincoln pressed this initiative throughout the Civil War, continuing to ply the border states with compensation proposals even after issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, not to head off real emancipation but rather to make it irrevocable. The Thirteenth Amendment itself represented a form of state legislative action, with ratification by the states in 1865 protecting freedom forever by removing it beyond the purview of federal courts. Simultaneously, however, Lincoln pursued emancipation through executive action, fending off both martial law and congressional legislation and timing his proclamation to work the greatest military, economic, political, and moral impact on the war effort. In this sense, Lincoln issued the proclamation to help win the war, as his harshest critics have charged. But his proclamation simultaneously undermined and indeed doomed slavery, compelling Americans, both North and South, to accept emancipation in one form or another as inevitable. In this ironic sense, the proclamation was truly, as Lincoln's critics have reiterated, not an end in itself but a recognition *and a hastening* of the inevitable. In Guelzo's skillful reinterpretation, Lincoln's state-level initiatives were not mere “flirtations” or backsliding that belie his commitment to freedom but were in fact fundamental to his strategy of achieving an emancipation that was constitutional and therefore irrevocable. Hence, they confirm rather than contradict his zeal to end slavery.

Steeped in an authentic Civil War context, Guelzo's narrative systematically addresses and overturns the logic that has made Lincoln look regressive. Assuming familiarity with controversies surrounding Lincoln's views on race, religion, reconstruction, and civil rights, the book's greatest strength is its steady focus on the unfolding of emancipation as a wartime policy. Crisply told, the story depends foremost on Lincoln's own

words and deeds but finds abundant confirmation in the testimony of Radical Republicans, abolitionists, African-American leaders, journalists, and Democratic opponents alike. Guelzo's simultaneously shrewd and honest portrayal of an earnest commitment to freedom will inevitably provoke critics but is likely to prevail. This book has already won the Lincoln Prize and, as the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial approaches, offers a definitive account of emancipation for this generation.

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C. WYATT EVANS. *The Legend of John Wilkes Booth: Myth, Memory, and a Mummy*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xv, 269. \$24.95.

Anyone who has studied the Lincoln assassination is familiar with the legend that John Wilkes Booth escaped from Garrett's barn in April 1865. The prime promoter of the Booth escape story was Finis Bates, whose *The Escape and Suicide of John Wilkes Booth* (1907) told the convoluted story of Texas drifter John St. Helen who in the 1870s supposedly confessed to being Booth. When another vagabond, David George, committed suicide in Enid, Oklahoma in 1903, amid rumors that he was Booth, Bates made his way to Oklahoma and identified George's remains as his old acquaintance St. Helen. Bates eventually took charge of the body, which became part of traveling carnival exhibits. Traditional historians have dismissed the legend as part of the sensational nonsense that often surrounds American assassinations.

While the story is obviously sensational and untrue, C. Wyatt Evans urges that historians should not reject it so readily, since the legend reveals a great deal about the Civil War and its aftermath. There were many myths of the "Lost Cause," and this is in effect one of them. From a southern perspective, the idea that Booth escaped capture resurrected the South's vindicator, who became a symbol of vengeance against the North and perpetuated the idea that the South would not be reconstructed according to northern wishes. Booth also became a symbol of white supremacy.

Northerners also played their part in the creation of the legend. George/Booth did not spend his last days in some sparsely populated rural southern town but rather in a place of growing modernity and commercialism. Turning to the concept of borderlands that historians have increasingly been utilizing as an interpretive tool, Evans argues that it was not unusual for many individuals in a frontier borderlands community to make up or exaggerate their background. In the beginning the Enid reports of George as Booth were a publicity stunt to draw attention to the town, but the account quickly took on an independent life of its own.

Additionally, Bates tried to link Vice President Andrew Johnson with the assassin. Johnson, who

benefited from Abraham Lincoln's death, became the heavy in the piece, urging a reluctant Booth to commit murder. This made the vice president the villain, while maintaining veneration for Lincoln and portraying the assassin as a manly southerner. Mistrust of government goes back at least into the nineteenth century and is hardly a recent phenomenon. In fact, the entire idea that Booth escaped his fate speaks of betrayal, since if the assassin evaded his pursuers, someone must have helped him and there had to be a conspiracy.

Even the clergy were not immune from the mummy's allures. Methodist Minister Clarence True Wilson viewed the remains at least once, became friendly with Bates, and wrote and lectured on the topic. In Wilson's view, the assassin had lived on to suffer moral retribution. Booth was a symbol of the corrupt past but the future was bright. Evans argues that the fact that a minister could become so involved belies the alleged dichotomy between carnivals and more respectable forms of entertainment.

In preparing his study, Evans relies on a growing body of literature involving cultural theory. One minor criticism is that the reader who is interested in assassinations may not be totally familiar with this literature, making it a bit more difficult to follow all of the nuances of the author's arguments. Evans also occasionally seems puzzled at the vehemence with which traditional historians have attacked the Booth escape legend but this is hardly surprising. Assassinations are by their very nature so surrounded by myth and legend that it has only been in recent times that academically trained historians have even tackled such a topic. There is a certain level of frustration that, despite their best scholarly efforts, the public still seems willing to opt for sensational conspiracy versions of Lincoln's death.

In this well-argued, well-researched, and thoughtful work, Evans does make a strong case that traditional historians should pay more attention to fringe assassination tales. While academic historians can never lay claim to the truth in the way the legend makers do, the legend makers can sometimes capture the emotions of an event in a way that factual history cannot. There are alternative windows into the past beyond the written word.

Utilizing the results of a 1931 autopsy that included x-rays, doctor and historian Blaine Houmes investigated the mummy's authenticity in an article in the *Lincoln Herald* (Spring, 2004). Houmes concluded that the mummy did not have any signs of a broken leg, proving that the corpse could not be that of Lincoln's assassin. However, the mummy remains unburied, allegedly the property of a collector of circus paraphernalia, perhaps waiting to play additional iconic roles in the future.

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SHIRLEY SAMUELS. *Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 186. \$49.95.

A study of Civil War iconography is long overdue. The period from 1861–1865 witnessed a vast outpouring of images that sought simultaneously to digest and to direct the war experience. Illustrated newspapers, songsheets, stationery, cartoons, banners, stamps, currency, and photographic exhibits brought Americans face to face with themselves and their war in new ways. As with gender relations and race relations, the country's symbol system was destabilized by the conflict, and the slippages are telling.

Shirley Samuels offers a fertile reading of that symbol system and its slippages. Examining texts of all types—novels, statues, and images—she lays bare the preoccupying anxieties Americans sought so avidly to deny in their presentations of a coherent national self. During the war, gender role reversals, free slaves, and a potential unnationing created a reinforcing discomobulation of the national enterprise that could not be denied in wartime self-imaginings. Thus the war's iconography, according to Samuels, reveals what she calls "substitution panic": the tendency of allegory merely to displace and occasionally to deepen the very anxieties it seeks to assuage.

This book might well have been titled *Embodying America*. Samuels writes about "facing" Americans as they "faced" themselves, but the body of the body politic receives more consistent attention. Her presentations of three national "embodiments" are particularly impressive. First, she suggests some of the reasons why the ultimate avatar of America changed from a Native American woman in the eighteenth century (a Pocahontas-type figure) to Columbia in the antebellum period (a white warrior goddess of Manifest Destiny) to Uncle Sam during the Civil War. Second, she shrewdly discusses the rise of photography and its impact on an America unaccustomed to images of war. In laying bodies in American dooryards, Mathew Brady and others dramatically highlighted the vulnerability of the white male body, and through it the vulnerability of patriarchy. Finally, Samuels presents the national fetishizing of Abraham Lincoln's body as it decomposed its way back to Springfield. All of these embodiments work together of course. Even as Uncle Sam was being born, he was shot to pieces at Antietam and assassinated at Ford's Theater.

Samuels has an intriguing mind, and it is a pleasure to watch it work. Text after text, subhead after subhead, she offers compelling readings and telling juxtapositions of familiar and unfamiliar documents. Occasionally, though, her writing is obscure. Like many bright literary critics, she sometimes cannot resist layering on meaning until meaning is lost; the complexity she ought to clarify is only re-rendered. Thus, her analysis "at once images and disavows" (p. 6), "both reveals and covers" (p. 41), "at once removes . . . and retains" (p. 46), "at once answer[s] and denie[s]"

(p. 77), "at once enhances and evades" (p. 121) her subject, until she has created a sort of "synesthetic," "paramnesic," "substitution panic" in the reader.

This makes the book at once brilliant and frustrating. Not all meanings are symbolic, particularly during war; looking does not always ravish, language does not always enslave, and images do not always do violence to their intended message. When a soldier from the Fourth Alabama sent his sweetheart a few pebbles from the Bull Run battlefield, he, too, created a sort of text he wanted his partner to read. "I trod this field, this America," he was saying. "This America is me, and I hope you will treasure us both." Samuels, though, does not read texts of inclusion, connection, and sacrifice. For good or ill, she reads only texts of exclusion, disjunction, and violence. In doing so, she does a mild violence of her own. The Civil War, after all, did "embody" America. Through it, Americans took a large step toward becoming a people of the, not these, United States.

In her introduction, Samuels asks how "American citizens respond[ed]" to symbolic encounters with their own face, but it is not a question she answers. An insightful reader of texts, she rarely reads the readers, much less the writers. Historians will be frustrated by loose attention to context (differences between northern and southern iconography; who made what images when, why and for whom) and chronology (misdating of the New York City draft riot; conflation of bellum and postbellum texts). To be fair, though, this is not her job; it is a historian's job, and one of us should do it.

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ROBERT R. MACKEY. *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South, 1861–1865*. (Campaign and Commanders Series, number 5.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 288. \$34.95.

Robert R. Mackey is a career army officer and an academically trained historian, and he brings to bear insights from both professions in this study of irregular warfare in the American Civil War. In doing so, he sheds new light on the ever-contentious issue of why the South lost.

More precisely than any historian who previously examined the subject, Mackey defines the contours of irregular Civil War military operations. The Confederacy, he shows, waged three kinds of warfare aside from the traditional maneuvering of large bodies of highly-organized infantry, artillery, and cavalry on the battlefield. There was, first of all, what he terms guerrilla warfare, carried on by small bands of citizens not in uniform, not enrolled as soldiers, and not acting within the formal military chain of command; they typically made hit-and-run attacks on the periphery of invading enemy armies. The second was partisan warfare, waged by small units of enrolled and uniformed

rebel soldiers specially recruited for scouting and sabotage behind enemy lines. The third was raiding warfare, carried out by sizable bodies of regular Confederate cavalry that penetrated deeply behind enemy lines to disrupt supply and communications and then returned to their own lines.

While noting that all three forms of irregular warfare were waged to some extent in every major theater of war, Mackey chooses to focus on a single case study of each: guerrilla warfare in Arkansas, partisan warfare in northern Virginia, and raiding warfare in Kentucky and Tennessee. In Arkansas, guerrilla warfare was sanctioned by Confederate general Thomas C. Hindman's General Orders No. 17 of 1862, which called on citizens to form ten-man bands to harass the Yankee invaders. Partisan warfare was authorized by the Confederate government's Partisan Ranger Act of 1862, and was waged most effectively by Colonel John S. Mosby's 43rd Virginia Cavalry Battalion behind Union lines in northern Virginia. Raiding warfare reached its apogee under Generals Nathan Bedford Forrest and John Hunt Morgan, whose cavalry commands ranged through Kentucky and Tennessee gobbling up Yankee rear-guard detachments and destroying bridges and railroad tracks.

Mackey's central point is that all three forms of Confederate irregular warfare ultimately failed in their aim of hurting the Union armies enough to prevent the conquest of southern territory and the defeat of the rebel armies. In explaining why, he emphasizes not only the weaknesses and hindrances and blunders that foiled the Confederate efforts but also the successful counter-measures devised by the Union army. In Arkansas, Hindman's guerrilla bands pestered the Yankees, but they were not controlled or supplied by the Confederate army and soon degenerated into plunderers preying on their own people, who consequently turned against them. Meanwhile, the Union army adopted practices that effectively nullified the guerrilla threat, such as recruiting Unionist militiamen and posting them with their families in fortified agricultural colonies around the state. In Virginia, Mosby's partisans achieved some striking successes, including capturing a Union general asleep in bed; but circumstances forced them to operate on such a small scale that they could not seriously harm the powerful Union army, especially after it instituted such counter-measures as the use of armored trains to protect railroads and sturdy blockhouses to defend bridges. In Kentucky and Tennessee, Forrest and Morgan became legends in their own time through some brilliant exploits, but they were eventually thwarted by improved Union anti-raiding strategies, better trained garrison troops, and strengthened defensive works at vulnerable points.

In his conclusion Mackey addresses the question, much debated by Civil War historians in recent years, of why Confederates chose not to prolong the conflict through irregular warfare after their armies surrendered in the spring of 1865. His answer is simple and flows logically from the points made in the preceding

chapters: the Confederates had tried irregular warfare for four years, it had failed, and they knew it. Fighting on by irregular means after Appomattox was pointless.

Mackey's major arguments are well documented and persuasive. Advocates of the new military history, however, will wish that he had linked the military matters he discusses more thoroughly to the political, social, and economic contexts in which the war was fought. Mackey certainly does not ignore context; for instance, he provides an interesting analysis of the social background and ideology of Mosby and his troopers and the impact of those factors on partisan warfare in Virginia. But the book is for the most part traditional military history, focused on strategy, tactics, technology, and command decisions and informed by military theory. It is nevertheless an enlightening study that should be read by everyone who seeks to understand the outcome of the Civil War.

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WILLIAM A. DOBAK and THOMAS D. PHILLIPS. *The Black Regulars, 1866–1898*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 360. \$34.95.

Black Americans fought in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and in the volunteer United States Colored Troops in the Civil War. Prior to Appomattox, however, African Americans were never part of the regular army. In 1866, for the first time in American history, Congress incorporated black soldiers in the U.S. regulars, creating six black regiments officered by whites. The army reorganization of 1869 reduced the number of black regiments to four, two of cavalry (the Ninth and Tenth), and two of infantry (the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth). Over the next thirty years until the Spanish-American War, blacks participated in the civic life of the United States as regular army soldiers. They manned outposts from Canada to Texas and as far west as Arizona. Indians called them "buffalo soldiers" because of their woolly hair, and the press popularized the term. Black soldiers themselves, however, regarded the buffalo epithet as insulting.

This book by William A. Dobak and Thomas D. Phillips examines the "everyday lives" of the less than 20,000 black men who served in the post-Civil War army. For the most part, it is a story of daily existence on isolated frontier outposts. It is not campaign history. This "first generation" of black regulars left little in the way of manuscripts, and Dobak and Phillips rely mainly on court-martial testimony and pension records in reconstructing black soldier life. Valuable though they are, these sources have obvious limitations, and there is much that we will never know about this fascinating black legion.

The army's use of black regulars, Dobak and Phillips contend, had little to do with civil rights or black uplift; the four black regiments met vital national needs. The post-Civil War army was perennially stretched thin. Numbering only 25,000 men, it occupied the Recon-

struction South, guarded the Rio Grande, fought Indians, and sometimes acted as police and strike-breakers. Because they were less likely to desert and more likely to reenlist, black soldiers were a good investment. Their lower desertion rate, the authors suggest, owed much to demographics. The black population in the West was small; hence, unlike their white counterparts, black deserters did not easily blend into the civilian population. Then, too, the authors argue that army life offered more inducements to blacks than whites.

Contrary to some historians, the authors find little evidence that black regulars comprised the army's frontier "elite." The authors also refute scholarly claims that the black units were the victims of constant war department discrimination, routinely receiving the worst horses, food, uniforms, and equipment as well as postings to the most undesirable locales. The quality may have been less than ideal, but black regiments received the same quality mounts, provisions, and accoutrements as white units. Army records show that the complaints of officers and enlisted men in black units about equipment and isolated postings were virtually identical with those of their counterparts in white units. This equality of treatment (or mistreatment) had little to do with the racial views of quartermaster and ordinance chiefs; it was dictated by expedience and economy. Perpetually on the edge, the army simply had too few men and resources to discriminate between white and black units.

The color line, of course, existed in the army as it did in the society the army represented. Had it been otherwise, there would have been no segregated black regiments with white officers. Time and again, white officers tempered their evaluations of black soldiers with a proverbial "but." Yes, they made good soldiers, as long as they had white officers. Yes, they took naturally to soldiering, but they were addicted to stealing; and so on. Some officers were out and out bigots. Still, the army offered black men opportunities denied them in mainstream America. Where else could a black man rise to a position of authority commensurate with that of a company first sergeant? (A few ambitious sergeants even made regimental staff.) Where else did courts convict black men of offenses in about the same ratio as whites? Civilians in the West were also less hostile to black soldiers than whites back East or in the South. (After 1866 few black troops were stationed in the South.) White settlers rescued from bandits or Indians were grateful for their deliverance, whatever the skin color of their deliverers. The small communities that grew up around isolated frontier forts, moreover, were totally dependent on army trade for survival. Merchants and saloonkeepers could not afford to offend soldier customers, black or white.

In one key respect, the color line shielded the black regulars. Periodically, bills were introduced in Congress to eliminate color distinctions in army recruitment and organization. Had such a measure ever

become law, the likely outcome, the authors rightly suspect, would have been a virtually all-white army. Overall, solid research and even-handed judgments make this book a valuable contribution to an important subject.

TED TUNNELL

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CLARE V. MCKANNA, JR. *The Trial of "Indian Joe": Race and Justice in the Nineteenth-Century West.* (Law in the American West, number 7.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 155. \$35.00.

Jose Gabriel was hanged inside the walls of San Quentin Prison on the morning of March 3, 1893. He had been sentenced to death in San Diego County three months before and was executed without appeals, or even an application for clemency. His crime was the murder of a farmer and his wife for whom he had worked. About sixty years old, Gabriel, known locally as "Indian Joe," had worked odd jobs in San Diego County for about twenty-five years. He was a hard worker and had never been in trouble with the law. The evidence against him was purely circumstantial and, by any standard, incredibly flimsy: while he had been caught at the scene of the crime, all concerned simply ignored the fact that he had lived there, sleeping in the barn.

Clare V. McKanna, Jr., tells a powerful story of racial injustice in southern California. This story, turning on the racism implicit in the nickname, "Indian Joe," is doubtlessly typical of marginal lives on the frontier. While the "Indian reservation," often far removed from the dominant society, was one model, hundreds of thousands of Indians followed work or survival to the margins of white communities. McKanna was unable clearly to identify the tribal identity of "Indian Joe": he was born in a Borjono mission community, Vinadaco, in Baja California, of an Indian mother and (apparently) a Mexican father. Assuming he had worked in the San Diego area for twenty five years and was sixty years old, he had spent thirty-five years living somewhere else. He had a son, living in Los Angeles, but there is no more information about the Indian life of "Indian Joe."

The same kind of study might be made of the thousands of other Indians who filled the jails of late nineteenth-century America. We know little about them, or of their collective years of imprisonment. Gabriel was stoic during his short time at San Quentin. He apparently said nothing, and asked nothing, although he always denied his guilt. He spoke limited English and may not have understood much of what was going on: it is not clear that he understood what his death warrant said when it was read to him by the prison warden in English.

The core of the book does not focus on the Indian roots of "Indian Joe." Rather, the book is a detailed study of the operation of frontier justice in one case, a classic case study. McKanna masterfully reconstructs

the crime scene, the prosecution, the defense, and the conduct of the trial. The defense lawyer was not very competent and did not work very hard. The judge let a local jury run away with the case, being disruptive and asking dozens of questions of witnesses. In one chapter, the author discusses the state of forensic evidence in the 1890s and the fact that even basic scientific evidence might have cleared "Indian Joe." All of this is strangely relevant in an era when death penalty convictions regularly turn out to be miscarriages of justice because of poor lawyering and poor forensic evidence.

It is now clear that the mystery of this murder will never be solved: all the parties are dead, and there is no evidence. Indeed, as McKanna points out, Gabriel might have committed the crime, although it is impossible not to note that it is incredibly unlikely statistically that a sixty-year-old man with no history of violence would beat two old people to death: this crime has the hallmarks of a much younger offender.

At the end of the book, McKanna asks a strange question: "was justice served?" Given the racism on the frontier, poor criminal investigation, incompetent legal representation, and the inherent injustice of the death penalty, the question seems irrelevant, or even trivial. Thousands of Indians languished in jails, just as "Indian Joe" did. Some of them actually committed crimes; others doubtless did not. Criminal justice is political and serves a broad range of social interests. It comes down hard on poor people and racial minorities, in ways that historians both know and are still working on, in a society that today faces the same inequities.

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BONNIE LYNN-SHEROW. *Red Earth: Race and Agriculture in Oklahoma Territory*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. ix, 186. \$29.95.

Bonnie Lynn-Sherow offers a revealing history of settlement in Oklahoma that is both ecological and cultural. Capitalism and race relations figure largely in a story of resource exploitation. "An elite group of native-born white farmers," she observes, "were eventually triumphant over all others in ordering those resources into pathways of production and personal prosperity, although the bold traces of black and Indian efforts can still be seen throughout the former territory" (p. 146). Her research base is wonderfully rich, her argument well made. Lynn-Sherow is equally at home discussing political economy, historical ecology, and agricultural practice. This is a fine book, one worth arguing about.

The period of study is 1889–1906, the territorial period of Oklahoma; the geographical scope is the counties of Logan, Blaine, and Caddo. "I wanted to learn how the ecology of Oklahoma Territory had changed after the land runs," writes Lynn-Sherow (p. 7). She assesses the impact of general factors such as markets and technology, but she is particularly inter-

ested in the factor of culture. She investigates whether the presence of black settlers in Logan County, and of Kiowa in Caddo County, made a difference in comparison with the Anglo-American and German-American stock in Blaine County. For Lynn-Sherow, the concept of cultural diversity is related, at least by hypothesis, to that of biological diversity: "Was the ecology of Oklahoma Territory more diverse when farmers of different cultures and backgrounds worked side by side?" (p. 7).

Yes and no. The black farmers of Logan County did make different choices and pursue different developments than their white neighbors. While better-heeled white settlers occupied the best lands for cash grains, black farmers took sandy, timbered ground and practiced a more diversified agriculture. This gradually gave way to more and more cotton production, however, under practices that were soil-destructive. The result may have been a sort of diversity, but it was a diversity of different forms of ecological impoverishment.

The Kiowas of Caddo County attempted to perpetuate tribalism through their management of land. They envisioned a future raising livestock, but their vision was disrupted by allotment, which forced them to take individual parcels of land, strategically chosen, and to give over use of the intervening lands to white operators. So in the end, "it was the needs of white settlers that shaped the agroecology of the red earth" (p. 143).

The settlers of Blaine County established "a facsimile of the well-ordered farms of its white residents' memories and aspirations" (p. 104). This was wheat country, "and in April," one memoirist wrote, "the land for miles around looks like one smooth green lawn" (p. 105). That writer was describing Arcadia, as she saw it.

Lynn-Sherow disagrees, because she is committed to the ecological assumptions that biological diversity is good and that agriculture necessarily reduces diversity. "It was white farmers' acceptance and enthusiasm for mechanized agriculture in particular that initiated and sustained the simplification of the territory," she concludes (p. 148). This is an unexamined assumption. What is a simple landscape? An asphalt parking lot qualifies, perhaps, but to characterize the open country of Oklahoma, even evidently well-ordered fields and apparent monocultures, as simple is misleading. Every pasture, every field is infinitely complex. It is time to divest distinctions between landscapes of the moral freight carried by doctrinaire ecology and to call them what they are: matters of aesthetics.

The assessment of ecological change, too, requires deep description and boots on the ground. Those peach orchards of Logan County: on what grade, soil, and exposure were they located? What remains of them? What exactly were the production routines of Kiowa farm families who occupied desirable bottomlands with their allotments? The thing is, there are hints that Lynn-Sherow has the data, that she can answer such questions, but she does not do so in this

thin book. The study begs for lingering descriptions, and maps.

It is fair to say that in a short work the author could not accomplish the things called for above. Fair indeed, and so it is time to begin the protest against the professional and industrial practices that constrain such fine authors as Lynn-Sherow. The intersection of the high tide of the New Social History with the worst days of the academic job collapse in the 1970s recast the landscape of scholarly publishing in history so that the short, serviceable monograph became the currency of the field. Both elegance of rhetoric and depth of understanding have suffered thereby. No individual author or editor is to blame for this; it is a failure of intellectual community. Given room for development and nuance, this could be not just a fine book, but a landmark work.

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ALLISON DORSEY. *To Build Our Lives Together: Community Formation in Black Atlanta, 1875–1906*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 238. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

The race relations of no American city have been as thoroughly scrutinized historically as those of Atlanta, and with good reason. As progressive as any southern city, Georgia's capital touted a cluster of black colleges and served as the operational base of intellectual, political, and religious leaders from W. E. B. Du Bois to Martin Luther King, Jr. It was the first major city to elect black mayors, who, along with moderate white leadership, earned the city a reputation as one "too busy to hate" during the civil rights era and since. Such claims overshadowed far more complex racial dynamics that in 1906 included one of the most brutal of the South's race riots.

All of this has been extensively documented and analyzed in a wealth of scholarship—including three new books on the riot—over the past few years (so much so that Stephen G. N. Tuck sought to distinguish his 2001 study of modern race relations in Georgia as a whole by entitling it *Beyond Atlanta*). Much of Allison Dorsey's story therefore covers familiar ground. And yet, Dorsey's perspective on the formative era of the city's African-American community adds significant new layers to our understanding of what made Atlanta exceptional.

Unlike older cities in the South, Atlanta lacked a well-entrenched or socially cohesive slave populace, and yet Dorsey argues that survival mechanisms developed under slavery—in particular, an ideology of racial solidarity—proved vital legacies for post-emancipation efforts to shape new lives and relationships during Reconstruction and beyond. As the city's black population dramatically expanded, from 2,000 in 1860 to over 35,000 in 1900, a strong sense of community and organization served as the tangible means through which residents collectively strove for black progress

and uplift. Churches, colleges, fraternal organizations, and benevolent associations all served to strengthen this communal spirit and promote shared goals of public education, social services, and political engagement.

Yet, as an emerging African-American professional and business elite distanced itself both in terms of residential space and social and cultural values from those they served, that racial solidarity and sense of mutual uplift turned into more elitist efforts at social control of the "lower sorts of Negro." At times, most notably in the prohibition campaigns of the 1880s and 1890s, black leaders allied with conservative white Atlantans in battling the moral degeneration of working class blacks and the disorderly conduct and crime that stemmed from the city's saloons, dance halls, and poolrooms. Whites encouraged this intraracial paternalism, Dorsey suggests, because it served their own racist purposes, and the black elite's "battle to save the soul of the African American community" became for whites "an excuse to further circumscribe the political and social conduct of blacks" (p. 135).

These tensions were very much at the forefront of the 1906 race riot and its aftermath, which "encouraged African Americans to further retreat into their highly stratified social enclaves" (p. 164). At the same time, however, black leaders felt more justified in appealing for white aid and more interracial cooperation in uplifting the race through social and educational deterrents, even as they watched their own political rights further wane with passage of a state constitutional amendment in 1908 that effectively disfranchised them.

Dorsey captures the complexities of these developments well, never shying from the ironies and contradictions in the dilemmas that faced the black elite, who remain the book's primary focus throughout. The depiction of the cross-currents and intricacies of African-American community-building over the course of four decades is also among the book's strongest and most original contributions. Yet concentrating so fully on the community's internal dynamics allows us to see little of the external opposition that it faced. There is only a vague sense of how and why white Atlantans felt so threatened by African-American uplift and political activism or how those fears manifested themselves, particularly in the 1880s and 1890s. Only in Dorsey's account of the 1906 gubernatorial campaign that preceded the race riot do white concerns about the black community come fully into focus, and that is already a familiar and oft-told story.

This book was intended "to commemorate the efforts of the members of the African American community to create conditions in which they might prosper rather than to emphasize yet again the drama of the race riot" (p. 1). Dorsey accomplishes this admirably, and in so doing not only adds significantly to Atlanta's history and that of the urban South more broadly but also enriches our appreciation of southern

black aspirations and achievements prior to the full onslaught of Jim Crow.

JOHN C. INSCOE
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ROBIN F. BACHIN. *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890–1919*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 434. \$35.00.

Robin F. Bachin traces the development of three new public spaces in Chicago from 1890 to 1919 to understand the “relation between urban space and civic culture” and to see “urban planning as a political and cultural process whereby [various groups] sought to create an urban public sphere that emphasized their (sometimes conflicting) visions of order, respectability, and civic identity” (p. 6). The processes by which these spaces were created, she argues, expose how different individuals and groups in the Progressive era sought to use the urban landscape to “transcend boundaries of ethnicity, race relations, and class” (p. 6).

Bachin’s broad urban landscape is Chicago’s south side and three specific new urban spaces within it. The first space is the University of Chicago, opened in 1892, privately endowed by John D. Rockefeller. Its first president, William Rainey Harper, wanted the university to be a scholarly haven, but he also wanted to use the city as a social scientific laboratory for investigating the linkage of “physical space to social conditions” (p. 106). So, while the enclosed quadrangle with its “old” gothic architecture symbolically turned the university’s back on the city, Harper simultaneously pushed the university into the city. This dual mission resulted in struggles among the university’s various constituencies to shape and use a space that was intended to be both private for scholarship and publicly connected to the city rather than removed from it. For the second space, Bachin investigates the municipally funded system of small parks built by the South Park Commission. Prodded by reformers such as Jane Addams and Mary McDowell, the commission constructed neighborhood parks that both adults and children then used for new recreational activities. In doing this, Bachin argues, these reformers rejected building more grand spaces of leisure such as New York’s Central Park or Chicago’s Washington and Jackson Parks, in favor of designing more “democratic” urban spaces. Bachin juxtaposes these small parks against the grander designs of Daniel Burnham’s privately financed Chicago Plan favored by Chicago’s business leaders. Finally, Bachin investigates new sites of commercial leisure: Comiskey Park for professional baseball, the baseball fields for the Negro League teams, and the theaters and clubs of the “Stroll” in the heart of the African-American neighborhood.

By comparing private, municipal, and commercial sites, Bachin exposes the variety of public spaces for which different groups in the Progressive era sought control over design, who would be allowed to use

them, and for what purpose. She describes scholars, planners, settlement house residents, businessmen, and ordinary citizens renegotiating their relationships to each other and to the city through the struggle over public space. In all three types of spaces, Bachin also identifies three competing models proposed to reform the urban landscape: centralization and control, civic activism with cross-class alliances, and legitimation of leisure. Here Bachin is in line with other recent work by urban historians who see urban progressivism as sets of competing ideas about how and why to reform cities. Bachin’s analysis of both the competition and the results of struggles over urban space emphasizes that the contestation over public space was about reordering Chicago’s spatial geography to create a new civic culture of identification with the city. She has assembled a prodigious amount of evidence to support her scholarly arguments. In each space we see at work a culture of “progressive urbanism” that believed “in the problem-solving and reformative capacity of the urban landscape” (p. 8). We see urban residents using public spaces to identify themselves with the city.

The author’s definition of “civic culture” as “the desire to foster a shared sense of local and social engagement,” however, is a bit elastic. It is difficult to see exactly how the stadium of a professional sports team identifying with the entire city—the “Chicago” White Sox—connects to the cabarets and theaters of the “Stroll,” which were group identified and perhaps more comparable to institutions through which other migrant groups sought to maintain a personal culture rather than manifest a new civic culture. Whether private enterprises demonstrated a new civic culture of progressivism that was a “process” of reform “based on [groups’] competing ideas of urban citizenship, city planning, and access to public space” (p. 12) is also debatable. The conclusion that “spaces like universities, parks, baseball fields, and cabarets” were “potential terrain for a new civic culture that linked prescriptions for shaping the built environment with the transformation of urban politics” (p. 307) would be stronger if there had been more discussion of urban politics.

This is an ambitious book filled with important insights about issues of public space and its use by urban residents that cannot be adequately explored in such a limited space as this review. It is thoughtful, very well written, and should be read and appreciated by anyone interested in Chicago or cities generally. It is also a gentle reminder to scholars of cities that people are as important as structures and spaces in trying to understand urban development.

MAUREEN A. FLANAGAN
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MARK TEBEAU. *Eating Smoke: Fire in Urban America, 1800–1950*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 425. \$49.95.

In this history of the transformation of firefighting and fire prevention, Mark Tebeau has juxtaposed a detailed history of the evolution of the fire insurance business with an account of the changing organization of fire departments and the work of firefighting itself. His account of how those who dealt with the business of fire insurance came to understand and manage risk is told in tandem with the story of how municipalities developed an increasingly professionalized corps of firefighters. Both narratives trace the shift from more nineteenth-century, laissez-faire customs to a new era of Progressive efficiency and rationalization. In Tebeau's parallel accounts, local volunteer firefighting brigades become urban fire departments with the centralized provision of equipment and a citywide command structure. And, at the same time, Tebeau describes how the relatively haphazard underwriting of nineteenth-century fire insurers grew into national corporations and professional organizations that collected and utilized far superior information to make decisions about risk—and actively promoted policies and practices designed to serve the end of fire prevention.

This story is key to the larger history of urbanization in America. As Tebeau notes, by the mid-nineteenth century, conflagrations frequently devastated the nation's fast-growing cities. Tebeau's central analytic concern is to explore how those most concerned with the ravages of fire in cities—insurers and firefighters—came to understand and attempt to manage the considerable dangers and problems of urban fires. The dual narratives arise largely from Tebeau's focused study of firefighting practice in St. Louis and Philadelphia. His companion examples from the world of fire insurance are drawn from a close account of the pioneering business practices of the Aetna Fire Insurance Company and the Fire Insurance Company of North America. Tebeau also examines the work of two national professional organizations devoted to fire prevention: the International Association of Fire Engineers and the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

Tebeau's ambitious approach to the problem of urban fire is an effort to interpose historiographic categories that seldom are brought together in a single study. Tebeau's work thus extends the insights of historians who have written about the emergence of modern corporations and business practices, technological and spatial change in cities, and urban politics and urban reform. In addition, Tebeau is a self-described social historian who paints a nuanced portrait of the cultural meaning of firefighting and the challenging and necessary work performed by firefighters.

Tebeau's account of the fire insurance industry is especially interesting and original. He shows convincingly how an emerging "science" of risk management led underwriters and agents to far greater knowledge of risk itself, which in turn sparked moves toward fire prevention that became the linchpin of the industry's profitability. At the beginning of the twentieth century,

insurers began to promote public safety measures—building codes, urban water and electrical systems, and products testing—that could thwart fires altogether or make losses more predictable. In addition, the industry and related professional groups worked to instruct young and older Americans in fire safety measures, thereby creating a broader culture of fire prevention. In time, as Tebeau demonstrates, the acquisition of property insurance, the protective infrastructure and the culture of prevention became unquestioned "norms" of the urban experience.

In some ways, the grand arc of Tebeau's institutional histories of insurance and firefighting practice seems to dictate the framework for his social historical concerns and conclusions. Tebeau's firefighters themselves have little voice in this narrative. As Tebeau notes, despite reformers' and commanders' preferences for instilling a newly efficient work culture and meting out discipline, "idiosyncratic firefighting work cultures" (p. 324) survived. At times Tebeau alludes to the intense racial and ethnic tensions that structured many fire companies and the fact that many a firefighter occupied his position because of political or family connections, even in a new era of professionalization, higher standards for training, and civil service systems. The reader learns little about how various firefighters held on to older traditions in the face of sweeping changes and how they themselves made sense of what Tebeau describes as the "tension" among community customs, changing definitions of manly heroism, and new pressures for occupational efficiency.

In the end, the book is a signal accomplishment. This is a rich and highly informative work that deftly uses the "problem" of urban fire to cast light on a wide array of turn-of-the-century transformations. The stories that Tebeau tells are wonderfully specific examples of the economic, cultural and political shifts that both drove and came to embody Progressive-era urban reform. His book deserves a wide audience among all U.S. historians who are interested in emergence of "modern" institutional forms.

KAREN SAWISLAK
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FRANK TOBIAS HIGBIE. *Indispensable Outcasts: Hobo Workers and Community in the American Midwest, 1880–1930*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 255. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$18.95.

Scholars have long been aware that marketplace dynamics connected farms and Main Streets across the Midwest, but the space of that market, and the people who worked within it, have remained peripheral to historians' concerns. Frank Tobias Higbie's book is a significant effort to examine the realm between the town and farm and the workers within it. Higbie's work surpasses previous work on tramps and hobos that relegated them to a subculture in the shadows of

settled society. Rather he explores the structure and dynamics of their in-between world, cuts through the middle-class assumptions employed to represent their experiences, and, through an examination of political "battles" between workers and townsmen, examines their central role in midwestern life.

The author demonstrates that rather than following predictable patterns of transhumance, transient workers moved across regional and even national markets as the demand for work in different lines of activity rose and fell during the year and intersected with their need and desire to work. Towns and cities with their shipping depots, grain elevators, railroad yards, urban labor exchanges, boarding houses, and urban entertainment districts were hubs of the systemic spaces that extended along railroads and roads to farms and work camps. The nature of work and play within this realm was continually being transformed by industrialization, technology, shifting resources, and changing market dynamics. Hobo workers thus eschewed any predictable patterns of movement and lived outside of usual ideological assumptions and expectations about work, working conditions, wages, and settled life. Caught between farms and community, and rejecting some of the values of both, workers fended for themselves. Wages were low, conditions threadbare, and labor abuses rife. Progressive reformers sought to ameliorate these conditions. Inevitably, however, workers' problems were couched in class issues that got enmeshed in a range of meanings or representations and thus rarely broke through to understanding a hobo's "life as it was lived" (p. 67).

In his effort to separate social description from social history, Higbie critiques these efforts in a fine chapter that examines the middle-class construction of transient workers through the writings of participant observers and social scientists. Most of these efforts to examine workers were more about a middle-class need to confront social conflict by situating, defining, and firming up its own values about family, gender, and life than really understanding workers. Workers were portrayed as criminalized and lacking a proper work ethic, reflected in slow work, laziness, a lack of commitment to wage labor, and a refusal to submit to industrial discipline. They were dirty, dangerous, irrational, living abnormal lives outside of an "appropriate masculine life course" (p. 83) that undermined the republican American Dream and threatened mainstream society.

Beneath all this rhetoric, as Higbie demonstrates in an analysis of the "social geography" of workers, those in "floating labor" (p. 208) were laborers rather than "floaters" (p. 208) for whom transient work was more a stage of their life course of work and an extension of their contacts with community and settled life than a real threat to either. This mostly white, male community in motion had its own internal hierarchy and structure, defined its boundaries by establishing distinctions based on sexual preference and gender, and was delineated by ethnic and racial lines that paral-

leled those of society in general. Although continually undermined by the fluidity of the labor market and the geographic mobility it created, social interactions among transient workers sustained communities and surrogate or "constructed" families (p. 17) that maintained connections to settled society. Higbie also shows that pitched battles in towns and cities across the north plains between Industrial Workers of the World members and townsmen were more about the position of transient workers in a regional community of people operating within the regional rural-urban labor market and economy than their being "outsiders" and were thus connected to the more general struggle about the nature of community and the relations between managers and labor in an industrial economy.

In the book's final chapter, Higbie examines in more detail how individual workers navigated this complex world by constructing a transient community. For many the cultivation of "transient mutuality" encouraged them to help each other; to participate in resistance against harsh treatment, low wages, or poor conditions; to cultivate distinctive notions about manhood, solidarity, and community; and to articulate a distinctive kind of workingman's radical "philosophy" (p. 199). Higbie convincingly argues his core thesis that hobos were industrial workers integrated into the system—in ways similar to today's "contingent workers" (p. 214)—whose movements were structured by the "geography of job opportunity, by seasonal change, and by their connections to families and communities" (p. 208). Rather than marginal, they were and are central to the transformations of the labor market in an industrial economy and society.

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ILEEN A. DeVULT. *United Apart: Gender and the Rise of Craft Unionism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 244. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

As Ileen A. DeVault describes in her introduction, in recent decades "labor history" has trended away from its early focus on organized labor to become the history of the working classes, blending at various times in various ways with broader social history, women's history, and other genres. In this fascinating work, DeVault brings the lessons of working-class and women's history back to the traditional concerns of labor historians, and labor history is richer for it. This book is a description of labor activism that illuminates the complexity and patterns of the past without attempting to impose any restrictive historical explanation.

DeVault began her research by compiling, primarily from contemporary local newspaper accounts, the stories of forty strikes across the United States between 1886 and 1903, the years from the formation of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) until the

creation of the Women's Trade Union League. These years also saw the final dissolution of the Knights of Labor, and the differences between the old and new organizations forms one of DeVault's many points of analysis. The strikes were selected in part for their cross-gender nature: that is, both men and women participated in them. Through her analysis of these strikes, DeVault attempts to decipher the social context of labor organization at the turn of the twentieth century. Under what circumstances, for example, did male workers support a walk out by "girls" in a separate department of the same factory, and when did they condemn their actions?

DeVault found, however, that there was far more than gender at work in patterning labor activism. She describes the workers' lives as having "overlapping layers," and uses Jean-Paul Sartre's idea of "series" to describe the many layers of workers' identities. In this theoretical view, a worker was (and is) simultaneously a member of a gender, class, ethnicity, and occupational group, among many other possible identities. "Which of these identities will enter the consciousness of this individual, and therefore inform his or her actions, at any particular point in time depends on each person's role in the ongoing historical narrative" (p. 7).

The book then sets out to describe, if not explain, how these multitudes of identities interacted with events to shape the unique progress of any given labor action. The book begins with compelling narratives of individual strikes in four major industries: clothing, shoes, tobacco and textiles. These narratives are included to introduce the reader "to factors that are relevant to the mobilization of workers in each of the four industries" (p. 8), but in fact they do far more. They serve to make this book from the outset a story of individuals struggling for personal and particular causes rather than a description of alphabet-soup organizations and anonymous strikers. Throughout the remaining chapters, DeVault continues to bring in case studies of individual strikes and strikers, illustrating the differing strategies and successes of the Knights of Labor and the AFL, the importance of ethnicity and race, the geographic location of strikes, and the influence of family connections in fostering and supporting strikes and organized labor more generally. The question of gender runs through each chapter, not only in an analysis of how women participated in unions and strikes, but also in recognition of the links between labor, trade unionism and "manliness." There is also an interesting thread of how women and images of women (or "girls") were used by labor organizers, often in dramatic contrast to their actual participation in the workforce and the strikes themselves. The reader is guided through examples in these chapters with analytical hints that expose the variety and interaction of influences on workers' actions, without ever attempting to impose predictive laws or even rules of thumb. The overall result is a multifaceted picture of labor activism in the period

and an understanding of why no strike could be exactly like the previous one.

In a way, this book is frustrating history, precisely because it does not offer an easy explanation for the events of the past. Rather, it provides "a starting point for understanding many things" (p. 219). That, too, is the result of bringing social historical approaches to bear on labor history; looking at the past as the collective experience of many individuals necessarily produces an intricate and infinitely variable image. It is to DeVault's credit that the starting point she has provided, while complex, is so lucid and so engaging.

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VINCENT J. CIRILLO. *Bullets and Bacilli: The Spanish-American War and Military Medicine*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 241. \$55.00.

Although the Spanish-American War of 1898 was a quick military victory for the United States, it was a disaster for the Army Medical Department. Typhoid epidemics in the stateside training camps killed hundreds of recruits, and sickness rates in Cuba were so high that the War Department had to evacuate the victorious Fifth Army Corps to Long Island to recuperate. American deaths by disease outnumbered deaths from combat more than seven to one. Poor sanitation, filthy water, typhoid-bearing flies, and mosquitoes carrying yellow fever and malaria turned out to be more deadly than opposing soldiers and weapons. This created a public outcry, which, along with an indignant Congress, a presidential commission, and a break-through scientific study, provide the ingredients for a good story.

Vincent J. Cirillo brings these events alive and demonstrates why the Spanish American War was "a little war with big consequences" (p. 1). He puts military medicine center stage, arguing that the typhoid epidemics and the recall of the Fifth Corps were the defining events of the war. The scandals spurred President William McKinley and Surgeon General George Sternberg to appoint separate commissions to investigate what went wrong in the army during a time of exciting new medical advances. These commissions' findings and recommendations prompted much-needed reforms in military medicine and the War Department.

A strength of this book is that Cirillo examines the full range of the army medical personnel's responsibilities, from medical transport and supply, to sanitation and the prevention of disease outbreaks in the camps, to treating combat casualties on the battlefield. First providing overviews of the war and the Army Medical Department, Cirillo then turns to the battlefield and the impact of new, high-velocity bullets on human tissue. Despite the destructive power of these missiles, soldiers fared better than their Civil War predecessors, with ninety-five percent recovering from their wounds.

This Cirillo attributes to the germ theory and antiseptic first aid and surgical methods, and the new X-ray technology, which enabled surgeons to pinpoint foreign bodies and operate more safely.

The story becomes more grim when it turns to infectious disease. From April to December 1898, almost 21,000 soldiers got typhoid in the training camps, and 1,590 died. Cirillo vividly describes how "an unsanitary camp was more dangerous than the most determined enemy" (p. 149). In 1898, medical officers had several tools to prevent typhoid epidemics: they could identify the offending bacillus, knew that poor sanitation could cause outbreaks, and had a diagnostic test to distinguish typhoid from other fevers. They received little support, however, from the rest of the army. "The problem," Cirillo writes, "lay in convincing the line [officers] of the need for strict sanitary policing of the military camps" (p. 29). Medical officers ran into the same problem in Cuba when, against the surgeon general's advice, the army invaded during the pestilent rainy season. By August, more than seventy-five percent of the soldiers had become unfit for service due to yellow fever, malaria, and typhoid. The sick and dead in the camps and the precipitous removal of troops from Cuba created a public relations disaster for the War Department and the Army Medical Department.

The Spanish-American War, however, proved that rare case when people learned from their mistakes. The surgeon general's Typhoid Commission, for example, identified the common fly as a vector of typhoid, and "exposed the culpability of line officers in the typhoid epidemic" (p. 2). These findings spurred the War Department to require sanitation training for line officers and improve and enforce sanitation in army posts. The Dodge Commission, appointed by the president, likewise blamed War Department administration and lack of funding for many of the problems. Its recommendations, soon approved by Congress, included establishing an Army Nurse Corps and a Medical Reserve of physicians, and creating better supply, transport, and funding procedures for the Medical Department. Whereas these reforms would help modernize and professionalize military medicine, Cirillo surprisingly does not put them in the context of Progressive-era military reforms implemented by Secretary of War Elihu Root and Chief of Staff Leonard Wood.

The book is unfortunately marred by poor editing and typographical errors, and the chapters on the military action during the war and on British Army typhoid epidemics during the Boer War (1899–1902) add little to Cirillo's analysis. But the study is a welcome contribution to the history of military medicine and reminds us that when a nation goes to war it must be vigilant not only for enemy soldiers but for lurking, opportunistic pathogens as well. The story also suggests a tragic irony: while medical officers would become vigilant for water-borne and insect-borne diseases due to the events Cirillo describes, they would

fail to foresee the devastating air-borne epidemics of World War I—first measles, and then the influenza pandemic of 1918–1919.

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CHARLES H. HARRIS III and LOUIS R. SADLER. *The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade, 1910–1920*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 673. \$37.50.

In this book you will find everything you ever wanted to know about the Texas Rangers, and more. Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler have been scavenging Ranger-related material for the last quarter century, and the meticulousness of their primary research shines through in this weighty volume of nearly seven hundred pages. The prodigious detail, however, is also the book's achilles heel, as non-Texas Ranger aficionados may find themselves wading through so many stories of gunfights that they lose the larger point.

Harris and Sadler state the purpose of their book is "neither to justify nor condemn but rather to paint as accurately as possible a portrait of the Rangers, warts and all" (p. 8). Their focus on the "bloodiest decade" (1910–1920) fills in a hole in the recent historiography, and it is the first book-length treatment that attempts to understand the Rangers in the context of the Mexican Revolution as well as Texas's political climate. By making use of the Adjutant General's Correspondence, Texas governors' papers, and the Texas Rangers Service Records for 1,785 people who held commissions during this decade, they are able to track and identify individual Rangers and their familial relationships; their use of Mexican sources is less thorough. The exhaustive detail, including frequent references to where each company was stationed, lengthy quotes that go on for pages at a time, and a nearly seventy-page appendix listing the dates of every ranger's service, may be more useful for a highly specialized readership.

Like the Alamo, the Rangers inspire strong feelings among Texans. For some, they are heroic defenders of law and order on a rough and tumble frontier, and for others they are a paramilitary organization that terrorized the Mexican population at the bidding of wealthy Anglo landowners. My own view is that the Texas Rangers are more the latter than the former, but as Harris and Sadler point out, both extreme characterizations are caricatures. Given the desire of the authors to create a balanced and complex portrait, I wish they had spent more time trying to understand and explain the motivations of the more than twenty-three Hispanic Rangers, or of the Texas Mexican legislator J. T. Canales, who helped the Rangers put down an anti-Anglo rebellion in 1915 and led the attack in the Texas legislature against the Texas Rangers in 1919.

Harris and Sadler see themselves as presenting a moderate and balanced perspective in contrast to the pro-Ranger work of Walter Prescott Webb and the

anti-Ranger Rodolfo Acuña. However, their criticism of Chicano writers for not undertaking the “kind of massive research that Webb engaged in” and for “reducing everything to race” ignores a whole host of Chicano scholarship since the late 1980s that is not only empirically sound but that explicitly tries to understand the complex relationship between race and class. While the authors are correct in arguing that early Chicano scholarship tended toward heroic nationalist portrayals, that moment was fading around the time that Harris and Sadler began their study a quarter of a century ago, and it has since been the subject of thorough Chicano/a criticism.

The book suffers from a paucity of analysis or reference to secondary literature to help explain the significance of the dizzying number of stories and characters to which we are introduced. The short bibliography of secondary sources (only five pages) reflects the absence of a larger dialogue, not only with Chicano, Mexican, and U.S. history but also with studies of criminality and policing.

The end of this book, inexplicably, comes with both an epilogue and a conclusion, but neither of these give the reader an analytical framework through which to make sense of the preceding five hundred pages of text. The authors successfully undermine the “one riot, one Ranger” myth and show how during this decade the force was “understrength, underpaid, and living on its reputation” (p. 502). But after such a massive research effort, to conclude with the obvious points that the “organization was shot through with politics” and that the Rangers changed with each new governor seems anticlimactic. The final line of the book is a quote from Barbara Tuchman: “It is wiser, I believe, to arrive at theory by way of evidence rather than the other way around” (p. 506). After so many pages, I got the feeling that they may have not arrived.

ELLIOTT YOUNG

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MARTIN SUMMERS. *Manliness and its Discontents: The Black Middle Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900–1930*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 380. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

Historical literature on transforming gender expectations and conventions of manhood continues to be written, largely, through a Euro-American prism. Martin Summers’s book counters this approach. Summers’s volume is valuable reading for a host of disciplines, including African-American history, gender and sexuality studies, and American literature: his cross-disciplinary study of black masculinity is groundbreaking on several fronts. Summers places black manhood in the context of nineteenth and early twentieth-century notions of American masculinity but demonstrates the unique conditions that influenced the socialization of black men. He uses a wide variety of primary sources, from Masonic lodge records to

African-American literature of the period and personal letters, which lends substantial weight to his argument.

The central thesis is that the African-American middle class experienced a fundamental transformation in its conceptualization of manhood in the period 1900–1930. The period began with a late Victorian concept of the self-made man, where the cultivation of one’s character and a commitment to producer values such as industry, thrift, and sobriety dominated gender conventions. Summers focuses on two social milieus: the fraternal network of Prince Hall Freemasonry and the nationalist environment of Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association. He examines the “rhetoric, organizational activities, literature and the daily public rituals of performance” among the African American men in these groups (p. 4). In the second half of the book, Summers charts how conventions of black masculinity changed fundamentally in the 1920s. Younger, middle-class African-American and African-Caribbean men adopted a consumerist approach to black manhood that freed up notions of career choice, leisure pursuits, and intimate relationships, often placing this younger generation in direct confrontation with its late Victorian elders. Summers uses the artistic and literary production of the Harlem Renaissance and the dynamics of post-World War I campuses of historically black colleges to reflect these changes.

The entire volume is a meticulous piece of historical research that places seemingly disparate aspects of African-American culture within the larger framework of changing contours of black manhood. The first half of the text is well written and edited, but the volume truly comes alive when Summers begins his discussion of Harlem Renaissance authors. Perhaps this is because the notion of conflict regarding bourgeois notions of manhood is established. But Summers demonstrates one of his central theses by examining the lives of Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Langston Hughes, Bruce Nugent, Countee Cullen, and other African-American male artists of the Renaissance.

Rather than focus exclusively on their literature, Summers demonstrates how their lives contested Victorian notions of sexuality “in their refusal to accept the conventionality and inevitability of marriage and in the open acceptance (and for some, participation in) a growing gay subculture” (p. 157). Summers argues that one of the central themes of the Harlem Renaissance was rebellion against bourgeois manliness. Jazz culture, the choice of a literary career, homosexuality, and modernism were all assaults on Victorian constructs of character, sobriety, and industriousness.

Summer dramatically describes these two generational conceptualizations of manhood coming to a head in the student strikes at Fisk and Howard Universities in 1925. The author illustrates how students rebelled against the imposition of late Victorian standards of morality and a paternalistic model of education. Indicative of Summers’s nuanced scholarship is

his demonstration that conditions at Fisk were more stifling than those at Howard, and that notions of protest at the two schools resembled each other yet had their own unique features.

One of the hallmarks of the book is this concept of the nuanced argument. The author argues that one dominant conceptualization of black masculinity never entirely replaced another, and he shows how individual black men in the 1920s experienced contested elements of masculinity within their own psyches. This is a highly recommended study that contributes to our understanding of how African-American men actively developed their own conventions of manhood rather than simply reacting to Euro-American paradigms.

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PETER BOAG. *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 321. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Peter Boag has written a stellar book on the politics of same-sex relationships in the early twentieth-century Pacific Northwest. Boag masterfully digs out obscure sources; he makes critical interpretive advances; he effortlessly blends economic, political, cultural, and geographic perspectives; and he never loses sight of real human beings. The result is a tour-de-force that offers major contributions to the historical literatures on the Progressive era, the Pacific Northwest, and gay history.

Boag concentrates on Portland, although he casts his net widely to capture significant issues in the history of male homosexuality in Eugene, Walla Walla, Vancouver (British Columbia), and the region's rural hinterland. Throughout the book Boag most insistently emphasizes class. He argues that working-class males developed a same-sex culture that thrived in the logging camps and boarding houses of the region's itinerant labor force. (Indeed, Boag rehabilitates rural areas as, historically, potentially attractive locations for those with homoerotic interests.) Gay middle-class corporate employees, in contrast, lived in separate neighborhoods and frequented downtown parks and the Young Men's Christian Association. Perhaps most strikingly, these cultures developed significantly different sexual practices. Working-class adults often engaged youth in anal and interfemoral intercourse, while middle-class men more frequently partnered with those their own age and preferred oral sex (which, according to court rulings, consistently became "sodomy" only after World War I).

Boag suggests an intriguing explanation, based fully in local political concerns, about how it was those in the middle class who first became "homosexuals," both in their eyes and in the eyes of others. Transatlantic intellectual and cultural influences, such as the writings of Richard von Krafft-Ebing and the trial of Oscar Wilde, certainly mattered, as did the economic and

personal freedom that white-collar work offered. The crucial catalyst for the Pacific Northwest, however, was a notorious 1912 Portland sex scandal. Soon after that year's momentous November election, Portland police arrested dozens of white-collar men, charging them with various sex crimes. The scandal quickly became caught up in the city's vigorous class struggles, as local Scripps editor Dana Sleeth whipped up a populist frenzy against perverted and parasitic sons of luxury. Just as swiftly the scandal transformed understandings of same-sex relationships. Prior to the dramas of 1912, northwesterners had treated male-male sex as "degenerate" acts of depraved members of the working class. The scandal forced into the open the fact of middle-class homoeroticism. And because upstanding members of the middle class could not, by definition, commit degenerate acts, the general public for the first time began to conceptualize same-sex acts as flowing from a full-fledged homosexual identity.

A substantial part of this story of the origins of modern homosexuality is familiar from the work of other historians. Boag, however, has many different takes on what has threatened to become a standard narrative, and most of his analytical suggestions are convincing. Perhaps his most important amendment involves rethinking "the middle class." While this large category of people serves as a kind of monolithic and oppressive beast in the work of scholars such as George Chauncey, Boag has a considerably more complex tale to tell. His non-gay middle class is both repressive and liberating. Perhaps a bit too coherently, "it" persecutes Greek and Indian immigrants and devises punishing "reforms" for gays at the same time that it plays the lead role in formulating a modern culture of sexual pleasure that allowed for both the loosening of strictures on heterosexual desire and the articulation of the new homosexual—even "gay"—identity.

The power of Boag's book stems in large part from his close attention to the lives of individuals. Boag has worked extremely hard to release previously anonymous prisoners from their bonds of obscurity, giving voice even to those castrated under draconian sterilization programs. His recovery of the life and persecution of E. S. J. McAllister, the radical lawyer who was the most visible victim of the 1912 scandal, is simply stunning.

In the end, Boag has written a book that should please both hard-nosed empiricists and those who are more theoretically inclined; his careful quantitative analysis of often fragmentary legal records is quite impressive, as is his gentle use of Michel Foucault. Boag also proposes significant chronological revisions. Politicized panics over the power of gays preceded the McCarthy era by decades, and hysterical concerns about homosexual pedophilia are as old as—at least—1912. If scholars overlook this book because of its focus on an easily neglected hinterland, they will ignore at their peril a remarkable model for local and regional history, as well as a study that should signifi-

cantly influence our conceptions of all gay American history.

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LIETTE GIDLOW. *The Big Vote: Gender, Consumer Culture, and the Politics of Exclusion, 1890s-1920s*. (Reconfiguring American Political History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 260. \$45.00.

This book's title should not be read without its qualifying subtitle. Amidst mass campaigns to increase voter turnout in the 1920s, the Get-Out-the-Vote (GOTV) movement practiced a politics of exclusion that ignored the majority of non-voters whose participation was necessary to achieve "the big vote." Liette Gidlow's topic is a timely one. Her account of the largely forgotten GOTV campaigns of the 1920s may carry lessons for the present era.

As recounted here, the significance of the GOTV campaigns had less to do with their impact on voter turnout, which was negligible, than on the way in which they helped to redefine what Gidlow calls "civic hierarchies." The civic hierarchy of the nineteenth-century party period, according to Gidlow, embraced working-class and immigrant men in a democratic polity celebrated for its inclusiveness. During the 1920s, GOTV campaigns helped to reorder this civic hierarchy, placing white middle-class and elite men and women at the top. Ethnic and working-class men and women joined African Americans as unqualified civic players whose participation was neither solicited nor considered an essential element of the democratic polity.

Gidlow tells this story by examining GOTV campaigns conducted during the presidential election years of 1920, 1924, and 1928. The largest GOTV efforts occurred in 1920 and 1924. Early failures led most groups to abandon the effort or to undertake smaller campaigns in the latter half of the decade. Five national organizations—the League of Women Voters, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Civic Federation, the American Legion, and *Collier's* magazine—led the GOTV movement. These were joined by over 1,000 smaller groups in forty-seven of the forty-eight states. Gidlow emphasizes the commonalities in the GOTV efforts of the major players. Among the most significant commonalities was the fact that each group misrepresented the turnout problem. While evidence abounded that turnout was lowest among ethnic, working-class, female, and African-American voters, GOTV campaigns consistently targeted businessmen and middle-class and elite women as both the source of and solution to the turnout problem. They used one of two tactics to encourage voting among these populations, adopting a "hurrah style" of commercial advertising or engaging in more sedate educational work. The book presents a wealth of detail on the size, strategies, and variety of these campaigns, including the distribution of millions of

fliers, tags, posters, and booklets and the organization of car tours, radio talks, contests, and citizenship classes. Despite these commonalities, there were differences within the GOTV movement. Gidlow devotes one chapter to the particularities of the five national sponsoring organizations. Another chapter explores variations by examining three local campaigns in New York City, Birmingham, Alabama, and Grand Rapids, Michigan.

By the end of the decade, according to Gidlow, GOTV campaigns had carved out a new definition of citizenship, one that privileged white middle-class men and women as informed and educated "expert citizens." Expert citizenship eschewed blind party loyalty and rejected "radicalism, class consciousness, race consciousness, and ethnic identity" (p. 159). Although she does not draw the connection, Gidlow's account of expert citizenship is clearly an extension of Progressive-era reformers' dedication to expertise and belief in the possibility of a classless society.

Along with the expert citizen, GOTV campaigns contributed to the "commodification of political culture" (p. 162). Gidlow's account of the permeability of citizenship and consumption forms one of the most engaging aspects of this story. GOTV campaigns employed both the advertising language and the leading ad men of the era. They located their literature, tables and events in department stores, uptown movie theaters, and other sites of consumption where their audiences were disproportionately white middle-class and elite men and women. At the same time, commercial advertising informed consumers that they were "voting" for products with every purchase. The good citizen was strikingly similar to the good consumer. It should be noted that Gidlow's consumer citizen differs significantly from Elizabeth Cohen's construction of citizen-consumers in a later period. Whereas Cohen's *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (2003) explores contested relationships between consumers, policy, power, and the state, Gidlow's consumer citizen inhabits a world without conflict. The commodification of political culture, she argues, moved politics into exclusive arenas that "helped to make politics the province of people who were white and middle class or elite" (p. 192).

This more limited focus on who or which groups were characterized as legitimate citizens at the top of the civic hierarchy is both the strength and weakness of the book. Gidlow successfully demonstrates that GOTV campaigns attached legitimacy and nonpartisanship to an exclusionary notion of civic participation. Yet this begs a range of questions about who actually participated, how they participated, and what agendas they pursued. It is not at all clear how low turnout rates were related to the exclusionary GOTV campaigns. Why didn't targeted white middle-class and elite men and women respond more positively to GOTV campaigns?

If voters' motives are left unexplored, so are the motives of the GOTV groups themselves. Although

Gidlow acknowledges the larger partisan agendas of these groups, she fails to consider whether their GOTV campaigns might have been partisan as well. Did sponsoring organizations use nominally nonpartisan GOTV coalitions for partisan purposes? How did GOTV efforts fit into the major political contests of the era? How did they relate to the new style of interest group politics, which did not depend on high voter turnout? As these unanswered questions suggest, *Gidlow's* book leaves ample opportunity for further study.

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MARI YOSHIHARA. *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 242. \$19.95.

This is a provocative study of the ways in which white American women utilized orientalism to achieve their own success. Studies of orientalism flourished in the wake of Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (1978), which analyzed European relations with Middle Eastern countries and provided insights on the cultural imaginaries that supported nation-state formations. It was not difficult, then, for scholars of the United States to perceive how the United States also enacted its own ideology of orientalism in relation to China and Japan in order to justify nativist reactions and restrictive immigration legislation aimed at people of Asian descent. Nonetheless, while several scholars have explored different articulations of American orientalism at key moments in United States history, none have analyzed how different forms of American orientalism allowed white women to negotiate the limits of their own identities in American society to the extent that Mari Yoshihara does in this study.

Yoshihara analyzes white women's interactions with popular American orientalism from the nineteenth century through the 1940s, in relation to white women's changing roles in an ever more consuming and conspicuous middle-class society. The first part of her study focuses on the ways in which material culture appropriated orientalism for popular consumption. United States industrialization contributed to the emergence of a middle-class sensibility that defined femininity through domesticity, while also feeding into American expansion abroad into Asia. Increased trade with China and Japan introduced Asian products into American parlors, where women could display exotic curios and chinaware in cabinets as signs of affluence. Wives of men who gilded their pockets with the profits of industry and empire participated in aesthetic acts of possession, a more feminine endeavor. Yoshihara cites prominent examples, including Isabella Stewart Gardner, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, and Lucy Aldrich. Innovative entrepreneurs capitalized on the association of an Asian aesthetic with upper-class status, importing and manufacturing oriental furnishings and

making them accessible to middle-class matrons. White women also produced American orientalism for consumption through the arts as well. Yoshihara demonstrates how Mary Cassatt utilized Asian forms to fashion alternative images of femininity in her paintings; she also explores how other white female artists actually contributed to artistic orientalism, an outgrowth of their fascination with "othered" cultures.

This widespread fascination with Japanese and Chinese culture as exotic, different, and feminized also encouraged white women to embody the orient through performance on stage, particularly through the foundational staging of Asian femininity, *Madame Butterfly*, in 1900. Blanche Bates's and Geraldine Farrar's performances of Cio-Cio-San in the play and Giacomo Puccini's operatic version, Yoshihara notes, were not simply triumphs of racial (and colonial) mimicry but examples of the New Woman empowering herself by enacting the opposite of modernity in the person of a docile female suppressed by the backwardness of Asian culture. The second part of this book thus focuses on theater, poetry, and writing as sites of self-expression and empowerment for white women who claimed authentic knowledge of Asian femininity and cultures by virtue of their gender.

The detailed and provocative discussion of the intersections of gender and race as articulated in white women's artistic and commercial productions of Japan and China during the Gilded Age, however, wavers as the analysis focuses on texts from the 1930s and 1940s. While Yoshihara's treatments of Agnes Smedley, Pearl S. Buck, and Ruth Benedict reveal changing articulations of femininity and orientalism during this time, more attention to the shifting relationships among the United States, Japan, and China, in addition to the changes within the United States itself during World War II, would better contextualize and nuance her analysis. Throughout the period of this study, Americans did not engage with China and Japan as a monolithic whole; different forms of American orientalism were not only articulated in relation to patterns of consumption and production but also were gendered to different extents depending on whether the orientalism—constructed admittedly in reference to an abstract notion of Asia—was specifically applied to China or Japan. This lack of analysis is not conspicuous when the majority of examples focus on Japanese culture, but it is problematic with the abrupt switch to white women's portrayal of China in the case of Smedley and Buck in the final chapters of the book.

Overall, however, this fine interdisciplinary study incorporates the history of the middle class, art, and literature as it historicizes the ways in which white females participated in, produced, and benefited from Americans' ambivalent fascination with Japan and China and contributed to the feminization of American orientalism during the Gilded Age. Yoshihara's careful research and nuanced readings of multiple texts, particularly in the first two parts of the book, is engaging and provocative, and her analysis of the

intersections of gender and race is particularly insightful. This book is a valuable contribution to the history of U.S. women and American orientalism.

KAREN J. LEONG
Arizona State University

MARGARET A. LOWE. *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875–1930*. (Gender Relations in the American Experience.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 212. \$40.00.

In February 1882, student Charlotte Wilkinson wrote a letter home from all-female Smith College, reassuring her mother of her academic and personal successes. Filled with campus news, Charlotte's letter also announced "it is my ambition to weigh 150 pounds" (p. 31). In February, she reported weighing one hundred thirty-five and a half pounds, but by year's end she had progressed to one hundred and thirty-seven pounds. Although such attention to a young woman's weight might seem familiar to today's parents, the direction of Charlotte's goal is striking. Modern educators work to palliate collegians' eating disorders and poor body image; the idea that an earlier generation took pleasure in food and highlighted weight gain seems extraordinary.

As Margaret A. Lowe explains, our view of women's health comes from previous studies that emphasize "the troubled state of young women's appetites" during the middle and late nineteenth century, as "codes of femininity" restricted both their behavior and their enjoyment of food (p. 44). But by examining colleges for notions of body image, Lowe finds a marked shift between the 1870s (women's arrival onto American campuses) and the end of the Progressive era. Whereas women students before World War I shared Charlotte's aim of enjoying food and viewed hearty appetites as signs of good health, those of the 1920s emulated the "flapper" ideal of slim bodies, exposed skin, and slinky dresses—none being especially welcoming to female bodies of 150 pounds or more.

Using students' diaries and letters as well as college publications and popular sources, Lowe traces the shift in women collegians' perceptions of their own bodies as well as societal expectations for female attractiveness. She argues that campuses offer a particularly potent site for investigating these notions because they represent physical and intellectual space denied to women before the mid-nineteenth century. When the contested terrain of the college campus combined with shifting ideas about sexuality, people increased their attention to how women enacted their lives as students. Parents, college officials, outside observers, and students themselves all focused on how "the college girl" would fare in her new setting. As Lowe asserts, "fiercely debated views of American womanhood were mapped on various representations of 'student bodies'" (p. 4).

Across six chapters, Lowe moves from the 1870s, as women established themselves on unfamiliar cam-

puses, to 1930, when college attendance had expanded and students generally resembled average adolescents. The first female students needed to prove that neither health nor virtue was diminished by vigorous intellectual work and life in dormitories. Educators carefully monitored students' physical fitness, relying on constant anthropometry to reveal signs of either health or deterioration. Abundant food and frequent exercise countered physicians' concern that women suffered from these new environments. By the 1920s, however, new notions of idealized bodies affected college women as dieting, nutritional rules, and self-regulation became campus watchwords. In fact, Lowe argues that college students led the way in establishing such trends.

Even though gender expectations changed over time, Lowe demonstrates that they also varied by setting, and her particularly strong contribution is examining three distinct campus environments. Smith College represents a women's institution focused on providing an equivalent to men's colleges in a gendered space. Coeducational Cornell University reveals women pushing for accommodation in a predominantly male and often unwelcoming setting. Female-only Spelman College shows African-American students adjusting not only to opportunities for higher education but also to racialized behavioral expectations. Whereas Smith and Cornell women were encouraged to eat heartily and revel in physical activity, Lowe finds that Spelman students' eating habits, dress, and decorum were precisely governed to counter the threat such educated black women might pose to a society uncomfortable with their achievements. Similarly, women at Spelman and Smith enjoyed more flexible choices of curriculum than Cornell's "coeds" struggling to assert their place on the mixed campus. By 1930, the three campuses had become quite similar, but their initial differences bespeak varied views of women's behavior.

As much as the three settings provide Lowe a useful argument, they occasionally lead both her and the reader to exaggerate and generalize the differences. Does Spelman's parsimony with food and dress represent a "black approach" to higher education? Does Cornell's development of a premier home economics program demonstrate a curricular concession to women's ostracism? With three cases, the temptation to essentialize must be guarded against.

Although strongly argued, the book would benefit from deeper contextual discussions of women's higher education, African-American culture, medical developments, and the meaning of fashion. Lowe addresses these issues, and her bibliographic essay—an excellent contribution—demonstrates her familiarity with these historiographic areas. But I often found myself wanting a longer explanation for how Smith, Spelman, and Cornell women fit into wider concerns, as well as into historians' conceptualizations of particular issues. Nonetheless, Lowe has produced a creatively researched analysis that provocatively extends the mean-

ing of the female collegiate experience into larger social arenas.

LINDA EISENMANN
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DAVID TYACK. *Seeking Common Ground: Public Schools in a Diverse Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 237. \$22.95.

This is a little book with enormous importance for policy makers, educators, parents, and anyone who is interested in American public education. Drawing on historical insight of the changes in public education, David Tyack cautions that we should balance "the claims of innovation and conservation" in school reforms, for we may lose "what works in schools" (p. 184) in the rush to make drastic changes in order to meet new demands.

Americans have always "attempted to create civic cohesion through education in a socially diverse and contentious democracy" (p. 3). Tyack investigates these attempts historically around three major themes: unity, diversity, and democracy, taking into account broad social forces, educational ideologies, and the daily lives of individuals that shaped the motives and objectives of public education. The search for unity and consensus, which was best demonstrated in the expectation of schools to produce homogenous and patriotic citizens, however, was filled with challenges and dissent. Take history textbooks, for example. Writers of American history tried to instill patriotism in students "by teaching a master narrative," avoiding or neglecting controversial issues. But citizens have argued about who should be included in history and what values should be taught from the beginning of the republic. The egalitarian rationale to create homogenous Americans out of a socially, culturally, religiously, economically, and politically diverse population has not historically met much challenge, but racism, ethnocentrism, religious bias, and self-interest have worked to undermine the realization of an equal education.

Emphasis on unity inevitably led to the imposition of conformity to a diverse social reality. Different social segments, however, have asserted their places and contended for pluralism. From Catholics' efforts to create their own schools in the nineteenth century to the intercultural and multicultural education movements in the twentieth century, different groups and educational ideologies have formed strong forces to challenge the mainstream education policies and programs. In pre-civil rights movement America, education policies were made to accommodate human differences in capabilities that were understood along the lines of race, gender, and ethnicity. Concepts such as "Europeans," "Asians," and "blacks" informed policy makers and educators with such deeply racist views that assimilation and "compulsory Americanization" was decided for the white immigrants, exclusion and segregation for the "Mongols," and segregation for the

"blacks." Tyack points out that the social construction of these categories of human differences is both arbitrary and faulty, as the experiences of the immigrants from the Cape Verde Islands showed (pp. 67–68). Since the 1970s, demands for pluralism went beyond the addition of different groups and their contributions in an assimilated America. The "subordinated groups" such as African Americans, Hispanics, and women stressed the importance of "preserving the distinctive cultures of groups" rather than "cultural assimilation" through education. Their emphasis on "equality of groups as opposed to equality of individuals" presented both "a useful counterweight to the competitive individualism and cultural homogeneity" and explicit challenges to "traditional academic canon" and "entrenched interests" (pp. 82, 96).

With demands for pluralism and search for unity, how did Americans conduct democracy in education? Tyack tackles the topic from two fronts: academic and administrative. Democratic education carries with it an assumption of academic success for everyone. But failure in schools is too familiar a story throughout American history. Pupils and schools were often mismatched, even though there was no lack of innovative ideas and programs to address the problem. In the early twentieth century, progressive educators launched "a campaign to reduce, or even eliminate, failure in schooling" with all kinds of creative programs and services. Still, the problem exists today. The issue is not that reform efforts did not work but that reforms often created new problems. Put in historical perspective, the No Child Left Behind policy is only new rhetoric for an ancient problem and "as utopian as any previous attack on school failure" (p. 125).

The control of schools also shifted from local to central and from laymen to elite professionals often in the name of reform. In the Progressive era, nine out of ten rural school districts were consolidated, and the number of locally elected board members dropped drastically. Democratic governance of schools was increasingly centralized when government used laws to regulate and restrict the power of local controls. But the tension between citizens' preference for local control and policy elites' decision on standards continued to be expressed in different forms, one of which was the recent advocacy for school voucher programs.

School reforms have often neglected the issue of class, which cuts across the lines of race, gender, and ethnicity. Although Tyack discusses economic inequality, a fuller critique of this subject would further help explain the failures of school reforms. Nonetheless, Tyack's critical examination of school reforms offers timely advice for caution in reform and commends realistic policies with committed funding for education.

LIPING BU
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CHARLES A. ISRAEL. *Before Scopes: Evangelicalism, Education, and Evolution in Tennessee, 1870–1925*.

Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. x, 252. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Catchy title notwithstanding, this book is not primarily about evolution or science. Rather, it focuses broadly on religious responses to educational reform in Tennessee during the half-century or so from the founding of a state-funded public school system in 1873 to the passage of the notorious Butler bill in 1925. Charles A. Israel carefully explores how the religious culture of Tennessee influenced the educational institutions of the state, from common schools to colleges. In doing so, he challenges the popular thesis associated with Samuel S. Hill, who years ago argued that the "central theme" of southern religion was the conversion of individual sinners, not the reformation of society.

The book justifiably concentrates on the dominant denominations of white Baptists and Methodists, glancing only occasionally at black evangelicals and other religious minorities. Judiciously incorporating the insights of recent scholarship with fresh material from religious weeklies and archival records, Israel shows how the compromise of "home rule," which allowed local communities to determine the amount of religion permitted in the schools, initially promoted peace between church and state—often blurring the lines between the two. (Tennessee's experience was not unique; Benjamin Justice's book *The War that Wasn't: Religious Conflict and Compromise in the Common Schools of New York State, 1865–1900* [2005] illustrates how the same compromise prevented conflict in New York.) Any religious decline in the elementary schools could, in principle at least, be offset by the spiritual guidance of Christian parents and Sunday School teachers. Evangelicals also comforted themselves with the knowledge that more public school teachers were being trained in "safe" denominational colleges than at the "godless" state university in Knoxville, allegedly controlled by uppity, spiritually challenged Episcopalians.

Israel interrupts his narrative of educational developments—but reinforces his argument about evangelical commitment to social reform—with a chapter on the efforts of Tennessee's evangelicals to legislate morality by banning (or at least restricting) the consumption of alcohol. Despite the opposition of those who manufactured and imbibed the state's most famous agricultural product, corn whiskey, the advocates of prohibition secured passage of the so-called Four Mile Law, which outlawed saloons within a four-mile radius of schoolhouses, thus providing Israel with a tenuous link between temperance and teaching.

Until the early twentieth century, Tennessee's Baptists and Methodists seemed relatively happy with their public schools. As Israel observes, "Most teachers were religious, most schools began with Bible reading, and nearly all schools were morally safe" (p. 117). The tipping point came early in the new century, after the U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1903 called for the secularization of the country's public schools. Ten

years later, legislators in Nashville passed a controversial compulsory-attendance law. In the early 1920s, when Darwinism first grabbed the attention of many conservative Christians, they decided to strike back by outlawing the teaching of human evolution in public schools. Israel convincingly argues that Tennesseans rose up against evolution in an effort to regain control of their public schools, not because of a generalized hostility to science, a commitment to Princeton theology, or fear that evolution would destabilize race relations. They were simply asserting their "parental and taxpayer rights to determine what was to be taught in the schools" (p. 130).

This book provides us with a timely introduction to issues that continue to roil our society. As Americans once again debate the teaching of evolution, creation, and "intelligent design" in the nation's public schools—and leading politicians such as President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry defer to the judgment of local communities—we can only thank Israel for his thoughtful and timely monograph.

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SUSAN M. STERETT. *Public Pensions: Gender and Civic Service in the States, 1850–1937*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 222. \$39.95.

Why did social insurance develop more slowly in the United States than in Western Europe? Rather than focusing on problems of patronage in the national Civil War pension program or the relatively late development of a national cadre of professional civil servants, political scientist Susan M. Sterett turns to the states to explain American welfare policy. Treating state governance as a critical "site of contest" rather than simply a static "structure," she shows how constitutional interpretations shaped social welfare categories in the states well before the New Deal. Beginning with nineteenth-century pensions for soldiers and firemen, Sterett traces the way litigation by taxpayers, county commissioners, and potential pensioners gradually paved the way for the Social Security Act of 1935.

Public purpose clauses of state constitutions limited government payments to recognition of public service and poor relief. Initially, meritorious service encompassed only dangerous labor on behalf of the public, such as fighting fires. Over time, the category of service broadened to include police, teachers, and other civil servants. As wage labor became the measure of masculine citizenship, states came close to equating service with work itself, most notably in workman's compensation programs. However, states stopped short of rewarding work with government payments when they rejected old age pensions. Contests over the boundaries that distinguished work, service, and charity stretched administrative law while maintaining differences between categories.

Sterett shows how public purpose categories of

service and charity were gendered, even as both men and women could fall under either rubric. Payments for service were intended to maintain the independence of recipients already defined as independent citizens. Although the independent citizen was imagined to be a man supporting a dependent wife and children, in fact many women gained access to pensions through their public service, particularly as teachers. Poor relief, in contrast, was for the dependent. Despite the desire of some social reformers to redefine mothering as a public service, mothers' pensions were deemed to be charity. Mothers' pensions thus confirmed the *a priori* definition of recipients as characterized by feminine dependence. Yet many elderly men also received poor relief, since state courts refused to consider their work as service unless they had been soldiers, firemen, police, or other civil servants.

Sterett relies on several general arguments about how law and policy developed to guide the reader through the maze of state court cases. "Courts think through analogies" (p. 74) is a guiding principle of the book, which maps the likenesses imagined by the law. In the category of service, firemen, like soldiers, did dangerous work on behalf of the public; teachers, like firemen, served the public; and so on. Poor mothers and the elderly, state courts reasoned, were analogous to other dependent and disabled groups such as the blind. Sterett argues that legal reasoning by analogy allowed constitutional interpretation to appear wedded to the past even as it expanded the welfare functions of the states. She contends that constitutional assessments of policy that took place in judicial forums were relatively immune to public opinion, although court decisions influenced public debate and social reform strategies. Social reformers kept track of the legal arguments and decisions made in other states, shaping and defending programs with constitutional categories in mind. The result was a national pattern, generated by hundreds of contests between litigants adjudicated in state courts.

Rather than simply seeing state courts and constitutions as barriers to the development of an American welfare state, Sterett views them instead as a kind of traction: slowing social insurance's progress down while still enabling it to move ahead. Despite the failure of old age pensions in the states, she argues that contests over the meaning of legal categories in state courts ultimately shaped the Social Security Act as a gendered national program. In the conclusion to the book, Sterett briefly suggests ways the states influenced the formation of the national program and its ability to pass constitutional muster in the U.S. Supreme Court. These include Works Progress Administration studies of state constitutions undertaken to anticipate legal challenges to the Social Security Act, although those constitutions were quickly revised to accommodate its provisions. In the future, perhaps other scholars will find the precise mechanisms whereby state courts shaped Social Security and the

process through which they so rapidly overcame what had seemed a barrier to old age pensions. Historians as well as political scientists are indebted to Sterett for doing the difficult work of illuminating the myriad jurisdictions that governed welfare in the American federal system.

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ANN-MARIE E. SZYMANSKI. *Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 325. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

Ann-Marie E. Szymanski presents a sophisticated and meticulous analysis of how the Anti-Saloon League (ASL) successfully campaigned for national prohibition using a strategy she identifies as "local gradualism." She explains that such an approach "focuses on local issues before targeting the state and national levels" and "emphasizes achieving moderate goals before pursuing more radical goals" (p. 5). By coaxing the citizens of local communities to adopt incremental changes in alcohol policy, the ASL managed to win "partial but positive victories" in towns and counties everywhere. In this way, the organization achieved governmental reforms first horizontally and then vertically in "an ever-widening battle that lasted twenty years (from about 1900 to 1920)" (p. 4).

Szymanski critiques many conventional explanations of the ASL's success. Some scholars have argued, for example, that the group triumphed because of its single-issue focus, or its exploitation of the disenfranchisement of poor blacks and whites after 1895, or its manipulation of wartime hysteria after 1914. While these factors may have played a role, she argues that it was the ASL's strategy of local gradualism that ultimately won the day.

The author highlights differences between the ASL and its predecessors, most notably the Prohibition Party and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The latter organizations had called for the immediate and total prohibition of all alcohol by constitutional amendment. This radical agenda was off-putting to many Americans who were as yet unready to legislate morality on such a massive scale. In contrast, the ASL pushed for smaller changes in smaller venues. By shutting down a saloon here and passing a Sunday closing law there, the group hoped to advance its cause community by community, without looking like radical "cranks."

Szymanski closely analyzes the political context of the ASL crusade. The group's strategy of change by inches might not have worked, for example, had it not been for the unresponsiveness of state lawmakers who cared more for the liquor industry than the public interest. Such behavior convinced many citizens and judges alike that the longstanding principle of "legislative supremacy" should be replaced with that of "local option" in the matter of alcohol policy.

Two other political preconditions were necessary for the ASL to elevate its successes beyond the local level. First was the federal structure of American government that accommodated activism at many levels simultaneously. Second, the instability of political alignments within the major parties made competing politicians more apt to woo temperance advocates. These political factors eventually made it possible for the ASL to parlay its local, gradual successes into a nationwide prohibitionist triumph.

Szymanski's training in political science provides a fresh, interdisciplinary perspective on the prohibition movement. For those unfamiliar with current political theory and methodology, however, some sections of the book may prove tough going. For those interested in the social history of alcohol, the most serious problem is one that plagues nearly all works on prohibition: drink culture and the saloon itself are virtually lost in the shuffle. The index contains only three references to the saloon itself, and two of these are crushingly negative. It is true that bar life was often problematic, but why did millions of people frequent these places for over fifty years if they were really so universally horrific?

If the drinker's perspective is missing, however, the anti-drink activist's experience is vividly portrayed. Particularly interesting is the author's account of how ordinary citizens' clashes with local drinksellers had a profoundly radicalizing effect, transforming many a moderate dry into raging radical after just a few such encounters. Szymanski goes on to point out a parallel experience among Freedom Summer activists of the 1960s civil rights struggle. Other intriguing parallels include the use of local gradualism in both the civil rights movement and the Christian Right crusade, as well as the failure of the environmental movement to make effective use of this strategy.

In sum, Szymanski's work is an innovative and well-researched exploration of the political dimension of the Anti-Saloon League campaign, brimming with information on anti-saloon tactics if thin on saloons themselves.

MADELON POWERS
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KEN I. KERSCH. *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 392. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.99.

This is a relentlessly interesting book, one that cannot help but change the way the reader understands twentieth-century American constitutional development. As Ken I. Kersch persuasively argues, for much of the late twentieth century American constitutional history was dominated by a whiggish narrative in which progressive forces consistently supportive of civil rights and civil liberties triumphed over the dark forces of reaction. This whiggish narrative, however, is full of holes.

For example, progressives of the early twentieth century fought mightily *against* privacy rights protected by the Fourth and Fifth Amendments, in the name of the right of publicity. More specifically, the state-building project supported by progressives required that American businesses be subjected to intrusive and unprecedented inspection by regulatory and other legal authorities. Even future Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis's famous 1890 article supporting a constitutional "right to privacy"—later cited as the progenitor of modern "right to privacy" cases such as *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965)—actually did not advocate a right to privacy that modern civil libertarians would even begin to recognize. Quite to the contrary, the article advocated recognition of a tort for invasion of privacy as a means of censoring even rather tepid tabloid journalism. Only after progressives had soundly defeated the "old" right to privacy in the economic sphere and established the modern bureaucratic state did they reimagine the right to privacy in terms congenial to modern liberalism, as an island of personal autonomy in a sea of statism. This victory also allowed them to revive the Fourth and Fifth Amendments in the service of protecting street criminals.

The whiggish narrative also asserts that a defining characteristic of American progressivism has been solicitude for the rights of oppressed minorities, especially African Americans. In fact, however, before the New Deal era most progressives were at best indifferent to African Americans' plight. Indeed, some were openly hostile to African Americans and launched such progressive schemes as the wave of residential segregation laws that swept through the United States in the 1910s. These laws were invalidated by a unanimous decision of the "conservative" Supreme Court in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), to a chorus of criticism from progressive legal scholars.

Organized labor, not civil rights, was the favored cause of progressives in the early twentieth century, and labor unions, especially American Federation of Labor and railroad unions, were themselves hostile to African Americans. African Americans, in turn, for the most part fiercely opposed labor unionism. In alliance with the businesses that often provided them with work over white workers' objections, African Americans supported such "reactionary" policies as labor injunctions, strikebreaking, and the legality of yellow dog contracts. Kersch argues that progressives only embraced the cause of civil rights when African Americans dropped their prior attachment to pre-New Deal individualistic conceptions of rights and, modeling themselves on the successful model of organized labor, organized as a constitutional class entitled to group rights in a statist legal and economic superstructure.

Finally, progressive conceptions of appropriate education policy were for the most part driven far more by a vision of imposing a centralized, statist school system on the American people than on any principled conception of civil liberties and separation of church and state. Progressive intellectuals strongly opposed

the *Meyer*, *Pierce*, and *Tokushige* Supreme Court opinions of the 1920s, which protected local school board prerogatives and private schooling against progressive demands for homogenization and centralization of education. Progressives, in fact, were overtly hostile to the very existence of Catholic parochial schools; the constitutionality of banning such schools was at the heart of the *Pierce* case. By the 1960s, progressives and their allies on the scholarly community reinterpreted quintessentially conservative Supreme Court cases—with their roots in the “reactionary” *Lochner v. New York* (1905) tradition—as civil libertarian cases protecting individual autonomy from conservative religious forces (see *Griswold v. Connecticut* and *Roe v. Wade* [1973]). However, progressive hostility to traditional Catholicism continued, as the history of both of these cases makes clear.

Similarly, after the New Deal, the overtly statist progressive attempt to outlaw Catholic schools morphed into an attempt to ensure that government aid to Catholic schools was beyond the constitutional pale. The “civil libertarian” doctrine promulgated to accomplish this goal was the “separation of church and state.” Courts initially used this doctrine primarily to suppress government assistance to Catholic schools and Catholic-dominated “release time” programs. However, as atheists and liberal Jews became increasingly influential in separationist organizations, the attack on Catholic education grew into a broader war against expressions of Christian religious sentiment in the public schools, culminating in the *Lemon v. Kurtzman* decision in 1971. Not surprisingly, whiggish narratives neglect the anti-Catholic sentiment that initially spurred these constitutional developments.

Kersch puts all of these examples into the broad framework of American political and constitutional development. Most historians, law professors, and political scientists who write about constitutional history likely think of themselves as independent liberal, perhaps even radical, critics of their government. Kersch, however, will have none of it. He accuses the scholars who spun and sustained the fanciful but entirely mainstream whiggish narrative of the development of “civil rights and civil liberties” of “being heavily implicated in the political project of justifying, institutionalizing and . . . defending the New Deal constitutional regime.” Rather than serving as the incisive and independent critics of their own imagination, the academic establishment has served as an implicit fourth (or fifth) branch of government, rewriting American history to retroactively justify the revolutionary changes to the American conception of rights, liberties, and the proper role of government that the New Deal precipitated and institutionalized.

Ultimately, a short review cannot do justice to the brilliance of Kersch’s insights or the breadth of his research. Suffice to say that Kersch is fully up to the challenge of explaining and defending a revisionist thesis of tremendous magnitude. This is simply the

most provocative and enlightening book on constitutional history that I have ever read.

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KEVIN J. McMAHON. *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Road to Brown*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. x, 298.

Franklin D. Roosevelt’s record on racial issues has not received a very favorable press. Despite his advance of economic justice during the 1930s and his leadership of the “arsenal of democracy” against fascism, Roosevelt demonstrated a timidity and a personal detachment toward racial injustice at home—or so we have long assumed—in marked contrast to the sentiments of his wife Eleanor. Kevin J. McMahon, however, seeks to elevate the Roosevelt reputation on matters racial, insisting that the New Deal president deliberately pursued a judicial and constitutional strategy intended to dismantle discriminatory southern democracy and create a rights-driven liberal judiciary, and that his success in doing so was the most important factor in paving the road to the *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) school integration decision.

McMahon asserts that presidents, especially those in the category of “reconstructive” chief executives, are in fact the prime movers of constitutional change in U.S. history through their judicial appointment powers. The federal courts, in particular the Supreme Court, are predisposed to follow the lead of the executive branch when the latter is determined to pursue an agenda of constitutional revision. In the case of Roosevelt, McMahon argues that by his second term he had not merely decided to change the composition of the Supreme Court in order to protect New Deal legislation but had concluded that the broader goal of reshaping the Democratic Party as the long-term vehicle of progressive change mandated the destruction of traditional southern democracy and the creation of a rights-driven federal judiciary receptive to social science evidence and flexible in interpretation of constitutional principles for a modern industrial society. By 1937, in other words, court-packing was about more than just conserving short-run policy gains; it was intended to extend liberalism as defined by modern presidents into broader realms, including civil rights.

Once Roosevelt decided to reshape the judiciary to remove ideological and intraparty obstacles to modern liberalism, McMahon asserts, he sought to buttress his court appointments with supportive efforts by the Civil Rights Section of his Justice Department. Not only is the Roosevelt administration, especially Attorney General (and later Supreme Court Justice) Frank Murphy, credited with creating the Civil Rights Section, the internal debates it generated and the alliances its personnel forged with civil rights and civil liberties organizations led directly to the legal logic of *Brown*. In this and other specific examples, the author can be faulted for assuming a commonality of thought and

depth of commitment between FDR and particular individuals in his administration. Just as Roosevelt proved on other issues not always to be as liberal or as consistent as the most ardent of his New Dealers, the same could be said on civil rights.

McMahon is on firmest ground when he argues for the important contributory role of Roosevelt's Supreme Court appointments in reversing decades of opinions that had blocked a more interventionist federal role in economic relations by the executive and legislative branches. This greater judicial tolerance for government action to address economic injustice potentially led the way to a similar sympathy by the Court in later years for the victims of racial injustice. But the author strains when claiming such intentions and clairvoyance on the part of Roosevelt himself. As McMahon notes, "there is no clear evidence that Roosevelt nominated jurists with a specific desire to advance African-American rights" (p. 142). Instead, Roosevelt's actions seem more in keeping with his aims of protecting the New Deal and filling the judiciary with politically savvy loyalists who would support the administration's economic justice agenda—an agenda dependent upon maintaining the party's majority coalition. In fact, his appointments to the federal courts demonstrated his ability by and large to harmonize his demands for personal and programmatic loyalty with a continuing sensitivity to the South's importance to the Democratic majority.

Ultimately, the author's claim for the centrality of Roosevelt's judicial philosophy and appointments to the *Brown* decision is monocausal, deterministic, and ahistorical. In giving FDR his due for judicial changes that ultimately contributed to the judicial revolution of the 1950s and 1960s, he gives short shrift to the other individual, institutional, and historical factors not only of the New Deal era but also of World War II and the Truman and Eisenhower presidencies. All of these periods featured events and actions—sometimes intentional, at other times accidental—that steered the nation on a path to *Brown*. As we are learning in a time in which calls for judicial deference to the majoritarian branches of government serve a conservative ideological agenda, the Roosevelt-era push for similar deference to presidential or legislative direction did not by itself guarantee liberal outcomes. That required an historical environment shaped by far more than the judicial philosophy and appointments of a single president—even an FDR.

ROBERT F. BURK
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CHRISTINA S. JARVIS. *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity During World War II*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 270, \$43.00.

Powerfully built, vigorous, and valiant, the chisel-jawed American GI stands as an evocative image of national fortitude. Christina S. Jarvis's study of the development of this ideal during World War II repre-

sents a meticulously researched, incisive, and at times very poignant analysis of "the creation and maintenance of a hegemonic militarized masculinity that emerged in and across U.S. institutions . . . as America engaged in a global war" (p. 8). Drawing on a wealth of primary source material (encompassing popular texts such as posters, novels, films, and magazines as well as private letters, interviews, and a battery of military reports, circulars, and brochures), Jarvis shows how wartime models of manhood were constructed and marshaled as symbols of American potency.

Offering a sophisticated analysis, this book is informed by theoretical perspectives developed in the fields of gender, cultural, and literary studies. Like many recent accounts of the historical development of American masculinity, Jarvis's book is grounded in poststructuralist paradigms that view gender categories as multiform and historically variable rather than monolithic and timelessly fixed. Arguing that the male body should be seen not as a "universal biological entity" but as a socially constructed phenomenon "that has been culturally encoded as 'male' through a complex process of social, personal, and medical gender construction" (p. 7), Jarvis demonstrates "the ways in which wartime gender ideals and particular embodied national self-representations were produced" so that "we can begin to see these World War II ideals as the historically located constructs that they are" (p. 191).

Jarvis begins with a chronicle of the profound shift in representations of the male body that occurred as America emerged from the Great Depression and mobilized for war. Arguing that "embodied symbols of the nation both reflect and influence prevailing gender, racial, and other cultural norms" (p. 14), Jarvis demonstrates how idealized images of the serviceman's muscular, youthful (and invariably white) male body were deployed as a metaphor for national strength. Charting the rise of this "rhetoric of muscles" (p. 44) across the cultural landscape, from posters and advertisements to novels and films, she shows how even Uncle Sam got a face lift; the symbolic personification of the U.S. appeared in a stronger, more intimidating guise as the nation began to imagine itself in more thoroughly masculine terms.

Jarvis also assesses the material impact of these shifts in masculine ideals. In a detailed account of the military classification of male bodies during the war, Jarvis suggests that, as selection and training programs made male physique an object of intense scrutiny, the male body became "a privileged site around which debates about the health of the nation unfolded" (p. 58). Wounds from combat, accidents, and disease, however, threatened to undermine masculine ideals, and, through a close reading of war novels and soldiers' memoirs, Jarvis identifies tropes that allowed servicemen and the general public to address the challenge by seeing "the wounds as alien, 'not self'" (p. 90). Paradoxically, the war-wounded male body also became a vehicle through which the U.S. was able to demonstrate its power. Jarvis highlights the way

popular texts depicted the bodies of wounded men as “literally and symbolically restored wholeness” (p. 118) through either the gritty resolve of the individual servicemen or the intercession of proficient American technology.

In one of the book’s most fascinating chapters, Jarvis focuses on the complex, contradictory intersection of wartime discourses of race and masculinity, and the way these were played out on the male body. Arguing that government and media representations of the American people were more ethnically diverse than ever before, Jarvis shows how previously “feminized” Asian Americans such as the Chinese and Filipinos were granted new respect as men and U.S. citizens (p. 155). At the same time, however, Jarvis also shows how racist depictions of the Japanese enemy and Jim Crow’s high profile in the American military reveal that American masculinity was still primarily constructed as white manhood.

In her final chapter, Jarvis considers the ways in which the American dead became “‘texts’ on which the meanings of war and nation could be inscribed” (p. 157). Even in death the U.S. serviceman was subject to complex processes of military classification, and Jarvis provides an intriguing account of the American Graves Registration Service and the different ways death was represented at various stages in the conflict to spur morale. Some readers, however, might be uneasy about the way Jarvis uses novels such as James Jones’s *The Thin Red Line* (1962) as historical evidence.

Overall, Jarvis presents a lucid, compelling account of the ways in which wartime ideals of masculinity were elaborated and embodied. Making a valuable contribution both to the social historiography of World War II and to scholarship related to the social construction of the body, her book will appeal to a diverse readership. As America continues to flex its military muscles throughout the world, Jarvis’s analysis of the “hyper-masculine” symbolism that took shape during World War II represents a timely and pertinent intervention.

BILL OSGERBY

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MEGAN TAYLOR SHOCKLEY. *“We, Too, Are Americans”: African American Women in Detroit and Richmond, 1940–54.* (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 256. \$39.95.

Megan Taylor Shockley’s book examines African-American women in Detroit, Michigan, and Richmond, Virginia, from 1940 to 1954. By looking at a northern and a southern city, Shockley moves beyond more generalized studies of blacks and/or women during World War II and arrives at an enriched understanding of their experiences and achievements. She further enhances her analysis by carefully taking into consideration the ways in which class differences affected black women. While Shockley uncovers a number of specific ways in which region and class

shaped the experience of African-American women during World War II, she concludes that black women, in general, came out of the war armed with a new resolve and new methods for leading the fight for civil rights. Indeed, Shockley provocatively argues that her study “reveals the gendered roots of the modern civil rights movement” (p. 2).

Although black women could not bear arms, they “en-gendered the Double V effort,” articulated by A. Phillip Randolph, to attain social equality (p. 11). They pushed for equal employment opportunities and the right to participate in the Red Cross, United Service Organizations, and other efforts that aided the war. Painting themselves as responsible patriots, they protested against police brutality, and segregated housing, transportation, and accommodations. Shockley repeatedly contends that black women “used war discourse—the goal of the war was to save democracy, and all citizens had to be involved” if America was to triumph, to bolster their demands (p. 29). For example, Richmond’s chapter of the National Council of Negro Women sponsored a parade in which black women, dressed in their Red Cross and civilian defense uniforms, protested against discrimination. Similarly, Alpha Kappa Alpha, a black sorority, organized a “Listen America Week” that included criticisms of white supremacist content in national radio broadcasts.

In part because they did not face state-sponsored segregation, and because Detroit was one of the centers of defense production, black working-class women there enjoyed more success than their counterparts in Richmond. Black women in Detroit benefited from a relatively supportive labor movement, especially the United Auto Workers, which sided with them in battles to desegregate the workplace. Detroit’s National Organization of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter, the largest in the nation, had more female than male members, and it bolstered the efforts of black working-class women. Still, Shockley is careful not to exaggerate the gains made by working-class women in Detroit. While approximately 14,000 black women gained employment in wartime plants, the labor force remained gender segregated, and white women tended to enjoy better jobs than black women. Day care facilities were inadequate, and those with the fewest resources at their disposal felt the housing shortage, exacerbated by the rapid growth of the city and persistence of racial discrimination, most dearly.

Empirically, Shockley’s chapter five, which traces the struggles for equality in public spaces, is her richest. She shows that black women actively engaged in numerous fights against discrimination, ranging from voter registration drives organized by chapters of the NAACP, black sororities, and club women, to street fights initiated by working-class and middle-class women outraged by the abuses they faced on a regular basis. Even if they did not win many of their battles, by casting themselves as citizens, mothers, and workers who were denied their rights and proper respect,

Shockley contends that black women advanced the cause of civil rights.

The most problematic sections of this book deal with the postwar years. Although Shockley acknowledges a number of the ways in which the Cold War stultified the drive for racial and gender equality, she tends to downplay the ultimate costs of this conservative backlash. For instance, she writes: "Through maternalist peace discourse, clubwomen claimed power as mothers and reformers working for social justice" (p. 112). Likewise, Shockley states that black women sought to avoid being labeled subversives by using the state, specifically the electoral process and the courts, to gain equality. Yet, Shockley does not adequately delineate the degree to which maternalism and depending on the state played into the hands of those who used the red scare to maintain the racial and gender status quo. This criticism notwithstanding, her book deserves the attention of students of the civil rights movement and women's and African-American history.

PETER B. LEVY
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GLENN C. ALTSCHULER. *All Shook Up: How Rock 'n' Roll Changed America*. (Pivotal Moments in American History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 226. \$26.00.

The roots of early rock and roll are intertwined with some of the most important historical developments in post-World War II America. The music was an integral part of America's Cold War culture; it was the product of the era's new technologies and prosperity; it was linked to the movement of African Americans out of the South; and it signaled the coming of age of the "baby boom" generation. The music reflected—and sometimes shaped—everyday life of the 1950s and early 1960s, including attitudes toward youth, race, ethnicity, gender, and class. Not surprisingly, the Oxford University Press has chosen to include a volume on rock music in its "Pivotal Moments in American History" series. Glenn C. Altschuler surveys the birth and growth of rock and roll, concentrating on the years from 1955 to 1965.

Those familiar with the history of rock or the work of Jim Miller, David Szatmary, John A. Jackson, or others who have studied its relationship to American culture will not find anything new in Altschuler's book. Echoing the common wisdom that rock was rebellious and a music of liberation, Altschuler provides a brief overview that places rock and roll in an historical context. His chapter on music and race, for example, explains how rock became a "highly visible and contested arena for struggles over racial identity and cultural and economic empowerment in the United States" (p. 35). Subsequent chapters suggest that rock and roll also became contested terrain for cultural battles involving sexuality, generational conflict, and other social issues.

Some of Altschuler's interpretations are problem-

atic. For instance, he subscribes to the myth that rock and roll went into a "lull" following the payola hearings of 1959 and did not reemerge until the arrival of the Beatles in 1964. Although he admits that there were some exceptions, he does not seem to comprehend that these exceptions (along with other performers whom he ignores) constitute some of the greatest artists in the history of the music, including Roy Orbison, Dion, the Four Seasons, Ray Charles, Brenda Lee, the Beach Boys, the Shirelles, Del Shannon, Gene Pitney, and Jackie Wilson, to name just a few. Altschuler never even considers the rising popularity on the rock charts in the early 1960s of folk singers like the Kingston Trio and Peter, Paul, and Mary.

Curiously, Altschuler argues that Motown records were not very sexy, insisting that their lyrics were about "as romantic and noncoital as those of the 'girl groups'" (p. 179). This suggests a lack of familiarity not only with suggestive Motown hits like Martha and the Vandellas' "Heat Wave" and Mary Wells's "Two Lovers" but also with the sexual nature of girl-group songs such as the Ronettes' "Be My Baby" or the Shirelles' "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow?"

Sometimes, Altschuler simply gets his facts wrong. For example, he states that legendary disc jockey Dewey Phillips began his *Red, Hot, and Blue* radio program on WDIA, Memphis's all-black radio station (p. 19). Actually, Phillips started on WDIA's cross-town rival, the all-white radio station WHBQ. Altschuler also errs when he says that the Five Satins' "In the Still of the Night" was a cover version of the Cole Porter classic originally sung by Nelson Eddy (p. 52). In reality, the Five Satins' record was written by the group's lead singer, Freddie Parrish, and was a totally different song. Altschuler even gets wrong the title of one of the most famous songs in rock and roll history. He identifies Danny and the Juniors' number-one hit as "Let's Go To the Hop" (p. 55). The actual title was "At the Hop." These kinds of factual errors undermine the author's credibility.

Despite the book's shortcomings, it demonstrates that rock music is a valuable source of social and cultural history. "As it entered popular discourse," writes Altschuler, "rock 'n' roll was a social construction and not a musical conception" (p. 23). As such, rock and roll played an important role in the story of America after World War II. Without rock and roll, insists Altschuler, "it is impossible to imagine the '60s in the United States" (p. xii).

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ROBERT M. LICHTMAN and RONALD D. COHEN. *Deadly Farce: Harvey Matusow and the Informer System in the McCarthy Era*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 227. \$27.00.

"I am such a double crosser that I double cross myself twice a day to keep in practice." That is what Harvey

Matusow reportedly told the noted anticommunist information gatherer, J. B. Matthews, about himself (p. 201, n. 56). Matusow's onetime girlfriend, Kay Kerby, advised the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that he "would do anything to direct publicity to himself." Until the publication of this book, such comments by those who knew him offered the best insights available into the complex character of the man who attained momentous but fleeting notoriety as the author of the McCarthy-era exposé, *False Witness* (1955).

Lawyer Robert M. Lichtman and historian Ronald D. Cohen have written a fascinating and long-needed biography of this inherently unimportant figure, who managed to lie his way into a bit more than fifteen minutes of fame, and also into considerable, if short-lived, national significance. Matusow joined the Communist Party in 1947 because he had become bored with hanging out on a New York street corner and was seeking an identity. He did nothing very remarkable during his brief stint as a loyal party member but attained notoriety after calling the FBI and offering to inform on his radical associates. Matusow became a paid government witness, who fashioned a profitable career out of testifying against his former Communist Party associates in court and before congressional committees and other investigative bodies. Witnessing brought him fame as well as fortune, catapulting Matusow into a prominent place in conservative political circles, where he campaigned for Joe McCarthy and hobnobbed with people like Matthews. It also led to a marriage with Arvilla Bentley, the wealthy ex-wife of a Republican congressman.

After that marriage (the first of many) fell apart, Matusow plunged from prominence. He also fell into poverty. Partly motivated by a desire to revive his fortunes, but inspired even more by a felt need to create a sensation and call attention to himself, he repudiated the testimony he had given, publishing his recantations in *False Witness*. Following some highly publicized testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and a prison sentence for perjury, Matusow fell back into the obscurity from whence he had come. The moment in the limelight he had craved so much, although brief, had considerable significance, not just for him but for others as well. His recantation triggered a national debate over the use of professional ex-Communists as witnesses in internal security trials and congressional investigations. "In response to Matusow's case, the Justice Department dismantled its stable of informers," Lichtman and Cohen report (p. 15).

Although the story they tell is (with the exception of a wrap-up chapter on the rest of Matusow's life) a comparatively brief one, it is extremely complex. The job of telling it was rendered unusually difficult by Matusow's penchant for lying continuously about practically everything (especially himself), and for repeatedly changing his version of events. Lichtman and Cohen have handled a tough task quite skillfully. Their

book is extremely well researched in a wide range of sources, including judicial opinions, transcripts of legal proceedings, FBI material, government documents, and manuscript collections, among them Matusow's papers, which he deposited in England. Forty-six pages of footnotes support a mere 160 pages of text. The only real fault with Lichtman and Cohen's otherwise impressive documentation is the lack of a bibliography. Having one, along with the copious footnotes would make it a little easier to assess the quality of their scholarship. But their book seems to be quite exhaustively researched. Certainly it is very well written. To be sure, readers will not gain from it a complete understanding of Matusow. No book could provide that. This enigmatic and self-contradictory figure probably did not fully understand himself. Lichtman and Cohen have done as much as mere scholars could, however, to make the twists and turns of Matusow's convoluted life comprehensible. This is a valuable book that makes a small but extremely important contribution to our understanding of the national nightmare painfully remembered as McCarthyism.

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GEOFFREY KABASERVICE. *The Guardians: Kingman Brewster, His Circle, and the Rise of the Liberal Establishment*. New York: Henry Holt. 2004. Pp. 573. \$30.00.

Here is an engaging chronicle of the post-World War II through Vietnam "liberal establishment," focusing on Yale University president Kingman Brewster and his circle. Those associates included McGeorge Bundy, advisor to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson and president of the Ford Foundation; Cyrus Vance, Wall Street lawyer, consummate diplomat, and presidential troubleshooter; John V. Lindsay, the liberal Republican congressman and mayor of New York; Paul Moore, the Episcopal bishop of New York and Washington, D.C.; and Elliot Richardson, attorney general of his native Massachusetts and serial cabinet officer in the Nixon administration. These persons were, Geoffrey Kabaservice insists, key stalwarts of the American liberal establishment from the 1940s to the 1970s. Their actions and interactions form the basis of this chatty, almost gossipy, book.

Based on hundreds of oral history interviews, together with some of the more relevant archival materials, mostly at Yale, and other printed sources, Kabaservice has written a useful book. He notes Brewster's Mayflower Pilgrim heritage and his early years and then situates him as the scion of New England gentry, coming to maturity in the World War II era. Kabaservice describes how Brewster's circle came together during that era, how its members came to be professors or lawyers firmly dedicated to public service through independent judgment, a patriotism of the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite—in the author's terminology, "shepherds" who guarded Ameri-

can society from harm, rather than today's "wolves," who seem bent on manipulating and exploiting their fellow Americans. Hence Kabaservice's account, probably not hagiography, definitely tilts in favor of his *dramatis personae*. A saving grace of the book is that Kabaservice is pretty clear-eyed about motives and ambitions.

Hence the detailed narrative runs from the mid-1940s to the early 1970s. Naturally, much attention is focused on Brewster and his presidency of Yale University, which Kabaservice considers a modernizing success, patiently and skillfully moving that venerable institution into the new society that was taking shape in the 1960s and 1970s—a society more egalitarian and less impressed with elite institutions than the world in which Brewster and his friends grew up. The story is one I found quite absorbing; Yale was one of the few major universities not rocked by the 1960s tumults. Bundy and Vance probably get the lion's share of the rest of the book's space. We have a rather full portrait of Bundy, for example, moving from the Harvard Society of Fellows to military aide to Harvard dean to national security adviser and the Vietnam War, and, finally, to the presidency of the Ford Foundation, and just as fulsome an account of Vance as the defense bureaucrat and diplomat over a fifty-year period. The portraits that Kabaservice draws of these men are quite vivid; all of them—Moore, Richardson, Lindsay, Vance, Bundy, and Brewster—were variations of personality types from within the white, male, Anglo-Saxon Protestant establishment. And all of them in their own ways worked very hard in their public lives to bring America from the hierarchical society that had evolved from the Civil War to the Depression to the freer and more rambunctious one in which we live today. While Brewster opened up Yale through a more inclusive admissions policy, national standards of excellence for all Yale departments, and the building of science at Yale (among many other reforms), Bundy tried first as White House adviser and later as foundation president to modernize those elements of American life over which he had responsibility, Vance became the ultimate patient and usually effective bureaucrat for the military and diplomat for six administrations, Richardson was the only American to ever hold four cabinet posts, and Lindsay and Moore tried to resolve the urban crisis in New York, and, by extension, throughout the land.

Whether Kabaservice's larger claims about the liberal establishment and these men's ultimate historical importance convince may reduce itself to matters of faith rather than logic or even evidence. Nevertheless the book is entertaining and deeply researched, has balanced judgments, is well written, and surely belongs on scholars' shelves.

HAMILTON CRAVENS
Iowa State University

DOMINIC SANDBROOK. *Eugene McCarthy: The Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2004. Pp. xiii, 395. \$25.95.

In this biography, Dominic Sandbrook attempts to link Eugene McCarthy's story to the rise and fall of postwar liberalism. He is only partly successful in this endeavor, mainly because he is so persuasive in his argument that McCarthy was motivated less by the tenets of liberalism than by his own quirky personal resentments and a fundamentally conservative outlook. This is not an official biography, although Sandbrook reports that McCarthy was forthcoming with interviews and other materials. Many reviewers have found the book hostile to McCarthy; ultimately, it is. But this is a hostility born of disappointment and frustration. For Sandbrook, McCarthy was a man with great ability and promise, a man whose career "could have yielded so many benefits for the Democratic party, the liberal cause, and the American electorate," had he not thrown it away "through a combination of misplaced pride and unrelenting jealousy" (p. 299). The author judges his subject harshly but not unfairly.

The great service Sandbrook performs in this biography is to explain how a neo-Platonist Catholic like McCarthy came to play a central role in the secular tragedy of postwar liberalism. One always felt somehow that McCarthy did not fit in, but now one can understand why. Postwar liberals were a disparate and factious group, but the one thing they shared was a common belief that modern, secular pluralism was the proper basis of democratic government. McCarthy did not share this belief. According to Sandbrook, McCarthy's heroes were Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, not Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. McCarthy favored Edmund Burke's faith in institutions and tradition over the progressive rationalism of a Thomas Jefferson or a John Dewey. The most useful chapters occur early in the book where the author explains the intersection between McCarthy's Catholicism and postwar liberals' pessimism, embodied in the writings of Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr's liberal Protestant version of anticommunism easily blended into traditional Catholic anticommunism, thereby allowing Catholics like McCarthy to enter the liberal fold. McCarthy's concerns were moral, Sandbrook writes, "based on issues of conscience rather than class" (p. xii). He aptly compares the early McCarthy to the mugwump Progressives, who, while Protestant and indeed anti-Catholic, approached politics from a highly moralistic, explicitly religious perspective. Richard Hofstadter famously pilloried mugwump moralism, contrasting it with the pragmatic New Deal philosophy taken up by postwar liberals, who framed their quest for economic justice and effective government within a theory of political pluralism. While Hofstadter declared mugwumpism dead in 1956, Sandbrook rediscovers it in McCarthy and positions it as an ongoing tension in the liberal tradition.

Sandbrook reminds us that before the historic 1968 election, McCarthy was a lawmaker and politician with a strong liberal voting record and high ratings from the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). He traces the help McCarthy received from postwar liberals like Hubert Humphrey and Orville Freeman, and how McCarthy later betrayed these onetime allies. Sandbrook suggests that McCarthy's eventual break with the Democratic Party was fueled in part by the resentment he felt after the 1964 vice presidential debacle. In Sandbrook's eyes, McCarthy was no maverick. His opposition to the Vietnam War copied William J. Fulbright's. His decision to run in 1968 came out of boredom. After the 1968 election, McCarthy began his slow decline into narcissism and a series of irresponsible and inexplicable presidential campaigns.

The book exhibits the sort of exhaustive archival research and bibliography that one would expect of a project that began life as a dissertation. While the author does a great job of tying the early McCarthy to his historical moment, he is less successful in doing the same with the later McCarthy. This might have less to do with the author's skill and more to do with McCarthy's erratic behavior. Sandbrook attempts to situate the post-1968 McCarthy as a conservative liberal in the Adlai Stevenson vein. But this comparison cannot accommodate McCarthy's involvement with the National Welfare Rights Organization, nor his support for Ronald Reagan in 1980. Sandbrook explains these anomalies, and much else, through McCarthy's personal antipathies. But personal antipathies do not illuminate the historical circumstances of postwar liberalism's decline. Thus, while the book presents much new and illuminating material about McCarthy and the rise of postwar liberalism, it is less successful in offering new insight into liberalism's decline.

JENNIFER DELTON
Skidmore College

JEREMY VARON. *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 394. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

Book-length comparative studies of the student lefts of the 1960s are few and far between. The similarities are striking; so are the differences. No matter the parallels between the "armed struggle" undergrounds that New Left groups spawned in several countries, principally the United States and West Germany, these after-maths of the mass student movement would seem particularly hard to compare rigorously—partly because they were so secretive, partly because their underground periods were (at least until recently) drastically underreported, and partly because passions about them ran, and sometimes still run, so high.

Jeremy Varon has overcome these obstacles and written an admirably cogent and sophisticated treatment of the American and West German under-

grounds of the 1970s. The American Weathermen (later the Weather Underground) crystalized out of the ruins of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)—ruins that a few hundred revolutionaries themselves produced in June 1969. Less than a year later, the West German Red Army Faction (RAF) formed out of shards of the main New Left group there, oddly enough also initialed SDS (for Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund). The coincidence in time was also a coincidence of dynamics, the culmination of an upward spiral of confrontational violence years in the making, although in the American case the unending Vietnam War was the chief precipitating factor while there were others at work in West Germany.

In the 1970s, the undergrounds diverged. The Weather Underground turned to making bombs to kill people (thus "bringing the war home"); but when its bomb factory in New York City blew up, killing three members, the survivors decided to avoid civilian casualties from then on. For several years, they fought a symbolic war, bombing government installations. Most returned aboveground after America was expelled from Vietnam. The Germans, on the contrary, set out on a long-running spree of kidnapping, hijacking, and murder. The imprisonment and deaths of Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof, and other RAF figures had the effect of putting the West German state under continuing pressure, resulting in a violent confrontation lasting for decades. Varon argues convincingly that the RAF mirrored the fascist tendencies they thought West Germany already embodied. So, in hippier and less lethal fashion, did the Weather Underground.

Varon, not stuck on single-factor explanations, unillusioned but not dismissive of anyone's motives, is well read in the student movement literature. He makes good use of oral histories and a dozen or so interviews with former Weather Underground members, including several not among the usual suspects. He explores, although not perhaps as fully as he might have, theoretical forebears from Herbert Marcuse to Jean Baudrillard. He has a sharp eye for underground passions, cultural styles, and logical knots, yet he keeps a necessary distance so as not to take factional arguments strictly at face value. He reads attentively the pastiche of Marxism, Maoism, and countercultural sentimentality that poured into the founding document ("You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows") from which the Weathermen took their name in 1969. He probes the groups' absurd self-contradictions but does not neglect the difficulties in the positions of their opponents (including this reviewer). He takes seriously the political reasons why the Weathermen broke from the "movement creeps" (their term), with their nonviolent demonstrations, who were, after all, failing to put an end to the Vietnam War. In the case of the Germans, Varon lacks his own interviews, but (as best this reviewer can

judge) he reconstructs the logic—and illogic—of sectarian violence and the RAF's loss of reality.

Varon's undogmatic discernment serves him well for analyzing the temptations and lunacies. He knows how the armed groups were rooted in deeper histories and theoretical fancies; he also knows that, by carrying theory one step too far, they were distinctive. He might have made more use of psychological theory to account for the undergrounds' dynamics of commitment. (The key text here would be Leon Festinger *et al.*, *When Prophecy Fails* [1956], with its concept of "cognitive dissonance.") He might also have inquired more thoroughly into the undergrounds' impact on the larger left and its prospects. In any event, he has made an excellent contribution to the literature of the radical left.

TODD GITLIN
Columbia University

STEPHEN BOGENER. *Ditches Across the Desert: Irrigation in the Lower Pecos Valley*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 340. \$34.95.

During the 1980s and 1990s, several historians produced major works that offered sweeping interpretations of western American water history. Donald Worster put forward a theoretically grounded explanation of the power elite that had come to dominate the region's "hydraulic civilization." Marc Reisner covered much the same material and stressed much the same theme as did Worster, but in a journalistic style. In short order there followed a reply to Worster and Reisner, with Donald J. Pisani and Norris Hundley, Jr. arguing that legal and political fragmentation and the struggles of competing interests groups, not the concentration of political and economic power, typified western water history. All of these historians have commanded extraordinary scholarly and popular attention, have placed water at the forefront of western American studies, and have suggested to nonspecialists the extent to which water and related environmental issues have been at the heart of western, and perhaps national, history. They have not been the only historians with something to say about western water, however. Over the past twenty years there has appeared a large and growing body of lesser-known but collectively important work that approaches western water through the case-study method, with specialized treatments of cities, rivers, irrigation projects, landscapes, water law and policy, fish, national parks, dam technology, water lawyers, hydraulic engineers, and other topics.

Stephen Bogener's assessment of irrigation along the Pecos River in New Mexico and Texas adds another piece to the collective picture of the West's hydraulic past. His interpretation of the Pecos Valley is more consistent with the theses of Pisani and Hundley than with the arguments of Worster and Reisner. Democracy in water control, he says, was less an issue in the Pecos Valley than the shifting patterns

of irrigation finance. Indeed, Bogener's emphasis on the many people who invested in the area's irrigation development is the most distinctive feature of his book and its greatest contribution to western water historiography. A combination of events in the 1890s and early 1900s, including economic depression and two disastrous floods, ended irrigation development largely based on private investment. Following the passage of the 1902 Reclamation Act, the United States Reclamation Service became the most important agent of irrigation development in the valley. According to Bogener, however, the Reclamation Service inherited a complicated landscape of remnant investors, water users' associations, and small farmers with whom it carried on an uneasy relationship. Ultimately, the author contends, the Pecos Valley and the federal Carlsbad irrigation project never developed the hydraulic elite composed of government bureaucrats, powerful politicians, wealthy farmers, and corporations that appeared elsewhere in the West. A major reason was the poor soil and erratic, salty, and over-exploited Pecos River itself, which could never sustain the grand dreams of its developers. This latter point perhaps suggests the second most important feature of Bogener's work: this is a history of an irrigated area whose economic and environmental marginality contrasts with the better-known and more thoroughly studied California and Arizona experiences.

Bogener supports his thesis and narrates the story of Pecos Valley irrigation in a series of detailed chronological chapters based on meticulous primary source research in government documents and in materials from various archives in Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado. Bogener adroitly locates the Pecos Valley story in the context of major regional and national events. He follows the late nineteenth-century irrigation developers and their efforts to attract outside investors. Many of those investors came from around the United States and abroad, but Bogener's most interesting find is the connection between affluent residents of Colorado Springs, Colorado, and the Pecos Valley projects. Capital from ranching and steel, among other sources, flowed through the wealthy inhabitants of Colorado Springs and into the ditches and dams of the Pecos Valley. Another of the more revealing chapters details the construction of the valley's irrigation systems and the hard, sometimes violent lives of the Mexican and Mexican-American laborers who dug the ditches and built the dams. Finally, Bogener shows that the Reclamation Service considered the Pecos River a poor choice for further irrigation development, but under political pressure from developers and a friend of President Theodore Roosevelt, the agency embarked on the Carlsbad project along the lower Pecos in New Mexico.

Bogener has produced one of the most thoroughly researched, detailed histories of any irrigated region in the American West. This book adds to a burgeoning western water historiography, the sheer size of which

suggests the importance of western water development to regional and national history.

MARK FIEGE
Colorado State University

THOMAS S. BREMER. *Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 207. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

In his introduction, Thomas S. Bremer does two things. First, he takes note of the similarities between the practices of tourists and the practices of religious adherents. In both cases, he argues, we find a deep attachment to particular places; a desire for authenticity and aesthetically pleasing experiences; the articulation of some particular identity; and an emphasis on the "commodification of objects, experiences, and even people." Second, he states his overall analytic goal, which is to explore the ways in which religion and tourism intersect in one particular context: the missions of San Antonio, Texas. The main problem with this book, unfortunately, is that the bulk of the material presented bears only a tenuous tie to this goal.

Chapter one provides an overview of the settlement of San Antonio, with a focus on the missions established there, from the early colonial period through the late nineteenth century, and the ways in which San Antonio was—and was not—made accessible to tourists. Chapter two looks specifically at the emergence of the Alamo (Mission San Antonio) as a tourist site. There are a few brief remarks about the anti-Catholic sentiments implicit in the accounts of the Alamo developed for tourists, and about attempts by Texans of Mexican descent to provide alternate versions of the Alamo narrative, but for the most part religion is not central to the discussion. Rather Bremer focuses on the rapid deterioration of the original buildings (occasioned in part by the fact that early tourists took away small bits and pieces of stone as souvenirs), and on the various disputes over commercialization of the site and how best to commemorate the 1836 battle. Chapter three provides an overview of the process by which mission sites other than the Alamo came to be preserved as tourist sites. Bremer's discussion here focuses heavily on the contributions made by particular individuals (notably Father Francis Bouchu, Ethel Wilson Harris, and Archbishop Robert E. Lucey). Chapter four looks mainly at the attempts to inject religious elements into the experience of the HemisFair 1968, the world fair held in San Antonio in 1968. Since most of these attempts were unsuccessful (in the end, Bremer notes, most people who attended the fair could not recall the presence of religious events, even though some such events were staged), I half expected that Bremer would use this case to identify the conditions that need to be in place for religion and tourism to merge effectively. Unfortunately, the closest that he comes to this sort of speculation is the suggestion that it would have cost too much money.

In the last few pages of chapter four, but mainly in chapter five, Bremer discusses the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park which (since 1983) has included the missions of San Antonio apart from the Alamo. This is the section of the book that seems most relevant to Bremer's analytic goal—studying in some serious way the intersection between religion and tourism—and gives us a glimpse of what the book as a whole might have been like if he himself had taken that goal more seriously. Incorporating the missions into a National Park, Bremer notes, guaranteed them access to the financial resources needed for preservation and maintenance, and it also ensured a steady flow of tourists—more than a million a year. These tourists routinely mingle with the local residents who attend the religious services at the missions as members of a living parish community, and Bremer is at his best in identifying the problems and responses that intermingling brings about. Given historical concerns about the separation of church and state, for example, how does the Park Service "locate" the ongoing religious services held at the missions within the story it wants to tell? How do the diverse backgrounds of the Park Service rangers affect what they chose to emphasize in their conversations with tourists? In which ways do local residents attending services at the mission reinforce or subvert Park Service narratives? Bremer provides insightful answers to each of these questions. He also provides an instructive contrast between the nativist, and often racist, national identity promoted by the Alamo narrative and the more inclusive and multicultural identity promoted by the Park Service in the case of the other missions.

The American Academy of Religion recommended Bremer's book as one of five books on "religion" that members might want to read before attending the annual meeting that was held in San Antonio in 2004. I can see why. It is clearly written, and provides a balanced historical account of the various missions, including the Alamo, in the San Antonio area. It is, in other words, very much a useful guidebook for the thinking tourist. Unfortunately, chapter five aside, it falls short of the sort of insight that Bremer could almost certainly have provided with more effort.

MICHAEL P. CARROLL
University of Western Ontario

RICHARD GRUSIN. *Culture, Technology, and the Creation of America's National Parks*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture, number 137.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 212. \$65.00.

Revisionist histories argue that nature preservation during the nineteenth century served to further, not to oppose, dominant cultural values. Richard Grusin furthers these arguments, suggesting that the creation of national parks "entails the reproduction of an American landscape" set within the context of a rising consumer culture (p. 5). Yet, he cautions, revisionist

accounts run the risk of “transforming nature so completely into culture” that park preservation becomes indistinguishable from landscape turned to other uses, such as ranching or a private resort (p. 2). The author seeks to trace the connections between scientific, technological, and cultural “discursive formations” that enabled the creation of a park at a particular point in time, revealing how parks differed from other culturally constructed entities (p. 3).

Grusin draws on previous work in media studies, including his well-received *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (1998), co-authored with Jay David Bolter. Three case examples describe how nature was “mediated” or interpreted for an audience, particularly prior to the creation of a national park. Frederick Law Olmstead’s role in developing a plan for Yosemite National Park is examined in chapter one, while Thomas Moran’s Yellowstone paintings provide a focus for the second chapter. The story of Grand Canyon National Park’s creation presented a special challenge to those portraying the landscape for distant audiences, as the awe-inspiring immensity of the canyon in both time and space was difficult to convey. In this example, Jack Hillers’s photographs and William Henry Holmes’s drawings sought to reproduce a “feeling of cognitive inaccessibility,” while Clarence Dutton’s *Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon* mediated nature through several avenues, using photographs, literary expression, and scientific analysis (p. 153).

Grusin argues that parks are not only culturally constructed but also technologically constructed. By “technology,” he refers to painting, photography, and landscape design in their roles as “technologies of representation” (p. 10). Moran’s illustrations of Yellowstone, published in *Scribner’s Monthly*, demonstrate how an art work’s “representational fidelity” to nature was invoked both as a matter of authenticity and to convey the need for preservation (p. 63). Artists, landscape architects, and photographers sought to conceal or blur the artist’s agency, to lessen the separation between the landscape and the viewer. Fidelity to nature provides one example of a cultural logic or metaphor “worked out through the parks” that illuminates the way “American cultural origins are simultaneously constructed and destabilized through the act of reproducing nature” (p. 9). Just as important, landscapes needed to be represented through artistic media before they could be recognized (comprehended), preparing the way for park designation (p. 145). Akin to photography and painting, the parks themselves ultimately functioned as “technologies for the reproduction of nature” that was being destroyed elsewhere, incorporating Western wilderness lands “into the social, political, and economic networks of Eastern capitalism” (pp. 8, 11). Interestingly, the 1962 Leopold Report’s “vignette of primitive America” contained a “double logic of representational fidelity to nature” in which parks were described both as natural biotic associations and as theatrical reproductions of a significant historical moment (p. 59).

From the Kolb brothers’ 1911 film depicting rafting the Colorado River, through IMAX theaters, to the internet, new technologies boasted a more immediate and authentic experience of nature. Web technology simultaneously erases and shows the signs of humans mediating nature. The “limiting frames” of artistic media make it possible to recognize the Grand Canyon at the same moment that the media preserves “its cognitive inaccessibility” (p. 160). Significantly, writes Grusin, the parks are “cultural practices for remediating nature as mediated public space” (p. 172).

The author incorporates a spectrum of sources, including Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Immanuel Kant, John Ruskin, Bruno Latour, and William Cronon. He takes a liberal approach in drawing connections, integral to the book’s inspiration and provocative insights. In this book, Grusin has created a useful addition to scholarly work examining landscape preservation within cultural contexts. Readers might also turn to Ethan Carr’s *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (1999), which suggests that landscape architects sought to preserve nature through park development. A second source that historians will want to consult is Judith L. Meyer’s *The Spirit of Yellowstone: The Cultural Evolution of a National Park* (1996), wherein the author describes how layers of cultural meaning were added to the “deeply humanized landscape” of Yellowstone Park. In similar ways, Grusin presents historians with a fresh outlook on the parks that will inspire further creative efforts.

JAMES PRITCHARD
Iowa State University

ANNIE GILBERT COLEMAN. *Ski Style: Sport and Culture in the Rockies*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xii, 299. \$29.95.

Annie Gilbert Coleman’s imaginative and lively history of skiing in the Rocky Mountains is a model of a good monograph. At the most basic level, Coleman narrates a chronological story, doing an excellent job of explaining how skiing came to Colorado, how it grew and became a major industry, and the changes it wrought in the state. The reader learns that skiing in the United States began not as recreation but as work. At one time, the only way to get into or out of some places during a Colorado winter was on skis, turning mailmen, workmen, and midwives into skiers. During the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century it was Scandinavian immigrants who were responsible for introducing skiing as sport to Americans. By the 1930s, expert European skiers—many of working-class origins—were bringing downhill Alpine skiing to the American West. As these ski teachers instructed wealthy tourists in the latest continental ski techniques, they themselves became much sought-after commodities, prized for their good looks, masculine demeanor, athletic prowess, and air of European cosmopolitanism. Locals also embraced the thrills of

downhill skiing, founding ski clubs and making the sport more widely available. After World War II, the promise of profits from winter tourism helped to turn the nascent ski culture into a big business. Improved ski lift technology made a critical difference in the sport and in the industry. No longer needing to trudge up the mountain, more would-be skiers decided to enjoy the pleasure and thrills of the trip down the mountain. As increasing numbers of skiers flocked to the Colorado Rockies, the nature of the sport changed; less a wilderness experience, it became instead something that occurred amid a crowd of pleasure seekers in an environment planned and built by corporate interests.

Coleman does much more, however, than simply relate how skiing became part of the Colorado economy. Indeed, the strength of this book lies in her examination of the culture of skiing throughout the twentieth century. Coleman makes clear that skiing not only is, but always was, about more than speeding (or falling) down the side of a mountain. Skiing meant engaging with nature, with danger, with glamour, and with a wide range of consumer products. But skiing and the culture that accompanied it also created contradictory and sometimes conflicting meanings. Skiers sought both the majesty of the mountains and the liveliness of the ski village. A ski vacation meant braving the elements, improving one's physical abilities, and courting danger while showing off new outfits or ski equipment, carousing in pubs, and gazing at celebrities. Coleman persuasively argues that the growth of ski resorts (and ski resort culture) was critical to the identity of the state and its residents: communities that had at one time been mining towns became ski resorts, and local residents began to work at occupations that served the skiing clientele.

What Coleman does especially well is to combine cultural with labor and economic history. She reveals how savvy entrepreneurs fashioned ski resorts to resemble Victorian towns, Alpine villages, or the mythic Wild West. These exotic images helped to lure tourists and would-be skiers even as they served to mask and hide the carefully designed infrastructure and corps of paid employees upon whom the whole enterprise depended. Ski resorts were, moreover, consciously engineered to fit a specific class and racial profile: skiing in Colorado increasingly became a sport for wealthy whites and a way to display class and racial privilege. Coleman also pays attention to gender, showing how skiing helped to bolster both traditionally masculine traits of daring and physicality and traditionally feminine ideals of sexuality and beauty.

Coleman never loses sight of the impact of ski culture on the people who lived and worked in the area and the importance of those people to the development and functioning of the resorts. She reveals what it meant to work at Steamboat Springs, Aspen, or Vail and how the profile of those workers changed over the course of the twentieth century, from Scandinavian

immigrants to native-born Coloradans to transient, middle-class "ski bums" to immigrant Hispanics.

This book connects the story of skiing in Colorado to the larger issues of the twentieth century: the expansion of the West, the development of a leisure economy, the importance of consumerism, the construction of identity (both personal and regional), the growth of a mass media, the cult of celebrity, and the role of youth culture. At the same time it is rich in detail, full of the kinds of specifics that recreate for the reader the ski towns and the people who lived there. Coleman has mined a wide range of sources—business archives, local historical societies, mass-market publications—and weaves them together in a well-written and illuminating narrative.

This is a book that students, scholars, and skiers will all find important and instructive.

CINDY S. ARON
University of Virginia

HENRY D. FETTER. *Taking on the Yankees: Winning and Losing in the Business of Baseball, 1903–2003*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2004. Pp. xi, 460. \$25.95.

My father, relating an oft-told joke, liked to ask, "What happened to the New York Yankees after they traded Babe Ruth?" They became, he laughed, "ruthless." The pun worked well. Ruth departed after the 1934 season. Beginning in 1936, the Yankees won four consecutive World Series. This was part of a broader Yankee dominance from 1921 to 1964 when the Yankees registered twenty-nine pennants and twenty World Championships, becoming, as Henry D. Fetter describes, an "enduring success without equal in the world of professional sports" (p. 1).

In his sprightly, combative book, Fetter attempts to not just explain this achievement but to offer a fresh perspective on baseball's broader history as well. Fetter looks not primarily at the Yankees but at their major challengers for supremacy: the Red Sox of the post-World War I era; John McGraw's New York Giants of the 1920s; Branch Rickey's St. Louis Cardinal clubs of the 1920s and 1930s; and the Brooklyn Dodgers in the post-World War II era. Fetter explores familiar topics like the trade of Babe Ruth, the rise of the farm system, the abandonment of New York City by the Dodgers and Giants, and the rise of free agency after 1975. But he approaches each tale from an often unexpected angle, repeatedly challenging conventional wisdom.

Fetter is, as he has revealed in his articles, a master debunker. His strategy consists of systematically stripping down baseball history as previously received. There was, he concludes "nothing inexorable about the ultimate downfall of the Red Sox in the aftermath of the sale of Ruth" (p. 53). The construction of Yankee Stadium resulted not from Ruth's ascension but as a consequence of the legalization of Sunday baseball in New York. The success of the Cardinals in the interwar period resulted not from their vaunted farm system but

from general manager Rickey's "own personal skill as a discoverer and developer of ballplayers" (p. 173). Although most recent accounts blame New York's planning czar Robert Moses for the failure of the Dodgers to secure a stadium in Brooklyn and their subsequent flight to Los Angeles, Fetter restores Dodger owner Walter O'Malley to his place as the prime villain of the tale. "The when and the how of that change were the work of one man, Walter O'Malley. The blame—as well as any credit—rightly belongs to him," concludes Fetter (p. 285). On the seemingly inevitable 1975 arbitration decision that ended baseball's reserve clause, Fetter argues that the interpretation "could have easily gone the other way" (p. 304).

While I do not fully agree with all of Fetter's interpretations (I think, for example, that he underestimates the success of Rickey's farm system and exaggerates player power in the era of free agencies), his approach is always thoughtful and thought provoking. Surprisingly, the least convincing sections deal with the Yankees, the putative subject of the book. Invoking at one point Joseph Schumpeter's theory of the "vital few" and at another Alfred Chandler's "managerial revolution," Fetter tries to explain the Yankee triumphs as a product not so much of their greater financial resources as of their managerial innovations. In the 1920s, Yankee owners Jacob Ruppert and T. L. Huston "introduced a new management style and structure into the sport" that required them to "step back and afford knowledgeable professionals the leeway to achieve the desired results . . . built on delegated authority, similar to that employed by business generally" (p. 31). This seems a stretch. The Yankees clearly benefited from capable management, but baseball remained, as Fetter notes, a relatively small-scale operation into at least the 1960s. It did not require the strategic coordination of a Dupont or General Motors described by Chandler. And, as Fetter repeatedly reminds the reader, success came more freely to wealthy owners who did not depend on baseball profits for their fortunes than to those for whom baseball operations constituted their primary livelihoods. Nor, after the initial flush of success of the 1920s, does Fetter expend much energy explaining the successes of the 1940s through the early 1960s.

Nonetheless, this is an immensely satisfying book, consistently entertaining, insightful, and challenging. As with any good baseball history, it reveals as much about our national past as it does about our national pastime.

JULES TYGIEL

San Francisco State University

JOHN A. JAKLE and KEITH A. SCULLE. *Lots of Parking: Land Use in a Car Culture*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 293. \$34.95.

Parking, as the authors of this study suggest early on, is not a subject many historians have examined or even

think worth examining. Parking is a routine part of most people's lives. Parking is a non-event; parking places are banal. Yet parking is an essential component of our culture. Free parking can be a prized amenity. Inadequate parking can seriously damage a business—and a community. The issue of parking is often most intensely played out in dense urban environments, but it has become an increasingly serious concern in outlying areas as well. The effect of parking on the landscape has been profound, influencing choices of area, site, the configuration of almost every building type, and the very scale and character of development. Moreover, these matters are hardly new. Parking has been a significant phenomenon, with a multitude of ramifications for over eighty years.

A primary objective of geographer John A. Jakle and historian Keith A. Sculle is to demonstrate the breadth as well as the importance of the parking issue over time. In this realm they succeed, for while the subject has received some scholarly attention, it has never previously been the focus of a major study. Jakle and Sculle mine a rich array of period documents and retrospective sources to present a sweeping account, filled with new information. Theirs is likely to be a valuable book for scholars and practitioners in a number of fields for some time to come.

The major challenge in presenting an authoritative history of parking in the United States is not finding enough material to justify what skeptics may regard as a marginal subject but just the opposite: controlling the vast array of pertinent information and creating a structure that does justice to the subject without overwhelming readers in its complexity and extent. The authors have made a valiant attempt, dividing the topic into three thematic areas: parking as a convenience, as a development strategy, and as a necessity. Each of the nine chapters is likewise topically organized, addressing subjects such as curbside parking, parking lots, parking garages, parking as part of redevelopment, and parking for shopping facilities. The text analyzes topics from several perspectives, including design, business, and public policy. Moreover, beyond the facilities in question, the authors often examine the broader implications they have on the community.

A comprehensive history of parking is perhaps more than can be expected in a single volume, especially one that has to break so much new ground. Jakle and Sculle were well prepared for the task, having co-authored books on the history of building types profoundly affected by the automobile: gas station, motel, and restaurant. In the final analysis, however, this is an exploratory text more than a definitive one—a useful introduction to many subjects worth examining further.

One area that is often neglected in the text is planning, not just municipal planning but also technical planning. Readers will only get some sense of how crucial parking became, often as early as the 1920s, in the siting and arrangement of an increasing number of

building types, for example, or in the redevelopment of urban centers after World War II. Parking can have a pernicious impact in this way, as it did in New Haven's Church Street Redevelopment Area (begun 1957), where the location and size of an immense garage was fixed before any program was well developed for the mixed-use business facility it was to serve. In the last section of the book, especially the ninth chapter, the authors attempt too much for the allotted space, so that the issues of parking for airports, recreational complexes, educational institutions, and other such places are given no more than brief, partial summation.

Missing, too, is an indication of parking's dramatic impact on the human outlook: the naïveté of observers in the 1910s, who predicted that motor vehicles would ease downtown congestion because each occupied less curbside space than horse-drawn conveyances; the abject panic of downtown property owners and the frustration of motorists as streets in city centers coagulated from widespread automobile use during the early 1920s; the fury of retailers when all their efforts to accommodate cars in the city center still seemed inadequate three decades later; the blasé attitude many involved in developing outlying areas had toward parking, and the price they soon paid for that neglect; the conflicts between designers who sought to make parking lots attractive and their clients, who looked only at the bottom line. The history of parking is not only an important story, it can be a compelling one that affords a wealth of insights on many dimensions of twentieth-century culture and landscape. Jakle and Sculle have performed a great service in underscoring the point and in providing a good foundation for additional investigation.

RICHARD LONGSTRETH
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DAVID WITWER. *Corruption and Reform in the Teamsters Union*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 298. \$39.95.

In 1956, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) magazine presented its vision of the good life that union wages enabled its members to enjoy. It consisted of an IBT cabdriver and his family spending their evenings together watching television in the living room of their two-story house. The union's president, Dave Beck, bragged he was a millionaire and occupied an exquisitely furnished office in a luxurious building, complete with French chef, that resembled the headquarters of a major corporation. Clearly, it was not the IBT's celebration of materialism and mass entertainment that disturbed corporate business. Nor was it the union's endorsement of Republican presidents, including Richard M. Nixon during the Watergate scandal, which the author fails to mention. What made the IBT so threatening were its aggressive organizing and its ability to disrupt long and short-distance transporta-

tion of products and inflict major damage on employers.

David Witwer asserts that the public's tendency to associate the IBT primarily with corruption is misplaced, the result of conservatives' alarm over the union's power and part of a larger campaign to discredit organized labor. Anti-labor forces defined corruption to include not only bribery, extortion, and ties with organized crime but also aggressive union organizing and such tactics as the secondary boycott and the sympathy strike. Witwer believes the traditional emphasis on IBT corruption obscures the union's record of significant improvements in wages, benefits, and working conditions. And although the IBT discriminated, it was more receptive to African Americans than most American Federation of Labor (AFL) unions. While books like Arthur A. Sloane's *Hoffa* (1991) have made similar arguments, Witwer's is better researched and provides more context.

In explaining IBT corruption, Witwer emphasizes environmental factors. The decentralized and fiercely competitive trucking business, dominated by small contractors, made it easy for organized crime to infiltrate locals and encouraged collusion between labor and management to stabilize the market. Moreover, Witwer argues that the IBT's critics have exaggerated the extent of corruption, which he believes consisted of only "occasional acts of malfeasance by scattered union officials" (p. 1). Employers made IBT corruption a central issue as early as the 1905 Chicago teamsters' strike, staged shortly after the union was founded. Depicted as formidable and unscrupulous, the union severely inconvenienced the public in the pursuit of selfish gain. Management sought to delegitimize IBT president Cornelius Shea by comparing him to a Russian autocrat, a "Strike Dictator," whose alleged sexual indiscretions revealed his moral deficiency. Here and elsewhere, Witwer should have devoted attention to how the IBT itself influenced the shaping of its public image, which was not merely molded by employers. The IBT in 1905 also denounced its employer adversaries as corrupt and immoral. It highlighted their use of professional strikebreaking agencies to import criminals and African Americans, both considered menacing, as team drivers and guards. The IBT aggressively employed racist terminology to turn public opinion against the black strikebreakers.

Witwer credits Dan Tobin, Shea's successor, with restoring financial stability and expanding the union's jurisdiction, resulting in enormous increases in union membership and influence. He is less convincing when he praises Tobin's IBT for its "democratic qualities" (p. 68). Tobin, after all, was IBT president for forty-five years, and after 1915 IBT conventions were held only at long intervals. The IBT did not permit its members to vote directly for international officers, and conventions did not use a secret ballot. Witwer does not provide salary figures for IBT leaders or make systematic comparisons with other unions.

Witwer also considers the next presidents, Beck and

Jimmy Hoffa, innovative leaders who increased IBT bargaining power by centralizing authority, professionalizing staff, and constantly seeking new members. He argues that the IBT's ability to negotiate improvements, steady growth, and organizational stability "belied charges of rampant criminality and corruption" (p. 180). The AFL-CIO saw it differently when it expelled the IBT for corruption in 1957, although it acknowledged the union's strength by not chartering a replacement.

The book provides some useful insight into IBT growth and how corporate business and conservatives propagandized against unions. But it seriously underestimates the significance of the IBT's lack of concern for internal democracy and the corrupt activities of its leaders, which permanently damaged labor's reputation, greatly impeding its ability to organize.

STEPHEN H. NORWOOD
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ANDREW R. HEINZE. *Jews and the American Soul: Human Nature in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 438. \$29.95.

American culture took a decisive turn in the final two decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1880 and 1900, public ideas about human nature began to shift from a predominantly religious to a predominantly psychological vocabulary. Most historians have viewed this "psychologization" of American thought as part of the progressive secularization of the nation's Protestant theological heritage. Christopher Lasch, Donald Meyer, Dorothy Ross, John Burnham, and E. Brooks Holifield are among those who have interpreted the rise of psychological discourse as a byproduct of Protestantism's confrontation with modernity. Andrew R. Heinze has written a well-researched and thoughtfully argued corrective to these previous histories of American psychological thought. He argues that, for all their richness, they remain incomplete because they have failed to appreciate the vast extent to which American psychological thought also bears the distinct imprint of Jewish thought, faith, and culture.

Even a cursory look at the long list of persons who factor into Heinze's narrative makes it difficult to ignore his thesis. He begins his study with Americans' initial encounter with the writings of Sigmund Freud and Alfred Adler, and then chronicles the progressive contributions of such other Jewish psychologists as Isador Coriat, Abraham Brill, Joseph Jastrow, Hugo Munsterberg, Boris Sidis, Kurt Lewin, Jacques Loeb, Erik Erikson, Erich Fromm, and Abraham Maslow. Yet the full strength of Heinze's thesis comes through when he shifts attention away from academic or professional psychology and considers the diffusion of popular psychology into the stock of ideas from which nearly all Americans take their bearings on life. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine the full history of this psychologization of American ideas about the psyche and human nature without considering the vast influ-

ence of Jewish writers such as Rabbi Joshua Liebman, Martin Buber, Joyce Brothers, Viktor Frankl, Ayn Rand, Ann Landers, Abigail Van Buren, Betty Friedan, Laura Schlessinger, and Rabbi Harold Kushner. Heinze convincingly demonstrates that these Jewish writers played a powerful role in the growth of popular psychology—a "new booming cultural industry, outstripping theology and philosophy as a guide for a literate mass audience seeking advice about how to live" (p. 5).

Heinze's point is not simply that these influential writers were Jewish, but that their Jewish background made a tangible difference in their orientation to psychological theorizing. Much as previous historians have pointed to American Protestantism's cult of self-improvement as exemplified in the writings of Benjamin Franklin, Heinze draws attention to a genre of Hebrew ethical literature popular in Eastern Europe known as *musar*. Somewhat similar to Franklin's self-help advice, tinged with certain moral judgments, *musar* encouraged people to develop proper habits through moral reflection and serious discipline. This heritage, Heinze suggests, helps explain the different viewpoints characteristically adopted by Christian and Jewish writers. Protestant interpreters of Freud were, for example, prone to romanticizing the undiscovered potentials of the unconscious mind. G. Stanley Hall, James Mark Baldwin, William James, and William Alanson White infused discussions of the unconscious with an essentially transcendentalist spirituality. Yet Jewish psychologists such as Jastrow, Munsterberg, Coriat, and Brill eschewed such covert religiosity and instead adhered to more rationalist and naturalist depictions of the human psyche. Heinze argues that Jewish psychologists, like their Protestant counterparts, hoped to alleviate mental suffering and produce a social order that would best protect the delicate mechanism of the human psyche. But they also created a separate stream of ideas that entered the mainstream of American thought about human nature, a stream that expressed their profoundly rationalist moral perspective and distrust of faith in romanticized visions of psychic transformation.

Jews' status as immigrants and cultural outsiders predisposed them to a particular range of psychological issues such as the social sources of prejudice, inner sources of identity, and rational self-control. Kurt Lewin, for example, was a pioneer in social psychology and made path-breaking insights into the effect of social context on a person's perception. Not surprisingly, Lewin studied the self-perception of Jews and other stigmatized minorities en route to articulating a psychological vision that reinforced belief in people's ability to adapt to their social environment and in psychology's ability to guide them along the way. Similarly, Erikson's well-known writings on identity can be seen as a natural outgrowth of his own experience as an immigrant and cultural outsider.

Heinze proposes that yet another way to understand the interplay between Protestant and Jewish sources of

popular psychological understandings is to juxtapose the humanistic psychologies of two triumvirates: Rollo May-Carl Rogers-Paul Tillich and Erich Fromm-Abraham Maslow-Martin Buber. Although Albert Ellis would probably have been a better choice than Maslow, Heinze's assessment of these differing streams of humanistic psychology supports his contention that, in general, Jews were wary of portraying the mind as a pathway of divine influence and instead preached a more rational message of self-control.

This is a sharply argued contribution to American cultural and intellectual history that will deservedly be cited for decades to come.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

GEORGE REID ANDREWS. *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 284. \$19.95.

George Reid Andrews's tour de force draws on a breath-taking range of scholarship published in and on Latin America to make a powerful argument about the contributions of blacks and mulattos to national and regional histories. This book pays as much attention to class as to race. Andrews carefully differentiates among the varied experiences and strategies of poor and middle-class Afro-Latin American women and men, and he voices some provocative opinions about their past and future political mobilization.

In addition to consulting the English-language literature, Andrews draws from many works in Spanish and Portuguese that have remained largely unknown to Anglophone readers. Importantly, the book places Brazil in constant counterpoint to its Spanish-American neighbors (rather than the common practice of comparing Brazil primarily to the United States). Attention is paid to Afro-Latin American populations in diverse countries ranging from Uruguay to Costa Rica to Cuba. Andrews's lively writing style, moreover, makes this material accessible and appealing to a wide audience. Ideally suited for college students, the book challenges their stereotypes with vivid anecdotes framed within a coherent yet complex narrative.

Andrews uses the term "Afro-Latin America" to refer to countries and regions with a significant percentage of inhabitants of acknowledged African descent. Thus he emphasizes the impact of the African diaspora on specific Latin American countries and regions. But the book primarily focuses on the participants and descendants of that diaspora themselves—including both "blacks" (*negros* or *pretos*) and "browns" (*pardos* or *mulatos*)—wherever they ended up. This approach to the interrelationship of places and peoples exemplifies the overarching theoretical framework that Andrews has employed throughout his scholarship: the interplay of structure and agency.

The first chapter traces how negotiation and resis-

tance to the institution of slavery "set in motion a chain of unintended and unforeseen consequences that by 1800 had created a world vastly different from that imagined by its founders" (p. 51). The next two chapters examine the end of slavery and the emergence and consolidation of republics. Andrews emphasizes black and mulatto participation in independence and civil wars: independence wars weakened slavery, and the nineteenth-century civil wars ended it altogether. He discusses demographic and economic structures while highlighting black and mulatto agency. Thus, the slaves largely freed themselves. Using the latest research on subalterns and state-formation, Andrews views nineteenth-century Afro-Latin Americans as influential political actors who reframed ideals of liberty, equality, and citizenship.

The fourth chapter, on "whitening," charts the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century elite pursuit of national progress, often at the expense of nonwhite citizens. The author discusses immigration, racial science, and racial violence. He emphasizes the negative effects of land privatization and foreign investment on nonwhite peasants and workers. More optimistically, he also traces the emergence of cross-racial unionizing. The fifth chapter on twentieth-century "Browning and Blackening" describes a dramatic rupture between oligarchic "whitening" and populist "racial democracy." Drawing on Robin Moore and others, Andrews pays particular attention to how elites "nationalized" the Afro-Latin American cultural expressions—music, religion, martial arts, and dance—that they had previously suppressed. Populist "browning" was followed by "blackening." The limitations of racial democracy became increasingly apparent, and new black social movements emerged.

Andrews notes that poor blacks and mulattos, however, have not flocked to race-based social movements. The poor, he points out, have been more likely to organize cross-racially around class-based, immediate survival issues. He argues that "far from being a negative development, this preference for nonracial, or cross-racial, forms of organization is perfectly congruent with Afro-Latin Americans' long-term historical experience . . . People of color have had greater impacts on regional politics, economy, and society, and achieved far more in terms of social, political, and economic reform, when they have acted collectively through cross-racial coalitions than when they have tried to construct racially exclusive movements" (p. 190). In his conclusion, he states that, given the current neoliberal context, class-based movements are likely to prove more effective than race-based movements.

This argument should provoke productive discussion among activists and intellectuals. Some may argue that the history laid out so brilliantly in this book justifies an alternative solution to the one proposed. If a legacy of class-based mobilization has not solved the ongoing problems of racism, and if racism continues to be a factor in relegating millions of Afro-Latin Americans to poverty, then activists may see a need for a move-

ment that addresses both race and class, not to mention gender, within one unitary framework. Perhaps the greatest contribution of Andrews's broad survey is precisely that he provides the historical information and inspiration that such a movement can use in its efforts to understand and combat ongoing structures of racial oppression.

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DIANA PATON. *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780–1870*. (Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 291. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

In the 1830s, British abolitionists and planters were equally convinced that the ending of state-sanctioned enslavement in the Caribbean required an alternative system of coercion in order to deliver labor to capital. It was the law that remained firmly installed as the preferred mechanism for the achievement of this objective. The only difference was that the relationship between capital and labor was no longer grounded in the legal definition of people as chattel but now worked itself out through police, court, and prison.

It is the prison that stands at the center of the system in Diana Paton's excellent book. This enables her to reveal substantial continuities between slavery, the "apprenticeship" that followed formal abolition in 1834, and the "full freedom" that commenced in 1838. The late eighteenth century witnessed a great enthusiasm for prison-building in Jamaica, as a project of the planter class. In the period after 1834, antislavery advocates quickly came to share the planters' enthusiasm, and the number of prisons reached almost thirty during the apprenticeship. From the perspective of the overlords, the public prison was an attractive site for the discipline of enslaved people by removing punishment from the plantation. There were limits, of course, because the planter did not wish to lose for long the labor of his enslaved workers, and, in any case, the idea of "reforming" the enslaved was difficult to grapple with. Other varieties of terror were experimented with, such as the transportation of enslaved convicts. Australia was a long way away, and the thought of being sent there as a convict was intended to instill dread, but the cost was great and the opportunity closed off in 1837.

The technology central to Paton's narrative is the treadmill, which had a relatively brief life within the prison system of Jamaica and elsewhere but came to be understood as a symbol of industrial torture. Treadmills began to be set up in the West Indian slave colonies in the 1820s, a decade before abolition, and flourished during the apprenticeship period, only to be removed from all prisons in 1840. Paton demonstrates effectively that it was the image of the seminaked woman, her wrists shackled to a beam and her legs

dangling bloodied against the rotating blades, that most completely symbolized the horrors of the system of the apprenticeship, just as it was the image of the woman spread-eagled and lacerated by the driver's lash that had characterized most vividly the horrors of enslavement. A central irony here was that one of the fundamental changes in punishment at the formal abolition of slavery was the prohibition of the whipping of women, while the advance of the prison and the treadmill brought with them their own new terrors. Why the treadmill, which had been used since ancient times as a relatively benign means of raising water or milling grain, came to be thought eminently suited to the discipline of slaves and apprentices is not clear in Paton's account, and the extent to which the treadmill was used to grind corn, for example, remains murky. Today the treadmill is associated most obviously with the desire for the healthy body, and if found in a prison it would be located in its exercise facility.

As often happens, close investigation of the supposed turning-points of history reveals evidence of continuity. Paton's emphasis on parallel outcomes works very well for the prison, but might have seemed less convincing had she looked more closely at the role of the police force, which was brought into being by the Police Act of 1834 and is hard to understand as a simple continuation of the militia. Analysis of the decline of public executions might also have introduced more complexity. Again, Paton's concluding pages, which carry us in a giant leap from 1870 to 1999, are troubling because they suggest a too simple continuity in prison and politics.

Although Paton's interpretation has a Foucauldian frame, she is equally willing to take Foucault to task. Her book is based on thorough research in archives and includes some detailed plans of prison layout. There are also charts constructed by the author and some welcome quantitative initiatives. Paton's argument is carefully crafted, and she uses gender successfully as a way of moving forward her interpretation of the rule of law.

B. W. HIGMAN
Australian National University

STEEVE O. BUCKRIDGE. *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760–1890*. Foreword by REX NETTLEFORD. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 270. \$25.00.

There has been considerable interest in the recent past on the material culture of slavery. This research, allied with studies of the slave economy and of slave culture, has provided additional evidence that the enslaved were able to control important aspects of their lives. Steeve O. Buckridge contributes to that literature and argues persuasively that dress in Jamaica served a similar function. Since his book extends its analysis to the post-emancipation period, it also considers dress in

the context of significant changes in nineteenth-century Jamaica.

In discussing the slave period, Buckridge makes a number of telling points. He demonstrates that slave clothing and, specifically, the dispensing of that clothing helped to reinforce the patriarchal norms of the colonial society. As Buckridge makes clear, skilled male slaves received more clothing than women; this had the effect of reemphasizing women's subordination within slave society. Buckridge also describes some of the differences in slave clothing: he suggests that dress varied according to occupation and status. In addition, there is considerable detail on the production of clothing by slave women and, significantly, on the development of a creole style of dress. For Buckridge, the creole dress was "the product of a conscious effort to maintain, preserve and support the African elements in dress brought to the Caribbean" (p. 60).

Buckridge sees dress as resistance. Slave runaways often dressed differently, seeking to adopt the style of free women. More significantly, enslaved women sought to make use of African styles of dressing, such as the use of a particular style of headwrap or coral necklaces, to resist slavery. By making use of "an African aesthetic" in their clothing, slave women were denying their masters the power to rob them of their dignity and their African identity. Similarly, Buckridge points to the costumes worn during carnivals in Jamaica and the striking figure of Jonkonnu, with its roots in West Africa. In some of their carnival costumes, enslaved people appropriated British symbols. But, for Buckridge, this was another aspect of resistance; in adopting European symbols, slaves were not seeking to be like whites but resisting their status as slaves. They sang subversive songs and, during the Christmas celebrations, often dressed like their masters and partied in the Big House, inverting, albeit temporarily, the usual hierarchy of plantation life.

Buckridge argues that carnival symbolized the shared world of resistance and accommodation. After emancipation, this merging of accommodation and resistance continued. Since white fashion norms became even more important after the abolition of slavery, freed women in Jamaica sought to imitate and appropriate these dress styles. But, as during slavery, these women transformed European styles to suit their own taste and their own sense of fashion. Even when they simply copied European styles, they were using dress "to receive some validation for themselves and their race" (p. 138). Yet, as Buckridge suggests, however much Jamaican women accommodated themselves to European styles after emancipation, they were never treated as equals of the whites. The racism of nineteenth-century Jamaican society permeated the world of dress, just as it did in the realm of politics and society more generally.

This is an important argument and a terrain that has not received such detailed treatment during this period. At the same time, there are some problems with the analysis. For example, Buckridge argues that there

were two Jamaicas after emancipation: civilized and uncivilized, and that this was reflected in the dress of free people. But we know that the society was more complex than this suggests. Buckridge rules out including free colored women's clothing in this book, but dealing with their mode of dress might have expanded the stark dichotomy presented here. In addition, some of the material here goes over familiar territory without adding much that is new; for instance, African cultural continuities are discussed, but the notes point to a generally older literature. It is also surprising that Buckridge did not make use of slave runaway advertisements to document further his treatment of slave clothing. On balance, however, this is an innovative and useful study. It is handsomely illustrated and brings to light an important aspect of material culture. Buckridge's book should serve as a stimulus for other studies looking at material culture and encompassing slavery and freedom in the Americas.

GAD HEUMAN

University of Warwick

DANIEL NEWCOMER. *Reconciling Modernity: Urban State Formation in 1940s León, Mexico*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. x, 288. \$50.00

Daniel Newcomer's book is a study of conflict and reconciliation between two elite factions in León, Guanajuato, in the 1940s, the local officials of the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (PRM, later renamed the Partido Revolucionario Institucional or PRI), and the conservative Catholics of the Unión Nacional Sinarquista (UNS). It was in León, Newcomer argues, "the symbolic capital of Mexico's corporeal Christian nation" (p. 10), that the Sinarquistas were transformed from a radical and intransigent source of opposition to the revolutionary state into a "tame opposition party" (p. 11), thus eliminating any significant ideological challenge to the ruling PRM and its project of state-led modernization.

The first two chapters of the book focus on how political competition between the PRM and the UNS in León led to a convergence in elite ideology. Both revolutionary and conservative Catholic elites, according to Newcomer, embraced state-led modernization, claimed to represent the masses and to epitomize the essence of the Mexican nation, and feared popular unruliness to the point of sanctioning coercion against the very same masses that they claimed to represent.

Throughout much of the remaining three chapters of the book, Newcomer demonstrates how the popular sectors of León resisted the roles chosen for them in the "official story" concocted and shared by revolutionary and Catholic elites to legitimate existing power relations and social inequalities in the city. Because popular sector groups consistently and emphatically refused to be rendered "legible" by accepting the official story, the revolutionary state never achieved hegemony and endured only through the use of repression.

Although Newcomer asserts that he has adopted a cultural approach to Mexican state formation, the book lacks a clearly articulated thesis and a coherent analytical argument. Many of the most basic concepts, such as the "current state" in Mexico and the "official story" told by León elites, remain quite obscure throughout. In the introductory chapter, a somewhat confusing discussion of the historiography on 1940s Mexico is followed by a quite distorted characterization of recent scholarship on state formation in post-revolutionary Mexico, very little if any of which, contrary to Newcomer's assertions, claims that popular sector groups simply accepted the revolutionary state's authority as legitimate or implies that Mexico was a democracy throughout the second half of the twentieth-century (p. 16). Furthermore, it has been quite a long while since anyone has seriously suggested that motives for political behavior could be read off of "objective social categories such as class" (p. 15).

Newcomer's empirical work is the saving grace of the book. He has a great deal to say about daily life in 1940s León, based on his research in local, state, and national archives. Of particular interest is his depiction of the UNS and its leaders, popular base, unions, women's organizations, and public celebrations. In other respects, Newcomer travels some fairly well-trodden ground. A great deal of recent and not-so-recent scholarship has focused on revolutionary efforts to modernize and secularize urban areas by renaming streets and erecting monuments, as well as on Catholic efforts to underscore the centrality of religion to Mexico's national identity. The extent to which secular and Catholic elites, since the early independence era, shared similar views of the masses and the need to thoroughly reform them prior to their inclusion in the political system has also been well documented, as has the resistance of popular sector groups to elite notions of how they ought to live, worship, and otherwise behave themselves.

While there is much to be learned about the Sinarquistas of 1940s León from this book, it does not, given its analytical weakness, make a significant contribution to any emerging cultural approach to state formation.

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MARGARET M. OLSEN. *Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xii, 189. \$59.95.

Margaret M. Olsen's book provides a study of a single early modern text, the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, a treatise on religious conversion published in Seville in 1627. In the introduction, Olsen argues for the importance of Sandoval's book, stating that it "stands alone as the earliest Spanish American document that seeks to make historical, philosophical, and cultural sense of the African/European encounter in a New World context." Sandoval's interesting work clearly merits the scholarly

attention that Olsen provides in this thought-provoking literary analysis.

Olsen argues that the Jesuit's book "presents readers . . . with a missionary figure who was as vigorous an advocate of African humanity and dignity in the seventeenth century as the well-known Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566) was for Amerindian moral integrity" (p. 2). The reference to Las Casas immediately situates Sandoval's text within the spectrum of disputatious opinion regarding the nature of European engagement with the peoples of the world who were categorized as targets of religious conversion. Las Casas advocated what might be termed a more humane attitude toward the indigenous people of the Americas, and Sandoval shares that emphasis in the guide he provided for missionaries engaged in the conversion and pastoral care of enslaved Africans. While recognizing the variety of contemporary European intellectual opinion on this question, Olsen also notes the limits of Las Casas's approach: the missionary's interest was in the proper way to transform the indigenous Americans from pagans into hispanicized Christians.

The Jesuit order was a major player in the slave trade, and "[b]y the time of their expulsion in 1767 . . . were the largest . . . slaveholders in the Americas" (p. 14). Jesuit haciendas were also some of the most successful, and in Sandoval's time the order's college of Cartagena managed several, including one called La Ceiba, where 111 slaves were working at the time of the expulsion. When he wrote the book, Cartagena was the main port of entry for African slaves into the Americas. It is estimated that, in the last half of the sixteenth century, 15,445 slaves passed through Cartagena, and the resident population was close to one thousand. Cartagena contained two thousand inhabitants of European descent.

Sandoval's *De instauranda* provides readers with a historical and geographic compendium of the known world and Africa, a description of the suffering of the slaves with an admonishment of cruel owners, a practical guide for Jesuit missionaries, and a call for Jesuit service among Africans in the Americas. Two works by the Jesuit José de Acosta were major influences on Sandoval: *De procurandam Indorum salute* (1588) and the *Historia Natural y moral de las Indias* (1590). In these texts, Acosta delineated the Americas as a region of heterogeneity and flux, with a missionary's success dependent upon his ability to be flexible, pragmatic, and adaptable in his interactions with targeted converts. Sandoval followed Acosta's example in his own manual for missionary activity.

Olsen makes three major claims for Sandoval's work. First, she argues that the "intellectual autonomy of the Jesuit order provides . . . an alternative to the monolithic, colonial project of Spain in the New World." Second, "the missionary enterprise in the Americas provides a textual aperture for those religious workers willing to approach the Other in a radically new way that is more intimate and culturally

accommodating." Third, Olsen argues that "the very specific objective of African valorization that Sandoval devises . . . generates the possibility for African perspectives to arise therein" (p. 26). The first two propositions are not controversial, and Olsen makes an effective case for them. The third is the boldest claim, and the nature of Sandoval's text makes it difficult to establish.

Sandoval arrived in Cartagena from Lima in 1605, one year after the Jesuit college had been established. His text was aimed at other Jesuits, and through its dissemination Sandoval hoped to stimulate conversion efforts among Cartagena's least valued human inhabitants and sojourners. One powerful way of doing this was by linking missionary activity among the slaves with the overseas conversions carried out by the order's founding generation. In an interesting feat of categorization, *De instauranda* places natives of India and Pacific islands under the rubric of "Aethiopians," a move that places the peoples missionized by Francis Xavier in the same category as the enslaved Africans of Cartagena de Indias.

Olsen nearly matches Sandoval's innovativeness in categorization when she describes the Africans who appear in works such as Sandoval's as "textual maroons." Like the escaped slaves who were called *cimarrones* and maroons by colonial officials, Olsen argues that Africans appear, vanish, and reappear under several guises in colonial texts. They could be depicted as slaves, militia soldiers, or as rebels. Manumission might change their status, or they might force change on their own, becoming maroons. Through this changeability, Olsen argues, "the African subaltern avoids a complete colonial inscription" (p. 128).

Colonial slaves could indeed avoid interpretive fixity because of their limited ability to change their status. However, a different emphasis may be placed upon the point that Olsen makes. Researchers of early modern colonies can only describe the experiences of subject peoples, recognizing them as slaves, rebels, maroons, or loyal subjects of color, insofar as those individuals and groups were embedded within, subjected to, or in rebellion against colonial administrative systems. Rather than exploring subject peoples' existence outside of the colonial system, ethnohistorical research in colonial archives allows for the presentation of a more complete picture of the imperial reality by including Africans and Indians as central, integral actors on the colonial stage.

The Africans who appear in Sandoval's book are mediated through the Jesuit's perceptions and are subject to considerable distortion due to the missionary's transformative aims. When the Jesuit elaborates on how the Africans construe their baptisms, for example, his descriptions are crafted to provide an image of them as malleable, child-like, and unable to resist a European's skilled presentation of his (superior) faith. Even after taking into account the applicable notion of Bakhtinian polyphony, it must be admitted that the agency that the Africans exercise in

Sandoval's text is that which has been allowed to them by the author. Sandoval's act of writing provides the Africans with a textual existence, and in interpreting the descriptions of Africans in the *De instauranda*, readers are primarily left to explore Sandoval's motivations, interpretations, and modes of representation rather than those of the Africans about whom he wrote. While Olsen's study is least convincing in its attempt to establish how enslaved Africans might have written themselves into the Jesuit's text, the work does provide an interesting guide through Sandoval's important early modern book.

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ROBERT H. HOLDEN. *Armies without Nations: Public Violence and State Formation in Central America, 1821–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 336. \$55.00.

The crises and civil wars of the 1980s brought unprecedented scholarly attention to Central America. Books published at the time were useful in suggesting the historical roots of contemporary problems, especially as they concerned the role of U.S. policy, but they were frequently repetitious and superficial. Time was needed to produce more reflective work, based on more extensive archival research. In the first of two projected volumes, Robert H. Holden provides the necessary background to such a study. Covered here is the story of violence in Central American public life to 1960. The volume yet to appear will extend the account to the time of the regional peace accords of the 1990s.

Holden distinguishes usefully between "public violence"—that is, violence employed in public arenas for public purposes, regardless of the actors who perpetrate it—and "private violence," which, for simplicity's sake, may be described as common criminal activity. The author also makes a distinction between, on the one hand, the generally accepted notions in any given society of where the permissible limits to public violence lie, and, on the other, the question of how much material capacity exists to deploy public violence and who in society controls that capacity.

In the specific case of Central America, Holden argues that the failure since independence from Spain in 1821 to develop a coherent sense of nationhood, and, with it, effective nation states, has resulted in the persistence of "improvisational" states characterized by an extraordinarily ample latitude for recourse to public violence. The permissible scope for such violence has, to be sure, been broad throughout Latin America, but in this study Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua are seen as places where it has been especially so. A possible exception has been Costa Rica, but Holden offers a convincing corrective to the many accounts that emphasize that country's distinctiveness. True, in Costa Rica the limits to public violence have historically been more restrictive than elsewhere on the isthmus, but the popular image of

Costa Rica as a "country without an army" has never been accurate.

Contrary to much of the scholarly literature of the 1980s, which sought causes for Central American violence in U.S. policy, and contrary also to the official U.S. government view at the time, which blamed Soviet or Cuban meddling, Holden argues that the prevalence of public violence in the region is a product of its own history and not of intervention by external actors. However, Holden also emphasizes that the growing capacity of isthmian states to control the means of violence has been due chiefly to policy decisions by the United States, as has the increasing destructiveness of the means at their disposal. Although the pattern dates back at least to the 1920s in Nicaragua, where Washington took it upon itself to reform the local armed forces in an ultimately counterproductive effort to ensure political stability, the real turning point came during World War II and especially with the Lend-Lease Act of 1942.

Whether to ensure isthmian solidarity against fascism in the 1940s or against communism in the 1950s, Washington sought consistently to maintain close ties with Central American military elites, who, in most countries, were seen as the ultimate arbiters of the political process. This meant providing regional armed forces with training and hardware, even when U.S. military authorities themselves doubted the necessity or benefit of such assistance. As more than one U.S. officer acknowledged, the official justification of U.S. military aid on grounds of support for the isthmian states' collaboration in hemispheric defense was a weak pretext, but the Pentagon's doubts yielded to White House and State Department insistence on the political value of such assistance, while notions of mission shifted from defense against external enemies to maintenance of internal control.

Theoretically informed and heavily documented with archival sources from both the United States and Central America, Holden's work is a major contribution to our understanding of the military and political history of twentieth-century Central America. The effort to integrate historical material and sociological theory is a worthwhile attempt to give greater system and clarity to our thinking about important issues, but not every reader is likely to find it satisfying. Questions may occur, for example, regarding the idea of permissible limits to public violence, which the study appears to accept as given, without specifying precisely how such limits come to be established or how they are maintained or modified.

Such minor questions, however, need not detract from the significance of Holden's achievement. In any case, the author's arguments cannot be assessed in full until the second and final volume appears, which will deal directly with the decades of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, a time fresh in historical memory when the phenomena under discussion found their most extreme expression. Scholars interested in militarism and violence in public life in Latin America, and especially in

Central America, will want to read and discuss this book. Meanwhile, we will all look forward to the next installment.

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ZEPHYR L. FRANK. *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 230. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.

In this book Zephyr L. Frank imaginatively explores a great many questions about the nature and consequences of economic change in Rio de Janeiro over the span of the nineteenth century. Beyond the fascinating focus on Antonio José Dutra, who arrived in Rio de Janeiro by 1820 as a slave from Angola and proceeded to build an impressive personal fortune in the 1830s and 1840s, this book answers many old questions in new ways. Above all, it provides the reader with an innovative and extremely valuable picture of how, prior to the 1850s, individuals of modest means gradually accumulated wealth in slaves and translated those assets into avenues of upward mobility. Frank's far-ranging conceptualizations rest on a meticulously constructed quantitative analysis of wealth in Rio de Janeiro, which he extracted from 1,109 estate inventories and divisions. The result is dazzling. By applying a sound sampling methodology to no less than seven decades, he has produced a longitudinal inventory of wealthholding in Brazil's largest city. He thereby clarifies familiar historiographic concerns and introduces new arguments that fine tune our understanding of Rio's status-ordered society.

The book is obligatory reading for historians of Brazil on a number of counts, only a few of which can be noted here. First, this study's fundamental subject is no less than the economic transformation of Rio de Janeiro as it moved from a largely "colonial economy" dedicated to bureaucratic-commercial interests, in the 1820s through the 1840s, to the "modern forms of economy and social structure" signaled by the export of coffee and the arrival of the railroad, in the 1850s. Second, this book engagingly dissects the upward trajectory of a principal group of "middling wealth-holders" personified by the illiterate ex-slave Dutra, who, at his death in 1849, had accumulated a net estate of over 13 *contos*. Prior to the 1850 closing of the Atlantic slave trade, entrepreneurial investors parried their accumulating capital in slaves into comfortable living standards that provided their children with wet-nurses, primary education, and music lessons. Lower slave prices fostered this pattern of accumulation at a time when relatively higher real estate prices otherwise blocked social mobility. Third, Frank reveals the previously unexplored central importance of informal instruments of credit (the *dívidas ativas* enumerated in estate inventories about which historians have always wondered) for accumulating wealth before

1850, when Brazil lacked both a commercial code and a central bank.

Social historians will find Frank's argument that the "best of times" for attaining social mobility lay in the three decades before 1850—an argument he supports by a careful analysis of slave and real estate prices—dovetailing with other issues overdue for scholarly attention. For instance, after 1850, rising slave prices meant that the cost of freedom via self purchase was ratcheted upward, and slaves' earning power faced increasing competition from European immigrants, toward whom the "paramenters of social mobility" now shifted. The most important finding about slavery, however, turns on what historians have long surmised but never documented. Frank establishes that the middling wealthholders (sixty percent of the 1,109 inventories) eventually accounted for forty-five percent of Rio's wealth held in slaves, a pattern leading him to revise the historiography of abolition. Rather than resting slavery's long hold in Brazil on the ideological support generated for that institution, or even on the economic interest of the powerful slavocratic planters in Brazil's parliament, Frank convincingly shows that the distribution of slave ownership thoroughly penetrated urban society. Dutra's world, where middling wealthholders' proportion of wealth in slaves peaked in the 1850s, at twenty-seven percent of their assets, thus encapsulated a context that stymied the spread of abolitionism over the long run. Conversely, the generation that followed Dutra and embraced abolition in the 1880s lived in a different world, one where the door of social mobility had swung shut due to rising slave prices and an aging slave population.

Frank's concluding discussion appropriately considers "the socioeconomic consequences of inheritance law" over generations, offering valuable findings while raising a few quibbles. Some will have difficulty with how he gauges "inequality" of wealth by comparing "decedents who were married" to those who died as either surviving spouses or unmarried. One assumption may be troublesome, that "relative inequality increased *among all heirs*" due to the fact, in the case of decedents who were married, that their "widows and widowers generally retained one-half of the family estate" (p. 152). Frank's methodological preference for treating the matrimonial community as synonymous with the decedent's "total estate" ("family estate") thus leads him to define widows as "heirs" on a par with the decedent's legitimate children. Others will be disappointed by the lack of explicit reference to rules of heirship, when the subject is transmitting wealth "unequally" between generations. That is, distinguishing the automatic operation of partitive inheritance from a testator's volitional dispositions might have isolated precise mechanisms by which the inheritance system produced greater inequality over time. An obligatory focus on testamentary dispositions creates an impression of agency on the part of testators that sometimes seems exaggerated.

Nevertheless, these are the minor objections of a reader fascinated by how rules of heirship can be evaded or manipulated. They do not detract from what is essentially this study's very fine marriage of a superb quantitative analysis of wealthholders to an unforgettable evocation of the remarkable family established by the former slave and barber Antonio José Dutra.

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ERICKA KIM VERBA. *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile, 1910–1917: The Liga de Damas Chilenas*. (Roman Catholic Studies, number 19.) Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen. 2003. Pp. 334. \$119.95.

This study, an intellectual history, surveys the periodical literature of upper-class Chilean women at the start of the century to evaluate what they thought of themselves, the working poor, and the role of religion in social life. The book reproduces Ericka Kim Verba's dissertation literally, including using the same typeface, and comes with sticker shock. Like many solidly-written dissertations, it covers a topic that is too thin and specialized for a book, but it raises issues that are significant and understudied.

The Liga de Damas Chilenas was an organization established in 1912 to draw together women with upper-class views. Verba's work is one of the few studies of a social pillar of the Chilean right well into the coup of 1973: the well-to-do woman who was urban, commercially sophisticated, and socially engaged. This book contains elements that could serve as a prelude to Margaret Power's *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle against Allende, 1964–1973* (2002). But it stays at a fairly superficial level of analyzing the writings in the Liga's periodical, *Eco*, and such lecturers as Juan Enrique Concha Subercaseaux, who is quoted extensively as representing views that women accepted. Not surprisingly, the Liga and the men who spoke to it worried that Chile was going to hell, they worried about the laboring women who seemed to court sexual disaster, and about the shortage of servants. According to Verba, they blamed the moral collapse of the nation on working-class men who drank too much and abandoned their families and upper-class women who were spending too much money on dresses and frivolities. Her general presentation of Chile in this era owes a great deal to James Morris, whose book on the "social question," written some forty years ago, continues to provide a guide to the elite views of working people in the early twentieth century.

None of this is enough. If we are going to revisit how Catholic women confronted basic issues of modernization, including gender roles and class conflict, then we need to know more about who these women were, how they lived, and how representative or large the Liga was. Verba never examines the social references of the various comments that she quotes to see what the

lecturer or writer and the listener and reader had in common as a cultural experience: what were they going through? This omission is odd, given the centrality of cultural issues to contemporary historiography. Women of the Chilean upper class were almost exclusively schooled in private, Catholic institutions, schools notorious for their restrictive practices and failure to teach women anything about sex. It was thus very hard for upper-class women to think in terms not steeped in Catholic symbolism. It is also important to remember that in this period, new fortunes were being made. The Chilean rich grew much richer and their numbers increased. One of Verba's themes is about the dangers of *lujo*, what in the United States was called conspicuous consumption. This concern is not unique to Chile or to women. How to contain the new rich within the existing social framework and how to orient the women of the nouveau riche so that they did not disturb established social practices must have been pressing topics indeed for the good *damas* of the Liga. They are concerns analyzed in the era by everyone from Thorsten Veblen to Nicolás Palacios, the nationalistic Chilean essayist of the period. Verba seems to have read neither.

Verba's work also raises an issue central to feminist studies: domesticity. But we are not provided with any portrait of an elite household. She talks about the elite worry that women were abandoning domestic service for the factories. The appearance of women in factories set off widespread concern that laboring women were flirting with moral danger, an attitude articulated in the press as well as by the elite, as demonstrated by Elizabeth Quay Hutchison in *Labors Appropriate to their Sex: Gender, Labor, and Politics in Urban Chile, 1900–1930* (2003). Some attempt to integrate elite rhetoric with Hutchison's study would have been welcome but is not attempted. It is likely that the defining characteristic of Chilean domestic service was not the appearance of factories but the failure of the economy to grow faster and to provide other sources of women's employment. The relations of the elite with a servant class remain understudied, but when right-wing women marched against Salvador Allende in 1973, they demanded and got their servants to march with them.

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STEFAN RINKE. *Begegnungen mit dem Yankee: Nord-amerikanisierung und soziokultureller Wandel in Chile (1898–1990)*. (Lateinamerikanische Forschungen, number 32.) Cologne: Böhlau. 2004. Pp. xvii, 633. €68.90.

Stefan Rinke examines one century of Chilean reactions to contacts with the U.S. He uses an exhausting and broad sample of Chilean and U.S. sources, many evaluated for the first time.

Rinke divides Chilean-U.S. encounters into two

phases: a transnational one lasting from 1918 until 1932, and a new globalization phase covering the period between 1932 and 1990. In over six hundred pages, Rinke surveys the ever changing perceptions of the political left, right, upper-class and popular sectors as they dealt with, or simply referred to the United States.

His point of departure is the emergence of closer U.S.-Chilean relations during World War I. Whereas before Great Britain and Europe had been the central referential geographical space, emerging contacts managing trade, investment, and mining business with U.S. partners laid foundations for a new referent: "the Yankee." Diplomatic exchanges added complexities as the U.S. mediated inter-American hostilities after World War I. A particular strength of Rinke's examination is his inclusion of impressions from Chilean travelers touring the United States.

Chilean reactions to their experiences covered the entire span, from the United States being a model for Chile to its being a mortal threat. Chileans seeking their own understanding of, and developing new options for what it meant to be a society and a nation appreciated the United States as a pivotal projection screen. Long before the Unidad Popular government put the U.S.-Chilean relationship on the map of popular political culture in the 1970s, the Chilean left and right had learned to use references to it for the advancement of domestic identity struggles.

The second part of the book examines encounters built around consumption and mass popular culture. After World War II, as Chileans increasingly bought products manufactured in the United States, individual consumers joined the political and social discursive battles. The process of urbanization also contributed new words and fear scenarios. As Chile moved from being a nation of agriculture, and raw material extraction to one of import substitution, the U.S. industrial model was debated. Finally, media images from film, TV, and music joined the field. The coup of 1972 only supercharged basic concepts and projections that had been tossed back and forth for decades. References to the United States were well-established and their performance in domestic political spectacles well rehearsed, regardless of where an individual stood politically.

Interpretations of encounters with the United States were never homogenous and rarely were part of an exploratory debate. Most often they served as an occasion for highly ideological and politicized reactions. "Northamericanization," whatever this conceptual edifice meant for a particular Chilean group, was highly appreciated as a weapon. The book gives a special place to the cultivation of anti-American references that both the extreme right and the extreme left used as fighting terms. It concludes with an investigation of how these processes developed in reaction to neoliberal economic modernization debates after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

This book is not only an outstanding survey of

Chilean-U.S. encounters but also an example of German academic nationalism. Written at a time when the German humanistic academic tradition confronts its most radical modernization in fifty years, Rinke drifts from neutral analysis and uses implicitly anticapitalist philosophical concepts to investigate U.S.-Chilean relations. His book comes close to a regrettable, very intellectualized expression of century-old stereotypes about the United States. Rinke shows that encounters do not equal explanations.

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PETER WINN, editor. *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973–2002*. Foreword by PAUL DRAKE. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 423. cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

Soon after leading a brutal military coup in 1973, General Augusto Pinochet initiated a series of free-market reforms that abruptly opened Chile's economy to foreign trade and investment and dramatically reduced the role of the state. After a harsh recession in the early 1980s, the economy began a period of robust growth, often referred to as the "Chilean Miracle," that continued through much of the 1990s under civilian government. As Paul Drake notes in his preface to this book, the contributors "have the audacity to challenge the most successful economic experiment in Latin America since the 1970s" (p. ix). In doing so, they collectively ask: Have workers been the "victims" of the "miracle"?

The title's affirmative answer will hardly surprise those familiar with Pinochet's military government, but this book is a remarkable achievement for a variety of reasons. One is its impressive cohesion. Editor Peter Winn provides a useful overview of the Pinochet era and introduces the contributions, four written by historians and three by sociologists, all based on original research and oral testimony. An early essay by Volker Frank reviews national labor politics since the return to democracy, but the core of the book consists of six case studies of the experiences of working people in specific sectors: Winn (textiles) and Joel Stillerman (metallurgy) illuminate the fate of the once protected and now battered domestic manufacturing sector; Thomas Miller Klubock looks at the source of Chile's most important traditional export, copper, still partially owned by the state; Heidi Tinsman (agriculture), Rachel Schurman (fisheries), and Klubock (forestry) explore the fate of workers in the nontraditional, natural resource-based exports central to the model.

Another achievement is the volume's historical treatment of a recent period and a set of issues crucial to the region today. The radical character of Chile's neoliberal transformations is notable for its contrast with the previous period of state-led development and generous rights and provisions for organized workers, which culminated in Salvador Allende's democratically

elected socialist government (1970–1973). Virtually all essays begin with the pre-1973 experience of workers, and organized labor's rise to and fall from the political and social heights of Allende's Popular Unity government is an essential point of reference. Indeed, Winn's essay on textile workers is a welcome follow-up to his acclaimed *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (1986), on the workers' seizure of a textile plant during Allende's government. Similarly, essays by Klubock (on copper workers) and Tinsman draw from and extend the topics of their fine recent books on the pre-Pinochet period.

Across a variety of work experiences, these essays describe strikingly common patterns: the repression that decimated organized labor in the years directly after the coup and made fear pervasive in the workplace; the effects after 1978 of a new labor code that guaranteed employers labor market flexibility while severely restricting the ability of workers to form unions, bargain collectively, or strike; and, perhaps most traumatic of all, the unmitigated market forces that tightly tied Chile to the global economy, wiping out or continually restructuring entire industries, throwing people out of work, or sending them scrambling for seasonal and subcontracted work with long hours, constant speed ups, and low wages. The outcome has been impressive economic growth, high social costs, and the second highest level of income inequality in the Americas.

As one might expect of good labor history, these workers are more than victims. Each essay traces the collective resistance of workers to bearing the costs of economic adjustment and growth, as well as their crucial opposition to the dictatorship in the 1980s. As part of this common narrative of exploitation and resistance, several authors address the related transformations of workplace and community identities, the shift toward individualism and consumerism, changing gender relations, and the environmental problems wrought by natural resource exports. The picture they paint is not uniformly bleak; for example, Tinsman confirms the devastating consequences of the boom in agriculture but also shows how women's expansion into the seasonal jobs and poverty wages of the fruit-export sector ultimately helped them challenge the patriarchal structures of the state, the workplace, the employers, and the family.

The most ambitious achievement of this volume is its extension of the Pinochet era to include recent civilian governments. Winn argues that the *Concertación*, the coalition of the Christian Democratic and Socialist parties that has ruled Chile since 1990, has "consolidated the neoliberal 'revolution' that Pinochet began" by conferring legitimacy on the neoliberal model (p. 11). Each essay shows how, in spite of the end of repression, a reduction in poverty and unemployment, and a gradual and modest rise in wages, workers have not fared well by many standards. Volker traces the dynamic by which most of the *Concertación's* proposed reforms to Pinochet's labor code were un-

determined by the intransigence of employers, the governments' fear of alienating business, and a labor movement that proved too loyal to the politicians it helped bring to power. In the context of limited political will and the continued preponderance of employers' power, union affiliation grew modestly in the first two years of democratic rule before eventually dropping to levels below those of the last two years of the dictatorship. Similarly, the numbers of strikes and of workers covered by collective contracts have dropped by more than half from their peaks in the early 1990s. As each case study shows, employers continued to demand ever-greater flexibility from workers, while productivity gains far outpaced wage gains. Thus workers remained as vulnerable to domestic and global market forces under democratic rule as they had under Pinochet. In this sense, Chile's neoliberal democracy resembled that of most of Latin America in the 1990s. Winn dates the end of the era with Pinochet's 1998 arrest and the subsequent economic downturns in the wake of Asian and Argentine economic crises. But as the case studies in this very significant book make clear, the Pinochet era may continue for a while.

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STEVE J. STERN. *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*. Book One of the Trilogy: *The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile* (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xxxi, 247. \$29.95.

Steve J. Stern's book is the first volume of a trilogy on state terror, trauma, and memory in Chile collectively titled *The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile*. This pioneering account of collective memory in Chile during the 1990s makes a major contribution to the burgeoning literature on military dictatorships and memory in Latin America.

While many historians of Europe have examined the relationships among trauma, memory, and history, especially with reference to the Holocaust, scholars of Latin America have tended to focus either on the socioeconomic structural and institutional processes that defined South American dictatorships or on the social movements that arose to challenge authoritarian rule. Stern focuses instead on the centrality of memory to Chilean culture and politics during the Pinochet dictatorship and transition to democracy. He argues convincingly that struggles over memory are essential to understanding the hegemony of the military regime's project of remaking Chilean economy, society, and politics.

Stern introduces the theoretical categories he will use throughout the trilogy to examine the problem of memory in 1990s Chile. He argues that collective memory has been organized around four types of "emblematic memories," largely hegemonic transcripts that provide "frameworks of meaning" for experience

and less formal and more personal, but still collective, forms of what he calls "memory lore," "loose" memories that never make it into the broader socially constructed emblematic memory narratives but speak important, if marginalized, social truths. Stern thus provides a more complex and useful analytical framework than the simple dichotomy of memory versus forgetting that often structures the historical literature on the Holocaust. He argues that contemporary Chile is defined by a number of different contentious collective memories that have arrived at an impasse or stalemate, rather than by a state of amnesia or oblivion.

Stern anchors the theoretical discussions of emblematic and loose memories in a number of oral histories of both victims and perpetrators of human rights abuses, as well as supporters and opponents of General Augusto Pinochet. In addition, he interviews people who cannot be placed neatly into these camps and whose loose memories have no socially sanctioned emblematic transcript, as in the tragic case of a conscript soldier who witnessed atrocities and is tortured by remorse. He builds a work of ethnography in which oral history is used not just as documentation, a way to test the truth claims of memory, but as a means of understanding social truths, the social transcripts that represent and interpret experience, and as a way to confront the problem of how to represent or make intelligible "limit experiences" or "radical evil" (p. xxviii). Here Stern also avoids the stark dichotomy between memory and history that informs many studies of the Holocaust. Indeed, the comparison with the Holocaust is important to Stern's book because he is the child of Holocaust survivors. In a few deeply affecting passages, Stern discusses his family's memories and the ways in which his own experiences informed his relationships with the people he interviewed in Chile, in some cases establishing profound forms of identification and empathy. Not just a silent observer, Stern is an active presence, a participant in the dialogical production of the ethnography. His own voice remains fairly muted and his personal interventions are selective, never eclipsing the oral histories. Stern thus makes a significant contribution to the recent critical literature on oral history and ethnography by historians like Alessandro Portelli, Daniel James, and Temma Kaplan and anthropologists like James Clifford.

The book is meticulously researched in largely unexplored collections of private papers and public archives, including the archives of the Vicariate of Solidarity and Chile's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The footnotes are exhaustive and reflect an encyclopedic grasp of modern Chilean history, theoretical literature on memory and oral history, and comparative historical literature. They express the author's infectious pleasure in research and reading, as well as his passionate political and ethical engagement with the question of memory and state terror, and are an indispensable tool to reading the main text. A final

essay that appears as an appendix discusses the different kinds of sources Stern employs in the trilogy, with thoughtful meditations on oral history and life history.

A work this empirically rich and conceptually sophisticated is bound to stimulate further thoughts and debate. Stern's interviews with a conservative woman who celebrated the military dictatorship as salvation and with left-wing women who suffered the arrest, torture, and disappearance of family members contain a wealth of information that helps to explain the mobilizations of conservative women in support of a military coup in 1973, as well as the pro-democracy mobilizations of female and feminist activists during the 1980s. The book thus raises essential questions about the gendered form memory can take and the gendered nature of personal and collective responses to trauma. Stern's emphasis on the construction of subjectivity around memory during the 1990s introduces the issue of the cultural impact of the neoliberal economic reforms introduced by the Pinochet dictatorship and maintained by the transition governments. How did the hegemony of free-market ideology, privatization of culture, commercialization of public space, and expansion of urban consumerism shape generational and gendered changes in collective memory during the 1990s?

This outstanding work of scholarship sets a benchmark in the history of state terror, trauma, and memory in Latin America. The next two volumes of the trilogy promise to take even further the moving exploration of Chile's "memory question" and the task of working through the trauma of the Pinochet dictatorship toward a collective memory rooted in history and built on justice.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

NATHAN ROSENSTEIN. *Rome at War: Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic*. (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 339. \$45.00.

The problems of Italy that Tiberius Gracchus sought to address in 133 B.C.E through the foundation of colonies were not imaginary, but they were quite other than either contemporaries or modern historians have believed: this is the main thesis of Nathan Rosenstein's carefully argued work. The people's complaints about impoverishment and landlessness, and the state's concerns about a shortage of manpower, have conventionally been interpreted as the result of Rome's military activities over the previous centuries; the defeat of Carthage and subsequent wars of conquest set in a motion a vicious cycle of decline, high mortality among the peasant class, the intrusion of slave labor into the countryside to replace them, and further degradation of the rural population as a result. More recent

research, drawing more on archaeological evidence than literary sources, has dated mass agricultural slavery to the first century rather than the second and has insisted on the survival of peasant farms alongside villas. This appears to leave the Romans' unlimited propensity for war as the chief cause of the problems of the later republic; but, as Rosenstein demonstrates, neither the relationship between war and agriculture in earlier centuries, nor the idea that this relationship suddenly changed in the second century, has ever been properly examined.

Drawing on demographic models and comparative evidence, Rosenstein develops a plausible image of a system in which the rhythms of war and agriculture complemented one another: not through the unsustainable idea that campaigns were confined to seasonal slack periods, but because the military effort benefited from the tendency for men to delay marriage until around the age of thirty, so that any household at particular stages of its life cycle had a surplus of labor power available for military service. There was no effective police system to coerce conscripts; military recruitment cannot in most cases have seriously threatened the well-being of peasant households. It certainly offered material benefits, and there was also a psychological factor: in contrast to the experiences of Confederate families in the U.S. Civil War, a period that offers Rosenstein some telling comparisons, Roman recruits tended to share in victories. Until the late second century, then, the aristocratic pursuit of military glory was in tune with the interests of the small-holder class; the whole society was geared to war.

This model assumes that the custom of deferred marriage, observed in the early centuries C.E., was a long-term demographic factor; a different figure for this period would affect the plausibility of the Roman military-agricultural complex. If it is accepted, then soldiers were typically unmarried, and their deaths would not be devastating for an entire household in the short term. Even if bereaved households fell into difficulties later, as parents aged, this would not necessarily deplete the peasant class as a whole; the survivors of war would be able to marry earlier and more advantageously, more land would become available, and the birth rate might well rise rather than fall. The question of whether the free population of Italy declined during the late republic must, because of the state of the evidence, remain open, but to blame it on the undoubtedly high level of mortality in Rome's almost constant wars is to ignore the crucial point that young men, not husbands and fathers, did most of the fighting.

What then of the Gracchan crisis? Rosenstein's reconstruction suggests that Gracchus's view of the problem was utterly in error; he believed that the free population was declining through poverty and expropriation and so proposed a distribution of "surplus" land, whereas the reality was overpopulation, at least in some areas, and there was little spare land to be reassigned. The true roots of the problem must have

been various: military service became less attractive in the later second century, so that the census roll fell and created an impression of manpower shortage; households with a son abroad on service lacked the ability to respond to economic opportunities, and the system of partible inheritance undermined their fortunes in the next generation; those who could afford it purchased slaves to replace their sons' labor, creating a growing class divide within rural society. The system reached its limits, failing to adjust to changed circumstances. It adapted in the succeeding century, but only after the aristocracy had torn itself apart over Gracchus's proposals and their aftermath.

As Rosenstein notes, the nature of the evidence means that such a reconstruction is not susceptible of proof, but even those who prefer different models of Italy's demographic history and rural development will have to adapt their own versions to take account of his devastating critique of traditional assumptions about the relationship of Roman military and agricultural activity. This careful, thoughtful, and lucid analysis is a major contribution to the debate on the nature of the crises of late republican Italy.

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THOMAS A. J. MCGINN. *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 359. \$65.00.

Wandering through Italy as a student, I knew what I wanted to see when I got to Pompeii: the notorious *lupanar*, the brothel. This building stars in Thomas A. J. McGinn's new book, which focuses on female prostitutes and the built environment from 200 B.C. to A.D. 250. This second installment of McGinn's prostitution trilogy is a must for all historians of sexuality. McGinn argues here against Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's assertion of the existence of "moral zoning" in Roman cities (chapters three to five and seven to nine). McGinn demonstrates that, like erotic art, brothels and prostitutes were displayed, not segregated, his main example being Pompeii and the *lupanar*, here dubbed the "Purpose-Built Brothel" (chapter eight). He concludes that it was important to the Roman elite for prostitutes to be both easily accessible and openly humiliated, for motives of gain and ideology. In his next book, McGinn proposes to focus, finally, on ideology; here, gain predominates.

This is above all an economic history, growing out of McGinn's magisterial work on law and taxes, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (1998). The massive second chapter looks at how much money changed hands, how many tricks a prostitute might turn per day, who benefited, how many brothels there were, and how many prostitutes. McGinn ties brothels to other lower-class lodging (inns, bars), to baths, and to temples. Most usefully, he compares the rates charged by prostitutes with the pay scale for working

men and the circumstances that limited male slaves' and workers' access to sex; chapter six deals with the demography of Pompeii itself, the surplus of agricultural workers in its "hinterlands" (pp. 171–72), its immigrant populations, travelers, and sex tourists.

Amid buildings and numbers, McGinn makes important observations on people. He sides with radical feminists on the degradation entailed by prostitution (pp. 76, 262), outlining the relation among prostitution, poverty, and women's work and life experience. Roman prostitutes, he remarks, cannot be called "sex workers," since in their economy they were goods, not workers (p. 74). As for the customers, he shows how brothels marketed fantasy sex to workers (p. 115). Without moral zoning or a repressive policy, the "vice squad" was more of a shakedown crew (p. 154). Chapter eight includes an overview of brothels throughout the empire: a building in Dura-Europus that housed a troupe of performers; the much-disputed "gay hotel" in Ostia; a bleak site in Lower Nubia, at the southern border of Egypt, near an army base.

Among the book's many strengths, McGinn's respect for the women who lived and worked in these buildings stands out, along with his passion for sub-elite culture. The tone throughout makes for a highly readable book: plainspoken, illustrated from popular culture, lit by flashes of sardonic humor, but taking its serious subject seriously. As always, McGinn's thorough citations of primary sources combine with a wide-ranging use of secondary material; he deploys an enormous amount of comparative reading in the history of prostitution, extrapolating from the comparanda when faced by silence. Well versed in feminist discussions of the issue, he thinks scrupulously about the implications of his work.

I most appreciated the three appendixes, which provide catalogs of possible brothels and cribs in Pompeii and of the names of men and women who appear in graffiti as taking money for sex; the illuminating illustrations and maps; and the discussion of Victorian guidebooks of Pompeii (pp. 182–96). Here McGinn's painstaking research and knowledge of the terrain bear fruit in a thought-provoking discussion of Victorian tourism and the part played in it by gender and convention. I also found educational the section (pp. 135–40) on what "public policy" is and how a historian can tell when there is one, which well represents both the care McGinn takes to weigh his own methods and his sometimes maddening tendency to be elliptical when addressing an ongoing scholarly discussion.

This is the book's only real fault. The argument with Wallace-Hadrill takes over, while the utility of architectural remains becomes increasingly unclear. Not much would be left of the telling decor of the Nevada brothel McGinn analyzes (pp. 227–28) after Vesuvius. The lists of primary sources cry out for more illustration; as it is, some sections will be a lot more vivid for readers who already know the footnoted sources well. (Reading these sources together would be terrific, and

McGinn is just the one to produce the sourcebook.) Finally, I do not understand the decision to exclude much discussion of male prostitution, since, at least to me, it is clear from the literary sources that male and female prostitutes commonly worked in the same brothels. But McGinn's main argument about moral zoning is unquestionably right; after all, a prostitute *prostat*—she stands out. And so does this book; I await the next one eagerly.

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MICHELE MURRAY. *Playing a Jewish Game: Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries CE*. (Studies in Christianity and Judaism, number 13.) Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 221. \$44.95.

The goal of this book by Michele Murray, a revision of the author's dissertation, is "to draw all possible references to Gentile Christian judaizers together and to consider the evidence in its geographical context" (p. 2). The book covers about a century, from the letters of Paul to the middle of the second century C.E. The first chapter introduces the theme. Chapter two treats "Gentile Attraction to Judaism in the Roman Empire" and concludes that various gentiles in various contexts and for various reasons associated in some way with Judaism. Chapters three through six are the body of the work, and are devoted in turn to Christian judaizing in three regions: Galatia, as evidenced by Paul's letter to the Galatians; Syria, as evidenced by Barnabas, the Didache, and the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions; and Asia Minor, as evidenced by the New Testament book of Revelation, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin Martyr, Marcion, and Melito of Sardis. Chapter seven summarizes and concludes, and an appendix surveys some modern scholarship on gentile judaizing and on Jewish-Christian relations in antiquity.

The thesis of the book is that some (many?) gentile Christians (ethnic non-Jews who believe in Jesus) during the first century of Christianity's existence associated with Jews and/or engaged in behavior that was considered by its critics to be more appropriate for Jews than for Christians. This thesis is not entirely new, of course, since many scholars cited by Murray have advanced it previously. What Murray contributes to the discussion is thoroughness and consistency. She treats all the Christian evidence that has been thought to bear on the subject, and she argues that all this evidence for Christian judaizing refers to gentile Christians, not Jewish Christians (ethnic Jews who believe in Jesus). Furthermore, she assumes that judaizing by gentiles is evidence for the fluidity of the boundaries between "Judaism" and "Christianity," and for the continued attractiveness of Judaism to many Christians. These arguments and assumptions are pre-

sented thoroughly and consistently. The book is clearly written and can be assigned to undergraduates.

The main problem with the book is its lack of conceptual rigor. "Judaizing" is a negative category born of inner-Christian polemic; one Christian attempts to delegitimize the theology or practice of another by labeling it "judaizing," a synonym for "un-Christian." The charge does not necessarily have anything to do with real Jews or real Judaism. The classic illustration of this point is the polemic against the "heretic" Arius in the fourth century C.E., whose theology was frequently characterized by opponents as "judaizing," even "Jewish." Arius of course was not influenced by Jews, and Arianism was not influenced by Judaism. This polemical use of "judaizing" is much older than the fourth century; in the early second century C.E. Ignatius of Antioch uses "Judaism" and "judaizing" as abstract polemical categories which have little to do with what we would call "Judaism." Murray is aware of this possibility from the work of Miriam Taylor (pp. 5, 151) but does not appreciate its cogency. So the charge of "judaizing" tells us something about the person making the charge; whether it tells us anything about the behavior or beliefs of the person or group being attacked is an open question. (Murray concedes this point only at the very end of her exposition, pp. 122–24.) For a modern scholar to use "judaizing" as an analytical category while at the same time arguing that the boundaries between Judaism and Christianity were fluid and unstable, is to contradict oneself; for "judaizing" to be a stable category the boundary lines between Judaism and Christianity must be stable too. Murray has not carefully thought through the foundations of her analysis.

Murray also fails to distinguish "Old-Testamentizing" (if I may be permitted an ugly coinage) from "judaizing." In the early church, many Christians believed that the ritual requirements of the Old Testament (e.g. Sabbath, circumcision, food laws) were part and parcel of Christianity, for was not the Old Testament Christian scripture? Observance of the laws of the Old Testament might simply be the result of the fact that Christians read the Torah and took it seriously. This "Old-Testamentizing" must be distinguished from "real" judaizing, in which Christians imitate nonbiblical Jewish custom (e.g. fasting; see Murray p. 55). "Old Testamentizing" does not necessarily imply any connection with, or influence from, living Jews; "real" judaizing, however, does. To label both kinds of behavior "judaizing," is to lump together disparate phenomena.

The title is bothersome; why "Playing a Jewish Game"? Murray uses the phrase at least twice in the body of the book (p. 2, 117) but does not give its source. Indeed, it would seem to be inappropriate.

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MICHAEL KULIKOWSKI. *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 489. \$55.00.

Michael Kulikowski's book is one of extraordinary sweep, vision, and scholarship. It is essentially a revisionist history, dispelling the notion of a fundamental rupture in Spain during the third century A.D. between the urban world of the classical Mediterranean and the rurally based, proto-feudal order of late antiquity and the early medieval period. Although their material environment and social behavior altered from the Principate to the post-Roman period of the later fifth century and thereafter, the history, institutions, and attitudes of Hispano-Romans, Goths, and others in the Iberian peninsula continued to center on the city. One point of continuity is the willingness of local and foreign elites to exert patronage in the communities where they resided—or wished to exert influence—through the practice of benefactions, chiefly in the form of monumental construction. But the author also underscores the transformation of an early imperial urban landscape dominated by *coloniae* and *municipia* to a reduced number of cities in the early sixth century—approximately eighty, a number comparable to the number of cities in late and post-Roman Gaul. Nevertheless, the centrality of the city in late antique Spain is demonstrated by the persistent efforts of Gothic and other kings like Leovigild to control the cities as a means of cementing their control over particular regions of the peninsula.

Its twelve chapters alternating, generally speaking, between narrative and thematic history, the book is more broadly divided into an examination of Spain and its urban institutions before the early 460s and Spanish history and its vicissitudes after the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. The chronological divide of the early 460s is critical because it was in 460 that Roman Spain can be said to have come to an end with the abortive expedition of the Emperor Majorian against the Vandals and the last serious attempt of the imperial Roman power to exert, if not maintain, its influence in Spain. The main evidential base of the first half of the book is, first, the inscriptional sources—including the bronze municipal charter of Irni—and, second, scattered literary sources for Hispania of the later republican period and the Principate. Kulikowski tips his hat to the energetic efforts, in the last generation, mostly, of scholars in creating regional, provincial, and local corpuses of freshly reedited Greek and Latin inscriptions of the peninsula—represented, above all, by the new fascicles of the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions. For the second half of the book the chronicles and other works of early Christian writers are crucial, in particular, Burgess's re-edition of Hydatius's chronicle. The results of recent archaeological work in city and countryside and site plans (e.g. of Tarragona, Mérida, Zaragoza, the villa of El Ruedo) buttress its argument throughout.

In various ways, the book offers more even than is

promised by its title: it is, in many senses, a comprehensive history of Roman and post-Roman Spain from the later third century B.C. to the secure establishment of the Visigothic kingdom in the peninsula by the latter part of the sixth century A.D. By Roman Spain, on the author's own insistence, we must understand not only the Iberian peninsula but also extensive portions of Mauretania Tingitana, corresponding to much of modern Morocco and western Algeria. Spain, especially the southern portions and its cities, constituted a hinterland for this part of Roman Africa. The administrative expression of the close connections of the north and south shores of the Strait of Gibraltar was the diocese of Hispania created by Diocletian and maintained by his successors.

Inevitably, in a work of this compass, there are omissions and lapses. Kulikowski categorically denies that wealthy Roman elites were buried in or near their villas (p. 148), but for a vivid example of such a burial, namely that of the prominent landowner Acilia Ple-cusa in a semisubterranean mausoleum at her villa outside Singili Barba (El Castellón, Málaga prov.), see M. Romero Pérez in *Mainake* 15–16 (1993–1994): 195–222. The author insists rightly that we cannot identify so-called Visigothic material artifacts, such as aquiliform brooches, as evidence in burials of the ethnic identity of those interred (pp. 268–271), but the same point has been forcefully and exhaustively stated by B. Sasse, *"Westgotische" Gräberfelder auf der Iberischen Halbinsel* (2000), in her analysis, not cited by the author, of the necropolis El Carpio de Tajo in Toledo province. Minor quibbles aside, this book provides a comprehensive picture of Roman urban institutions and society in Spain, as well as a detailed examination of their transformation into the Christian world of the early Middle Ages in a fashion that is at once accessible, informed, and illuminating.

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JEREMY COHEN. *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade*. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 208. \$37.50.

For some years now, there has been a debate going on that is revolutionizing medieval Jewish studies. It involves traditionalists, modernists, and postmodernists from America, Europe, and Israel, medieval historians, and scholars of literature, folklore, art history, even psychology. The debate concerns how to read Jewish reactions to the first significant attacks on the Jewish communities, on the eve of the First Crusade, which posed the stark alternatives of baptism or death. Outstanding among the range of reactions was a (quantitatively) unprecedented willingness of Jews not only to commit suicide but also to take the lives of their children and families in gruesome ritual ways fraught with religious meaning. There was also substantial albeit temporary conversion to Christianity.

The current debate is about the roots of such willingness, about the mindset of Jews before upheaval and catastrophe. It asks how one ought to evaluate the impact of such reactions on the subsequent shaping of Jewish consciousness and memory, as well as that of Christians. Finally, it is an ongoing methodological debate on the nature of and proper approaches to outstanding Hebrew sources of Jewish history.

Jeremy Cohen has been involved in these discussions almost from the beginning, and in this book he adds a further dimension. Cohen sets out to demonstrate that “the ideology—and graphic tales—of sanctifying God’s name that the chronicles relate about the martyrs of 1096 tell us more about the twelfth-century Jewish communities which survived the persecutions than about the martyrs who did not. As historical sources, these chronicles pertain most directly to the context of their composition” (p. 9).

In part one of the book, Cohen provides a coherent rereading of the main conceptual issues: the idea of ritual suicide, *Kiddush ha-Shem*, “Sanctifying the Name of God”; the approaches of modern historians, an issue fraught with relevance because of contemporary implications of Jewish martyrdom; and methodological “points of departure.” Along with other historians, Cohen argues that “the new style and stories of Ashkenazic martyrdom reveal . . . Jews expressing themselves in the idiom of Christian culture” (p. 41). Following modern investigations of textual criticism, he then proposes that “we reread with greater openness to multiple, alternative interpretations of a text that need not be mutually exclusive” (p. 53). Such multiple layers of meaning, including irony and parody, can indeed function—according to Cohen, the first to pay mind to it—as therapy for traumatized communities plagued by guilt over the very fact and the means [baptism] of their survival” (p. 69).

In part two of the book, the author’s methodological agenda is applied with great skill to five central episodes narrated in the sources, each illustrating through Cohen’s “thick reading” different patterns of understanding and telling employed by the descendants of the martyrs. The first episode, “Last Supper at Xanten,” is read by Cohen as, among other things, a Jewish reworking of the sanctification of God’s name in the garb of a Christian Mass, thus “appropriating from Christianity and its idea of holy war themes and symbols that served the purposes of the Jewish storyteller” (p. 87). The story of “Master Isaac the Warden” serves to lay bare another literary device: parody and the sense of the ridiculous. “Mistress Rachel of Mainz,” who killed her four children, is at once biblical Rachel and the Virgin Mary and Holy Mother Church, “claiming the blood of genuine martyrdom and the salvation that the blood shed by her will yield” (p. 128). “Kalonymos in Limbo” is an exercise in doubt, showing Jews participating in what has lately been established as an important twelfth-century culture of doubt, dissent, and disbelief along with contemporary Christian thinkers. Finally, “The Rape of Sarit” is a tour de

force of sustained interpretation, projecting into the martyrs’ tale a Jewish antihero, a perverted image of the heroes of Biblical past. Thus, “the narrative also served to express the utter horror with which survivors of 1096 remembered what they had experienced, from the violent assault of the crusaders to the violence that Jews inflicted upon themselves” (p. 158).

This is an important book, beautifully written and cogently argued. Some of Cohen’s readings are daring indeed and will surely arouse dissent. Long live debate!

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KINGDOM OF HEAVEN. Directed and produced by Ridley Scott; written by William Monahan. United States. 2005; color; 145 minutes. Distributed by Twentieth-Century Fox (Scott Free Productions).

The opening title card of *Kingdom of Heaven*, Ridley Scott’s film about the events immediately preceding the Third Crusade (1187–1192), informs us that medieval crusaders, lord and peasant alike, sought both material gain and spiritual redemption in the Holy Land. While the old saw of crusading fortune hunters has for some time been thoroughly out of fashion in crusade scholarship (the journey required enormous financial sacrifices and most returned home after fulfilling their vow), Jerusalem in medieval Christian ideology was, as one character in the film puts it, “the very center of the world for asking forgiveness.” But an even more insistent theme of the film is that Christian crusaders (or at least the more tolerant among them) held Jerusalem as “a place of prayer for all faiths” in a cosmopolitan atmosphere of peace, justice, and harmony. No doubt this would have come as a great shock to the actual medieval crusaders who contended with their religious rivals (mainly Muslims) for control over Christianity’s holiest city. Certainly, Jerusalem was also sacred to Judaism and Islam, but for quite different historical and ideological reasons. This is by no means the first crusade film to push this particular agenda, in part because it plays so safely into the modern politics of the Middle East. In the context of recent events, such as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Iraq war, and the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Jerusalem as a neutral meeting ground of the world’s religions—the “kingdom of heaven” imagined by the film—allows Scott to make a movie about a potentially incendiary topic, holy war between Christianity and Islam, that is utterly devoid of religious meaning. It is probably no accident that films about the Middle Ages often reference modern events no less than medieval ones, since the fact that this era of history may seem remote and unfamiliar to most audiences makes it a particularly challenging subject for filmmakers.

Perhaps no film could do justice to the maddeningly complex politics of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the eve of the Third Crusade, but *Kingdom of Heaven*

wants it far too simple to accommodate its unnecessarily convoluted plot innovations. For example, the good guys of the film are supposed to be the native Latins, led by Balian of Ibelin, Count Raymond III of Tripoli (called in the film "Tiberias," which was his wife's title), and the leper King Baldwin IV, who supposedly hold Jerusalem in trust so that all religions can be practiced freely. The main character of the film is Balian (played by Orlando Bloom), who was indeed one of the most important barons of Outremer and played a central role in the defense of Jerusalem before Saladin's forces in late September 1187. But the film gives him an entirely fictional backstory as a poor blacksmith from France, which makes nonsense of why he should be such a prominent figure in Jerusalem's politics or wish to defend the city to the death. The bad guys of the film are the "fanatics newly arrived from Europe" who, allied with the equally fanatical Knights Templar, shout "God wills it!" at every opportunity and strike with blind and futile fury at their Muslim foes. They are led by Guy of Lusignan (played by Marton Csokas) and Reynald of Châtillon, who is undoubtedly the most bizarre character of the film, played by Brendan Gleeson as a half-mad, prancing warmonger for the power-hungry Guy. In reality, Reynald was a seasoned campaigner of thirty-four years in Palestine (fifteen of them spent in a Muslim prison in Aleppo) who plundered Muslim caravans for profit, not out of religious fervor, and who, as prince of Oultrejordain, was very much his own man. It was Reynald's attack of 1186–1187 that led to the breaking of the truce with Saladin and eventually to the disastrous defeat for the Latins at Hattin in July. But far from encouraging this raid, Guy, acting at the request of Saladin, ordered Reynald to return his prisoners and booty; instead, Reynald, not for the first time, openly defied him, famously replying that he was master of his own lands just as the king was master of his.

By contrast, *Kingdom of Heaven* treads warily around the character of Saladin (played by Ghassan Massoud), and for good reason. His legacy is a contested one, with some scholars claiming that Saladin was merely out for his own personal aggrandizement, shown by his willingness, until at least 1183, to make truces with his Christian opponents in Palestine in order to make war upon fellow Muslims and so consolidate his power base. Others, following the lead of Saladin's medieval biographers, Baha al-Din, his army judge, and Imad al-Din, his private secretary, argue that his entire career culminated in his triumphant conquest and entry into Jerusalem, Islam's third most holy city, on October 2, 1187, thereby setting the seal upon his reputation as a supreme *mujahid*, or jihad fighter. *Kingdom of Heaven* prefers to portray Saladin as a cunning but gracious warrior whose religious motivations are almost entirely absent. This same line was taken by the last film to depict the events of the Third Crusade, an Egyptian production directed by Youssef Chahine called *Saladin*, which came out in

1963. Although some may wonder why an Arabic film should peddle an essentially non-Islamic hero, this was not surprising in the context of Egypt's rule under President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who during the 1950s and 1960s was trying to forge a secular state unified by pan-Arab nationalism rather than religious ideology. (Saladin's conquest and defense of Jerusalem was intended as a parallel to Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal during the crisis of 1956.) Since then, however, the political dynamics in the Arab world have shifted toward Islamic fundamentalism, and it is Saladin as a wager of implacable jihad, not as a figure of chivalry, that resonates most strongly with terrorist groups such as Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida network. Both *Saladin* and *Kingdom of Heaven* are woefully out of step with how many modern Muslims view and value Saladin—and they are, after all, only following the propaganda image that Saladin himself and his biographers wished to project during his lifetime.

In one scene Scott seems very much in tune, if not with the historicity of the Middle Ages, then with the prevailing historical winds of his own time. Guy instructs Reynald to "give me a war," which reminded me of nothing so much as George W. Bush asking Donald Rumsfeld to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. *Kingdom of Heaven* seems to be warning here that a fragile peace can be all too easily torn asunder by crusaders blinded by ideology and zealotry. Given the ongoing and unmitigated string of catastrophes coming out of the United States' current intervention in the Middle East, this may be the most prescient and coherent message of this film.

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KEVIN L. SHIRLEY. *The Secular Jurisdiction of Monasteries in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England*. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, number 21.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 184. \$90.00.

Kevin L. Shirley examines the litigation of English monasteries in secular courts in the period 1066–1272, although the long concluding reign of Henry III (1216–1272) is rather cursorily treated. The book is not concerned with monasteries as religious bodies, subject to canon law and involved with the papal, archiepiscopal, and episcopal courts, but as landowners and lords of men, both military and agricultural, thus a kind of religious baron. Like other barons, royal tenants-in-chief, owing military and other services to the king, abbots were involved in three types of secular court: their own manorial and honorial courts for their tenants and military vassals, the "national" county courts, and the king's court.

The *Curia Regis* is considered in part two of Shirley's book, the others in part one. Inevitably abbots and priors found this secular jurisdiction difficult and, often, uncongenial. It was a distraction from their

primary spiritual duties. And abbots of important houses who were feudal lords of important men, often royal vassals, found it hard to keep those men under control. It was difficult to force an earl to hand back a piece of land that he or his servant had usurped or to perform a feudal service that he found inconvenient. The abbot had to turn to the king for help, and Shirley shows how as a rule the king obliged and supported his abbot against the lawless nobility. It is interesting to note how well King William II (Rufus), usually considered lawless and anticlerical, behaved in this matter.

After the Angevin King Henry II reformed the royal court, what in the Norman period had usually been a personal relationship between the abbot and the king was increasingly institutionalized. Instead of asking a friend and patron for a favor, the abbot sued out the appropriate royal writ, which brought the matter formally before a royal court where the matter was dealt with according to royal law. Shirley strongly criticizes S. F. Milsom (*The Legal Framework of English Feudalism* [1976]) and his followers for claiming that "this rise of a common law undermined seignorial jurisdiction" (p. 158). He stresses how involved the king had always been in the abbot's court and how convenient to the abbots were Henry II's reforms. The author has worked through a large bibliography and there can be few, if any, recorded law suits in his period concerning abbots and priors that he has missed. Abingdon, Bury St. Edmunds, Ramsey, St. Albans, and Westminster provide the largest numbers. But there are quite a few, such as Abbotsbury, Bicknace, Selby, Stanley, and Stowe, which make a single appearance. Shirley gives the impression of complete mastery of the subject matter.

It is, therefore, disconcerting to find in his prefatory list of abbreviations (pp. ix-xi) several errors in the Latin titles of books. For example, *Glanvill* is the short title for *Tractibus* [sic] *de Legibus et Consuetudinibus* [sic] *Regni Anglie qui Glanvilla* [sic] *Vocatur*; and Ramsey stands for *Cartularium* [sic] *Monasterii de Ramesia* [sic]. It is only fair to notice, however, that these and similar howlers do not occur again in the text. Shirley's knowledge of Latin, the language in which all the documents and other literature with which he is concerned are written, is not, therefore, demonstrably imperfect. It must also, however, be admitted that his English is sometimes opaque, which is no great help with a rather difficult subject matter. To complete the criticism, the index is somewhat capricious. Many personal names are omitted. Abbots are usually listed only under their abbey. And place names, even the most obscure, are seldom further identified. All in all, however, this is a sound piece of work that will be of interest to students of the period.

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J. L. LAYNESMITH. *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 294.

J. L. Laynesmith's study of queenship in later medieval England is a welcome addition to the field, closing a gap in the scholarship between the high medieval and Tudor periods. Deliberately eschewing a purely biographical approach, Laynesmith instead looks at the development of the office and institution of queenship in the half-century between the tenures of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth of York (1445-1503). Those who have followed the development of queenship studies will not find her conclusion that a queen consort was ideologically and politically integral to the practice of mature kingship in later medieval England startling. And while her study demonstrates that the queen consorts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not employ the same strategies that had brought success to earlier consorts, this demonstration raises many questions about the function of both queenship and the later medieval monarchy that unfortunately are left unanswered.

Laynesmith's arguments are put forward in a fairly straightforward manner. Chapters exploring rituals of queenship and the queen's court and household are interspersed with sections dealing with selections of queens, queens as mothers, and the queens' natal family. The nature of the sources dictates that some queens are covered more fully in some sections than others, but overall, the approach of looking at the queens as a group works well to foreground the institution rather than the personalities of the women under discussion. This approach also neatly sidesteps the arguments of those who have argued that successful queenship is as at least as dependent upon the abilities and personalities of individual holders of the office as it is on structural factors of a reign.

Exactly what Laynesmith means by the repeated claim that the office of queenship was essential to the functioning of sovereignty in this period is never quite clear from her exposition. Neither the practice of ritual intercession nor that of systematic patronage of artists or religious houses, both of which had been important to the images of earlier queens, seem to have been important in this period. There was little that was common to the women under scrutiny, other than the fact that they were distinguished from their immediate predecessors in office by not being royal virgins with ties to the French monarchy. Nor can we understand the importance of queenship through a study of ideals articulated in coronation or funeral rituals, since the descriptions for those rituals are often missing or incomplete. Although she provides a detailed discussion of rituals surrounding the birth of a prince or princess, Laynesmith seems ambivalent about the role of motherhood for the construction of queenship, arguing that the inclusion of fertility imagery in royal ritual reflects concerns that are not unique to queens but rather common to all women. At the same time,

she points out that the queen's fertility or lack thereof had ramifications that affected the entire kingdom, even if the "political classes" understood that the queen's importance to the kingdom was not just tied up in her success at producing potential heirs. Laynesmith is uncomfortable with the realization that many of the rituals she discusses were less than fully understood by contemporaries, or were more important to one group of people than others, or were understood differently over time. This discomfort is perhaps due to her search for a coherent and systematic ideology of queenship, something that was never put forward during the Middle Ages.

There are times when it seems that Laynesmith's findings are not integrated into her argument. For instance, she shows that staged acts of public intercession, quite common in the thirteenth century, were either abandoned or disregarded in the later period. This change in the queen's role would seem to be significant enough to require some analysis of the circumstances or mindset that led to such a change. Was it the role of the queen that changed? Was there a difference in the perceived power of the monarch himself? Perhaps intercession became less important as subjects found other ways to influence the king's behavior? Or was it that situations that required personal intercession in the thirteenth century were now handled through specific bureaucratic channels? Similar questions could be asked about religious and cultural patronage.

Despite the lack of analysis of several key points, Laynesmith handles many aspects of her topic quite well. She is convincing in her portrayal of a society thoroughly disabused of the notion of queen as peaceweaver or as a guarantor of a foreign treaty. She treats the historiography of the Woodville kin and their role in Edward IV's reign nicely, and her prior experience with Margaret of Anjou makes that queen come to life on her pages more than any of her successors. While not destined to be the final word on the period or on the women in question, this book does deserve a place on the shelves of those interested in fifteenth-century England, and it is essential reading for those interested in the history of monarchy and queenship.

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CAROLINE M. BARRON. *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 472. \$99.00.

This long-awaited book deals with the civic and corporate life of late medieval London. In the course of numerous conflicts with the crown and its own factious citizenry, London had evolved a stable government by the fifteenth century and was a political and economic capital. Caroline M. Barron detects two trends in the political life of London: particularly after the Common

Council developed in the fourteenth century, civic offices became open to a wider social spectrum, even though aldermen represented wards and were elected for life; but the electorate that chose them became more restricted.

The least "public" sections concern London's economy and demography. Barron accepts a figure of 80,000 for the city's population around 1300 and concludes that it dropped after 1348 to perhaps half that size, then rose to 50,000 in the late fifteenth century. A higher standard of living for the survivors was a byproduct of the plagues, yet institutions to care for the poor developed precisely at the time when poverty appears to have become a less serious problem than earlier. The city government used its resources and political influence to create an infrastructure that fostered the interest of its merchants and craftspeople. London was always a distributive and demand center within England. During this period, with the weakening of foreign trading privileges, new opportunities developed for native London merchants. The percentage of England's foreign trade that went through its port rose to eighty-five percent by 1540, and London interests dominated the overseas trading companies. Some of Barron's most original passages concern London's manufacturing; she concludes that by the sixteenth century three-quarters of London's people produced goods, mainly in the food, clothing, and construction sectors of the economy.

Four chapters on the governance of London form the core of the book and are more closely linked to Barron's previous work. Noting that no clear distinction among executive, judicial, and legislative can be made, since aldermen and common council were legislators, administrators in their wards, and judges, she nonetheless provides a lucid analysis of their respective if overlapping spheres of jurisdiction. Separate chapters concern the functions and staffing of the city courts and the civic bureaucracy, where Barron notes that such officials as the recorder, chamberlain, and common clerk brought continuity and professionalism that balanced the rotation of the political officials, the sheriffs and mayor.

Barron considers the city's craft and merchant organizations and their changing roles toward and within the city government; while in the thirteenth century the political conflicts in the city had been between individuals, in the fourteenth and particularly fifteenth they came to concern leaders of corporate groups. Tensions arose between the primarily artisan guilds, which generally had the court of aldermen ratify their statutes, and the merchant-dominated organizations, which did not. The companies became more aristocratic in the fifteenth century, when the wealthier trades were dominated by those who purchased the livery. Company courts regulated conflicts between members and thus supplemented the regular city tribunals.

The final chapters concern the regulation of the physical environment by the aldermen and their super-

vision of welfare. In a prospective, Barron notes that the quadrupling of the city's population in the sixteenth century forced the government to accept more restrictions from the crown in exchange for help in controlling the suburbs. The city companies declined with loss of their religious and governmental functions during the Reformation. Barron provides two copiously documented appendixes: lists of mayors and sheriffs of London 1190–1558 and of other civic office-holders *ca.* 1300–1500. The book concludes with a reprint of M. D. Lobel, ed., *Historic Towns Atlas: The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520* (1989) in thirty-two sections, followed by a gazetteer of all places named on the map.

Barron's focus is entirely English except for a few comparative references to developments in Florence. Scholars of the larger towns of northwestern Europe will find many parallels for their own subjects. The historiography of London, much of it provided by Barron herself, is substantial, but it lacks the nitpicking rancor among its practitioners that often mars scholarly discussion of other cities. Barron's focus is interdisciplinary to the extent of using archaeological evidence to discuss the physical environment of London. Given her focus on public and corporative London, the city's cultural life rarely appears. Barron relies on her mastery of the copious original sources, both published and manuscript. She typically discusses an institutional or economic development in general terms, then illustrates with quotations from the original documents to allow the actors to speak for themselves. The book is thus engagingly readable. It contains few surprises, and its documentation is so solid that it will be the standard monograph on its subject for the foreseeable future.

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PATRICK NOLD. *Pope John XXII and his Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 212. \$74.00.

When Umberto Eco published *Il nome della rosa* in 1980, he projected an obscure legal and theological squabble between a fourteenth-century pope and the Franciscan religious order over the legal and theological meaning of apostolic poverty into the imaginations of millions of readers. Saint Francis had wanted his followers to imitate Jesus and the Apostles and live a life of poverty, owning nothing. In the late thirteenth century, "Spiritual" Franciscans accused their lax brethren of betraying their founder's vision. In 1279, Pope Nicholas III issued a bull in which he distinguished between ownership and use. With papal support, Franciscans claimed to own nothing and to live in absolute poverty because they only had the use of their possessions. In 1322, Pope John XXII decided that this key legal fiction was no longer sustainable. Patrick

Nold tells the story of the debate between John and the Franciscans from roughly 1322 to 1324.

The principal characters in the book are Pope John XXII and a Franciscan cardinal, Bertrand de la Tour, who wrote two important tracts on the meaning of apostolic poverty. Nold edits one of them as an appendix and relies on Felice Tocco's edition (1910) for the other. He tries to demonstrate that Cardinal Bertrand's arguments shaped the content of John XXII's decretals. The broader significance of his thesis is that John XXII sought the help of a Franciscan to draft his decretal and that the gulf between Franciscans and the pope was not as deep or as wide as historians have thought. John was not uncompromising, and the Franciscan order was not completely united. Michael Cesena, the leader of the radical wing of the Franciscans, did not represent the center of the order. Nold shows that Cardinal Bertrand might have had an influence on the conception of the "right of use" (*ius utendi*) that John XXII adopted in his legislation. This part of his book is quite convincing.

In his last chapter on John XXII's legislation, Nold has a different agenda. He attempts to demonstrate that modern historians have misunderstood John's decretals. This argument is a much harder sell. The pope promulgated a decretal, *Quia nonnumquam*, in March 1322, in which he declared void Pope Nicholas III's prohibition against debating or discussing his decretal *Exiit*, which had defined Franciscan poverty. Nold claims that John XXII did not assert the right to contradict or to annul *Exiit*. This reading of the text is completely contrary to how every later jurist read it. John did not mention *Exiit* in his own decretal, but in the context of the debate he did not have to. He opened *Exiit* for discussion. There could be no other point for doing that than modifying the content of the decretal.

Nold's criticism of other scholars in this section is perceptive but dulled somewhat by tendentious quotations that distort their actual views and by a less than sure understanding of medieval jurisprudence. In writing about *Quia nonnumquam* he misquotes Brian Tierney and makes him appear to say that John introduced the idea that the pope could revoke the decrees of his predecessors in the decretal (p. 144). What Tierney wrote was that John introduced the theme of revocation into his letters with *Quia nonnumquam*, not the idea itself. The principle that every pope could revoke his predecessors' decrees had been a staple of medieval jurisprudence for a long time. Further, Nold's efforts to find "errors" in other scholars' interpretations result in very obscure distinctions. Perhaps his greatest weakness in reading these texts is an unsure grasp of the rhetoric, jurisprudence, and presuppositions that underlie the drafting of papal decretals. His interpretation of the arenga of *Quia quorundam mentes* (p. 175), for example, does not prove that John's legislation was theologically well informed, only that the pope claimed to have rendered his decision after much consultation.

Eco used a single manuscript to provide a vehicle for telling his story. Unfortunately, so does Nold. He relies on the text of the tracts in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3740. His project is based on two tracts by Cardinal Bertrand. Tocco "edited" the first from a Venetian manuscript. Nold appends the other to his book. Why he did not edit both texts is a mystery. Tocco's book is found in very few libraries, and, more importantly, he did not do an adequate edition. For the text in his appendix Nold consulted no other manuscripts, not even the one that Tocco used. He does not inform the reader whether there are more manuscripts of these two texts. His transcription of Bertrand's text will not become a model for textual editing or transcriptions. Particularly unhelpful is his practice of not identifying all the citations in the text.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

NICHOLAS HOWE, editor. *Home and Homelessness in the Medieval and Renaissance World*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp vii, 170. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$20.00.

Home is where the heart is—and the hearth, too—or so insist the authors of these introductory and exploratory essays on the concept and reality of home and homelessness in the medieval and early modern world. All the essays deal with the obvious physical nature of the home, its architecture, its archaeology, its material culture. More importantly, they interpret and analyze the meaning of home, the mentality if you will, in the cultural context of Renaissance Venice, Morisco Spain, colonial Peru, medieval Iceland, and Anglo-Saxon England. Despite the variances of time, geography, and people in the individual essays, the authors consistently touch on the same themes: how and why home means much more than a dwelling; how and why home implies and establishes a community; how and why home—and thus that community—can be threatened; and how and why people become homeless, and what to do about them, either to protect the community or to reintegrate them back into the community somehow. Editor Nicholas Howe is to be commended for putting together such a tightly focused collection of essays, each of high quality that integrates well with the others.

Howe's introductory essay sets out the themes, many of which are obvious but need dwelling on, such as the trenchant comment that one's migration, which implies a loss of home, also means a resultant loss of home for another, either as subject or refugee. In addition, Howe explains the initially confusing organization of the essays in backward chronological order as moving the reader from the familiar world of homes in Renaissance Venice, many of which are still extant and visible to any modern tourist, to the very unfamiliar world of Anglo-Saxon halls and pit homes, where the

physical evidence of these dwellings has burned, rotted, collapsed, and generally disappeared. Here historians have to interpret literary texts to discern what exactly home meant to Anglo-Saxons. Moving backward in time means relying more and more upon the mental image of the home rather than what the home actually looked like.

In "Not One But Many Separate Cities: Housing Diversity in Sixteenth-Century Venice," Patricia Fortini Brown examines how the city of Venice with its varying population of noble and nonnoble, rich and poor, Christian and Jew, formed a number of overlapping little worlds, most of which were united by the sense of civic duty and united in all sorts of ways by the structures of the housing. Tenement dwellings of the poor, for instance, were constructed on a grand scale, which mimicked the great houses of the wealthy. The elite of Venice likewise saw a duty to the poor, offering many of these rental dwellings as charitable works, and a duty to the sick, providing upwards of a hundred hospitals, most under private subscription. Venice, that serene republic, tried hard to integrate the homeless into the state. Mary Elizabeth Perry, in "Space of Resistance, Site of Betrayal: Morisco Homes in Sixteenth-Century Spain," likewise focuses on structures, but ones implying separation rather than integration. After 1492, with the loss of Moorish Granada and the progressively enforced Christianization of the Muslim population, Moriscos retreated into their private houses to continue their culture and religion. Because religion was now privatized and domesticated, Perry argues for a greater role of Muslim women in maintaining Islamic culture in Spain. Eventually, Christian Spain, in the wake of various Morisco revolts, dispersed and exiled the Morisco population, leaving them homeless. Spain's violent military invasion of Peru left about half the native dwellings standing, which led to unique colonial issues of homelessness for the Spanish government to resolve, which Sabine MacCormack examines in "Social Conscience and Social Practice: Poverty and Vagrancy in Spain and Early Colonial Peru." Not only were many Incans displaced, but the physical façade of Peruvian cities and villages changed, taking on a less familiar appearance to the homeless natives, who were also jostled by the waves of Spanish poor and vagrants who immigrated. William Miller's "Home and Homelessness in the Middle of Nowhere" and Howe's "Looking for Home in Anglo-Saxon England" examine two migratory cultures that, because of their recent memory of migration, ultimately saw home as meaning landed property rather than any transitory dwelling. As do all the essays, these last two emphasize the point that home was also where you were not an outsider, bereft of shelter, sustenance, conviviality, peace; you were not *The Wanderer*.

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HARALD KLEINSCHMIDT. *People on the Move: Attitudes toward and Perceptions of Migration in Medieval and Modern Europe*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xii, 289. \$87.95.

The subtitle of this book correctly identifies its contents. The "attitudes" are legal and philosophical, not, for example, how individuals viewed migration. Harald Kleinschmidt argues that the idea that "the English" were created by waves of immigrants from central and western Europe, as stated in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, is incorrect. Imaginatively using place-name evidence, he argues that the immigrants must have arrived in small groups, characterized by contractual relations between individuals rather than autocratic leadership. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was a politically loaded account that was used by later generations to create a heroic, not to say Whig, history. But as the medieval period progressed, long-distance migrations became relatively rare. Increasingly, movement was within one jurisdiction. And as the jurisdictions became more defined a new concept was created: the "resident alien."

There is a chapter that discusses how the age of exploration affected socio-legal concepts. For example, what was meant by "continent" (nothing in the fifteenth century) or by the "Pacific"? Initially exploration had few consequences for migration since few migrants accompanied the great trading companies. The most important change in attitudes came with the growth of the slave trades. Kleinschmidt argues that the idea of "natural slaves" only developed with the Atlantic slave trade. Other features of the early modern period include the development of the art of traveling ("apodomies") complete with the expected account of the travel. More interestingly, Kleinschmidt points out that the new science of demography provided the material to estimate the benefits of immigration and led, for the first time, to active immigration policies. Nor, according to Kleinschmidt were eighteenth-century immigrants seen as a threat to social order.

A clear line was drawn between residents and migrants only in the nineteenth century: "residentialism," in the author's terminology. Nationality and citizenship were subject to a more detailed discussion than hitherto, creating the political context for immigration restriction. (For the first time, immigration was seen as destabilizing.) Kleinschmidt illustrates this with a detailed discussion of the development of German citizenship (and that of the German States). The key concept was participation. For example, if German-born emigrants failed to maintain contact with the German consul in their new country, they were held to have cancelled their contract with the state and lost their German nationality. The foreign born in Germany could never obtain the same status as German born, and a foreign-born woman who married a German could not maintain her previous citizenship. Cit-

izenship depended on the (Hegelian) unity of the state.

Kleinschmidt is less assured when he refers to substantive issues. For example, he states that historians of nineteenth-century migration have emphasized Atlantic migration, leading to a view that internal migration was low. All this means is that records are much more abundant for the former. When data are available, as in nineteenth-century Prussia, it is clear that gross internal migration rates were high.

The book contains other statements whose purpose appears to denigrate different approaches to that taken by the author. For example, he writes that "if there is no statistical evidence providing long term comparative migration data, any claim that that migration in general increased substantively and worldwide over the last two hundred years is unwarranted," and that "most social scientists have accepted the premise that migrations are unidirectional movements" (p. 15). He also claims that "immigration controls were unsuccessful in their own time and have continued to be so" (p. 9). The first statement embodies a confusion between statistical evidence and evidence. The extent of migration depends, of course, on how we chose to measure it but, in fact, there is no contrary evidence. The second statement is not true of most modern work. And the last statement is incorrect. Otherwise, why would there be fewer people proportionately living outside their country of birth than in 1913?

This is an interesting book concerning a relatively under researched area.

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LISA Z. SIGEL, editor. *International Exposure: Perspectives on Modern European Pornography, 1800–2000*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 283. \$26.95.

In her introduction to this interesting collection, Lisa Z. Sigel notes that Robert Darnton's *Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (1982), Iain McCalman's *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (1988), and Lynn Hunt's *Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (1993) were landmark works in demonstrating the role pornography played in the modernization of European culture. These scholars legitimated the scholarly investigation of what had heretofore been a tabooed topic. While lauding their studies, Sigel pertinently points out that the authors were not interested in pornography per se but saw the need to exploit such sources in order to round out their investigation of cultural and political change. She is quite right in maintaining that much remains to be done in determining the best ways in which to approach pornography. Almost all the essays in the collection hammer home the message that we need to know more about how and why pornography was produced and consumed. Nevertheless, the most ac-

complished pieces in the collection are those that tell us the most about the cultural context in which obscene texts were created and the least satisfying—at least from a historical point of view—are those that narrowly focus on the pornographic.

The book begins with essays on nineteenth-century France, England, and Germany; shifts to Edwardian England and twentieth-century France; jumps to late twentieth-century Britain; and devotes three chapters to postcommunist Hungary, Ukraine, and Russia before ending with an account of the cyber world of Internet porn. Given such temporal and geographic breadth and the fact that the contributors come from a variety of disciplines, the brief overview of the history of pornography that Sigel provides in her introduction is very useful.

What is pornography? Sigel reminds us that the fixation on the naked woman was a relatively recent invention. In the nineteenth century, the upper classes, preoccupied by notions of the immorality of the masses and fears of cultural decay, asserted what was immoral. Hence, to discuss pornography means discussing censorship. Sarah Leonard's brief essay, "Wanderers, Entertainers, and Seducers: Making Sense of Obscenity Law in the German States, 1830–1851," demonstrates the enormous discretion vague legal language provided the nineteenth-century German police. Non-explicit gallant literature was banned for questioning marriage, the social order, and female virtue. Few will be surprised to hear that that what we consider innocent literature nineteenth-century officials might have considered lewd. Leonard suggests the reverse was true as well, though she provides no evidence. The question of why specific works were deemed unacceptable is pursued by Annie Stora-Lamarre in "Censorship in Republican Times: Censorship and Pornographic Novels Located in L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 1800–1900." The essay cannot sufficiently cover the vast range of topics it broaches, from the French preoccupation with divorce and birth control to the late nineteenth-century evolution of the image of the femme fatale, but it does demonstrate that social purists feared not so much sex as the half-literate city masses who would find in the obscene novel "alcohol for the brain" (p. 56).

How did pornography reflect its culture? In "Anti-Abolition Writes Obscenity: The English Vice, Transatlantic Slavery, and England's Obscene Print Culture," Colette Colligan carefully traces how the image of the flogged slave woman was introduced to the public by transatlantic abolitionists, unconsciously employing the politics of arousal. More could be said in slave narratives about sex than in legitimate nineteenth-century novels. Pornographers quickly appropriated such images of sexual exploitation and shifted the scenario to depict the flogging of white women. What was soon forgotten was that these sadistic themes, which could be traced as far forward as the *Histoire d'O* (1958), revealed the linkage of the prac-

tice of slavery to sexual fantasy. Even Sigmund Freud, Colligan notes, slighted the connection.

Freud is also taken to task by Sigel in "The Rise of the Overly Affectionate Family: Incestuous Pornography and Displaced Desire Among the Edwardian Middle Class." Asking why the 1908 Punishment of Incest Act was so widely opposed by middle-class males, Sigel attributes much of the resistance to a contemporary flowering of pornographic literature that suggested incest was enjoyable and consensual. Pornographers, exploiting the notion of the middle-class family as a new site of forbidden desire, churned out tales of the young lusting after the old, girls seducing fathers, even boys lusting after sisters, aunts, and mothers. Such texts allowed their male readership to envisage the family in ways others could not and clearly provided apologies for abuse. Sigel suggests that the Victorian family, in damming up extrafamilial relationships, naturally lent itself to the growth of such fantasies. Freud, in inventing the Oedipal complex, ignored adult sexual fantasies and played up childhood desires. Sigel cannot, of course, prove that the incest literature influenced the thinking and practice of MPs and thereby held off legislation against incest, but she does demonstrate a striking synchronicity.

Finally, a number of contributors tackle the question of how pornography was produced. John Phillips, in "Old Wine in New Bottles? Literary Pornography in Twentieth-Century France," notes how French literary erotica from the eighteenth-century libertines to twentieth-century Surrealists was more related to subversion than its counterparts in America and Britain. He ends on an extremely positive note, asserting that all pornography is transgressive and creatively represents desire. Clarissa Smith takes a more mundane approach in "A Perfectly British Business: Stagnation, Continuities, and Changes on the Top Shelf," investigating the ways in which twentieth-century British businessmen responded to the pressure of the courts and distributors to produce a predictable type of down-market British girlie magazine. Katalin Szoverfy Milter and Joseph W. Slade's "Global Traffic in Pornography: The Hungarian Example," an overly detailed account of the current Hungarian hard-core video scene, would presumably be of scant interest to the readers of this journal. One gets a sense of their approach in the line "However one thinks of anal sex, its prevalence suggest a maturation of pornography into a deconstructive, self-reflexive mode" (p. 188) and their six-page videography. Similarly Maryna Romanets's essay, "Ideologies of the Second Coming in the Ukrainian Postcolonial Playground," is of limited use, focusing as it does on a handful of Ukrainian literary artists—Iurii Il'ienko, Oksana Zabuzhko, Iurii Pokalchuk, Iurii Vynnychuk, Valerii Shevchuk, and Les Podereviansky—unknown to most Western readers. The best of the essays on Eastern Europe is Eliot Borenstein's "Stripping the Nation Bare: Russian Pornography and the Insistence of Meaning," a witty and well-written account of the flowering of pornography after the fall of

communism that details how eroticism and nationalism were entangled, with patriotic pornographers presenting themselves as fending off Western feminism and "invader magazines" (p. 242) such as *Playboy*.

Given the current political climate in the United States, a scholar researching the history of pornography takes certain risks. Sigel is to be congratulated on pulling together a collection that introduces the reader to the key problems and issues posed by the obscene. A literature that clearly exploited women yet provided for the sexual expression of marginalized groups such as homosexual men and lesbians, that subverted some sexual hierarchies while supporting others, that always reflected, if indirectly, its culture's views on class, race, and gender clearly deserves further exploration.

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JOHN BROAD. *Transforming English Rural Society: The Verneys and the Claydons, 1600–1820*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 40.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 292. \$75.00.

Perhaps no close study of aristocratic life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provides as rewarding insight into the landed elite's impact on rural society as does this exemplary investigation of the Verney family's dominance over the north Buckinghamshire communities of Middle Claydon, Steeple Claydon, and East Claydon. Not H. J. Habakkuk, Vivienne Larminie, R. A. Kelch, nor even J. V. Beckett in his study of the Lowthers of Whitehaven captures both family and community history in all their complexity over so long a span as forcefully as does John Broad. This investigation of rural transformation delivers what it promises, tracing the Verneys' successful efforts to turn two of the Claydons into estate villages, "closed" communities where the landlords' estate policies determined much of the nature of local life. Here, the practice of enclosing open fields for pasture increased the size of farms, reduced the market for farm labor, induced high turnover of tenants and changed the local occupational structure, while providing the Verneys with growing rent rolls. As virtually the sole landowners in East and Middle Claydon, the family over generations had great control over the local population, exercised by generating competition for leases to their farms, by pulling down or erecting farm buildings and houses, by preventing in-migration, and by providing individual charity, to name only a few aspects of their dominance.

The Verneys' successful enclosure, part of what Broad calls their "single-minded dedication to the dynastic imperative over four generations" (p. 264), virtually eradicated smallholdings in Middle Claydon and promoted dairying to the virtual exclusion of arable cultivation, a shift that fostered the emergence of well-capitalized tenant farmers to work the Verney lands. These farmers generally shared the Verneys'

interests in keeping their communities as free as possible from in-migrants and others who required poor relief, and in dealing with civil strife and criminal misbehavior by mediation or by recourse to locally administered justice, rather than the quarter sessions. One of the great strengths of Broad's book lies in its close examination of both these processes.

The Verneys' success depended on more than agricultural and estate policy alone. Financially useful connection to London's commercial markets was cemented by the successful career of Levant trader John Verney (1640–1717), a second son who became heir to his father in 1688. Success in securing marriage to heiresses, despite their low social standing, along with meager provision for daughters and younger sons, bolstered the position of eldest sons and of the central estate. By shunning court and high political life between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, successive patriarchs avoided incurring the kind of debt that on the one hand spurred Sir Ralph (1613–1696) to build the Verney fortunes and on the other hand set his great-grandson, Ralph the 2nd Earl (1714–1791), on the course to bankruptcy.

Broad notes the limits to the Verneys' political and religious control over the Claydons, and he freely admits that his reliance on documents generated by the Verney interest (above all the extensive archive at Claydon House) must skew his depiction of local affairs. Yet the wealth of family correspondence underpinning the first three-quarters of the era he studies would not have failed to record any more substantial resistance to Verney policies than he has identified. Using parish documents especially to reconstitute the population and to trace the history of poor and charitable relief, he has in fact made the Claydons as much a set of characters in this book as the Verneys themselves, laying out the three communities' distinctive yet not entirely dissimilar evolution.

Broad's book adds materially to an already detailed picture of the Verneys that began with the publication of extracts from their papers in the nineteenth century and was splendidly continued by Miriam Slater's *Family Life in the Seventeenth Century: The Verneys of Claydon House* (1984) and Susan Whyman's *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720* (1999). The latter two have placed the Verneys in a distinctive set of gender and generational dynamics and a provincial-urban cultural complex, respectively. Broad has now set the family firmly in both the rural setting that they did so much to transform and define and in the context of early modern agricultural improvement and change, much to the benefit of us all.

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M. F. SNAPE. *The Church of England in Industrialising Society: The Lancashire Parish of Whalley in the Eighteenth Century*. (Studies in Modern British Religious

History, number 9.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. xi, 228. \$85.00.

Historians of the eighteenth-century church tend to be pessimists or optimists, either decrying its stagnation and complacency or praising clerical professionalism and responsiveness to social change. Curiously, although optimism has largely prevailed among church historians, generalists often remain pessimistic. M. F. Snape's local study of Whalley presents a renewed challenge to the optimists, arguing that flaws in the Church of England caused it to lose popular support in the closing decades of the eighteenth century.

Physically the largest parish in a county of large parishes, Whalley contained eleven parochial chapelries, the rapidly expanding textile towns of Colne and Burnley, and the parliamentary borough of Clitheroe. Early in the century, a humble, impoverished, and predominantly nongraduate clergy fulfilled their duties conscientiously, although their situation was unenviable. The laity appear to have supported the church through regular attendance, although not catechism or communion. By the end of the century, the clergy were reporting the absence of many of the poor, while Methodism was in the ascendancy. Although the clergy blamed these developments on industrialization and urbanization, Snape argues that social change only exposed long-term weaknesses within the church. The clergy's failure to understand folk Christianity and determination to impose orthodoxy put them at a disadvantage in competition with Dissenters and Methodists. The church lost touch with popular festivities and recreations, e.g. through the decline of rush-bearing. As elsewhere, the church courts became restricted to regulating sexual morality, but demographic change eroded the moral consensus upon which they relied. Most seriously, pluralism and nonresidence worsened even though Queen Anne's Bounty had largely relieved clerical poverty. Snape challenges the conventional view that pluralism compensated for poor livings and was consistent with pastoral care. He follows Peter Virgin (*The Church in an Age of Negligence* [1989]) in relating the distancing of ministers, which led some to be hated, to their social aspirations, expressed through participation in electoral politics and magistracy.

This book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the eighteenth-century church in all its variety. Snape shows how ministers and congregations worshipped in the same church but held different views about orthodoxy. Folk religion was Christian, because continued popular support for exorcism, providence, ghosts, and witchcraft expressed popular belief in the immanence of God and the Devil. A detailed analysis of charity describes how resources were lost through mismanagement and endowments were used to reduce the burden on the ratepayer. The discussion of electoral patronage is also illuminating, showing how Tories used Queen Anne's Bounty to gain control over clerical appointment in much of the parish, and

confirming the importance of party conflict in eighteenth-century Lancashire.

The timing of the church's decline is more problematic than Snape suggests. Even before 1750, nine local clergymen were charged with scandalous behavior, pointing both to their vulnerability and to the hostility some laymen felt toward the clergy. The unpopularity of catechism meant that parishioners knew no more about church doctrine than they had in 1600. The evidence for declining popular support rests upon clerical presentments, in 1778 and 1804, but the clergy were more likely to present than churchwardens had been earlier in the century. Yet the story of the curate who, after divine service, used to start a football game by kicking a ball into the churchyard from the church steps suggests that, even at the end of the century, the clergy were not completely out of touch with popular culture.

Why did the experience of Whalley differ so much from that of Oldham and Saddleworth to the south, studied by Mark Smith (*Religion in Industrial Society* [1994])? Snape's focus on sources that expose less positive aspects of the established church (to which, unlike Smith, he restricts himself) are only part of the answer. Perhaps differences are to be expected from local studies, even of parishes with similar economies. Personalities played a part, and in Whalley these included an apostate Catholic priest who led resistance to Methodist itinerants in 1748. Placed beside Oldham and Saddleworth, Whalley appears relatively conservative: charity schools had only limited success, adoption of Sunday schools was slow, and no evangelical was a permanent curate until 1797. Snape reminds us that, even if Whalley's experience was not universal, the established church had much to be concerned about in 1800.

DONALD SPAETH
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RICHARD DALE. *The First Crash: Lessons from the South Sea Bubble*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. 198. \$29.95.

The title of Richard Dale's book says a good deal about the author's intentions. Dale is not a professional historian, nor an economic historian, but as a former professor of banking he sees many parallels between the famous events of 1720 and the financial shenanigans of the late 1990s. Irrational exuberance, he believes, is a general ailment, and not just a specifically early modern British disease. This book ably and carefully describes the original bubble, and by pointing out various similarities with more recent scandals, it tries to draw some historical lessons. It succeeds more in the first task than in the second, and so by the close I felt I knew much more about the London stock market of 1720 than about what it might mean for investors in 2005.

Dale sets his stage in a series of brief chapters covering topics like coffee houses, business informa-

tion and the press, the widespread fascination with gambling, Exchange Alley, the founding of the South Sea Company, and John Law's career as a financial entrepreneur and "projector." He also gives a good description of the mechanics of share transfers, and how market liquidity *de facto* differed from liquidity *de jure*. Dale then provides a straightforward narrative account of the Bubble, starting with the problems of public finance and the initial debt-for-equity swap and continuing through the crash and political backlash. Building particularly on the published work of Archibald Hutcheson, dubbed the "true unsung hero of the South Sea crash" (p. 2), Dale also provides a detailed financial analysis of the various proposals, swaps, deals, and transactions that inflated and later punctured the Bubble. Some might doubt whether Hutcheson the politician, an MP for Hastings, is the best source for a truly nonpartisan diagnosis of such a politically controversial event, but Dale believes him to be the "father of investment analysis" (indeed, Dale claims that Hutcheson used modern valuation techniques; see p. 89).

Given Dale's eagerness to make connections to the present, it is perhaps not surprising that some of his observations seem anachronistic and even overly casual. The reader is repeatedly enjoined to see the similarities between the South Sea Company and Enron, WorldCom, and other dot.com flashes-in-the-pan. Sometimes the parallels are pretty elementary: lax accounting standards were a problem in 1720 and again in the 1990s, company directors in both periods pursued their own interests at the expense of shareholders, and so on. Other parallels are hard to believe without more evidence. I am not yet convinced that many investors in 1720 had such easy access to modern methods of financial valuation, despite the presence of Hutcheson and his numbers, or whether such access made a real difference (consider how sloppily many businessmen kept their books, even though they were familiar with double-entry bookkeeping).

The biggest connection lies in the fact that at some point in a bubble, investors lose touch with financial reality. Here Dale parts ways with orthodox neoclassical economics, which takes rationality as an article of faith and views even bubbles as rational events. For Dale, early modern and contemporary investors alike can reach a moment of collective madness that produces a bubble because irrational optimism keeps them in the stock market long after they should have exited. It would have been very interesting if the author had thought more carefully and systematically about the general conditions and social dynamics that compel large numbers of people to take leave of their financial senses, but he does not go beyond claiming that they do so take leave. Is collective irrationality a rare random outcome, or could one predict its occurrence? And aside from punishing them by inflicting massive losses, it is not clear how to sober up the deluded masses and return them to their senses. Without addressing these questions more thoroughly,

it will be hard for Dale to answer his own call for economic policy to prevent such events from happening today.

Dale's glossary helpfully explains technical terms that will be opaque to many readers ("long annuities," "refusals") but he unnecessarily includes others that should be known to most ("Glorious Revolution," "Whigs"). The readership implied by this glossary includes persons interested in British financial history who evidently know little about finance and even less about British history. Nevertheless, Dale writes clearly and has pulled together an impressive amount of evidence. The book is nicely produced by Princeton University Press: it includes many figures, few typos, and moves at a brisk pace. For those who want to know about the South Sea Bubble, this is a very good place to start.

BRUCE G. CARRUTHERS
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ANDREW T. HARRIS. *Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780–1840*. (History of Crime and Criminal Justice Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 205. Cloth \$41.95, CD \$9.95.

Home Secretary Robert Peel has long been credited with creating in 1829 London's first effective, government-controlled police force (the "bobbies"). In doing so, the standard interpretation says, he had to wade through a miasma of inefficiency and corruption, "liberties," and privileges, amid the metropolis's myriad institutions of local policing. The government's struggle to make some centralist sense out of the capital's policing dated to 1785 when William Pitt's bill had encountered such stiff resistance from the City of London that it had been withdrawn. Peel's plan succeeded, many have suggested, because it specifically excluded the City from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829. The City of London, in this view, was denied effective policing until passage of the London Police Act of 1838.

Andrew T. Harris's slim volume adds importantly to recent scholarship on policing in metropolitan London before Peel's famous centralizing legislation. In *Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1729–1830* (1998), Elaine A. Reynolds showed that many parishes, especially the wealthier ones, were hardly "unpoliced," and indeed in many ways local forces were professionalized. Now Harris demonstrates that in the small, one-square-mile City of London, the mayor and city corporation and authorities in many of the twenty-five wards sought not just to retain local control but to increase efficiency and lower the costs of traditional policing. Peel's famous reform, in short, occurred not in a situation of stasis but in the context of numerous local ongoing proposals and reforms.

Harris's book updates and in many areas supplants Donald Rumbelow's *I Spy Blue: The Police and Crime in the City of London from Elizabeth I to Victoria*

(1971). Using the archives of the Guildhall Library and the Corporation of London Records Office, Harris has uncovered important policing changes in the six decades prior to the well-known 1838 act. In the wake of Pitt's failed metropolitan bill, the City created a ten-man night patrol in 1785 and added a day patrol in 1799. These patrolmen kept an eye on ward watch houses, chased thieves, monitored street lamps, assisted at fires, and checked public houses. City authorities pressed the wards to improve their night watches: "The [City] Corporation tried to treat the wards as Parliament would later treat the Corporation" (p. 92). As early as 1816 activist mayor Matthew Wood, who was also a Radical MP, proposed creation of a merged day-and-night police of 400 patrols led by forty superintendents; the City Common Council overwhelmingly rejected the plan. (Another of Wood's ideas—a 100-man Horse Police useful "in case of tumult"—was also batted down.) However, as Harris's researches show, from 1816 onward individual wards made a number of reforms that characterize modern policing: abolishing watch boxes (they led the men to laziness and drinking), posting watchmen outside their native wards, hiring younger men (often ex-military), increasing pay, and making patrol beats temporary and changing them frequently. City regulations in 1824 and 1827 formalized many of these changes.

In this environment of change and controversy, the tension between liberty and efficiency, accountability and power, was continuously tested. For example, in 1830 a city subcommittee recommended creation of a 432-strong force of men that would not only replace the existing system but take many police powers from both mayor/aldermen and the local wards. This bombshell proposal was shelved, and a different subcommittee recommended retention of traditional local control and continuation of the gradual reforms already occurring. But, notes Harris, this final outcome by a vote of 12–11 demonstrates the heatedness of the debate over policing.

The basic point of this valuable short study is that, as Reynolds showed for the metropolis at large, so too for the tiny City of London important policing changes were being discussed and implemented by local authorities. Parliamentary debates and statutes must be understood in this context. For the City of London, which was neither industrializing nor growing in population, police reform was an ongoing process not triggered by any surge in crime, or undue working class unrest, or crisis in "immorality." The 1838 act creating the City of London Police was simply the climax of a lengthy process. In the end, City authorities learned for their small jurisdiction what Pitt (1785) and Peel (1829) believed was necessary for the metropolis: "the efficiencies of centralization" (p. 156) mandated a single force of uniform dress and direct, immediate accountability. In the City's wards, as across the metropolis after 1829, the price paid for administrative efficiency was the end of traditional local liberties, which had included "popular participation in setting

the parameters and priorities of the criminal justice system" (p. 156).

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MICHAEL FREEMAN. *Victorians and the Prehistoric: Tracks to a Lost World*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. 310. \$45.00.

The volume under review was planned by its author, Michael Freeman, as a companion to his *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (1999). The "moment of intensity" here (as Ernest Hemingway would have framed it) is the Victorian vision of the railway engine as some sort of terrible cyclopean monster. Freeman grasps imaginatively the Victorians' position, bracketed between the monsters of their future—locomotives—and the monsters of their past—the great fossil beasts exhumed in the course of digging the right of way for the new monsters.

This is an admirably produced book, and Sandy Chapman, the designer, is to be congratulated. The abundant illustrations are clear and sharp; those in color have uniformly good registration. These illustrations (in the main, paintings and engravings of landscapes both real and imagined) date mostly from the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and they are physically integrated with the text in a stimulating variety of ways: half-page, full-page, side-bars, top quarter indents. All attract the eye. The text is in Times Roman 14 point double leaded with 13/4" margins left and right, giving a sense of room quite appropriate to a book about space and time and imagination.

Despite the title, this is not a book about Victorians or the prehistoric. It is about late eighteenth to late nineteenth-century British explorations of past time through the study of geology and the history of life. "Prehistory" has always meant, since the word was coined in 1860, accounts of human life antecedent to written records. The contents of the book under review have nothing whatever to say about this material, and the successive chapters are instead a series of stand-alone essays, giving sweeping summaries of the study of geological time, stratigraphy, paleontology, the deluge story, evolutionary competition, and natural history museums in nineteenth-century Britain.

Each of the chapters is a dense narrative drawn from extensive reading in primary and secondary sources pertaining to the study of geological sciences in the period from 1780 to 1890. This time frame means, as the author cheerfully announces, that the word "Victorian" is used "with considerable license." (p. 7). The volume ranges over and juxtaposes a variety of materials. For instance, in the chapter on Charles Darwin we get references to Darwin, T. H. Huxley, Richard Owen, Robert Chambers, Charles Lyell, and T. B. Malthus, whom one would certainly expect to hear about, but also remarks about Jules Verne, Charles

Dickens, Thomas Hardy, and George Eliot's *Midlemarch* that one might not have anticipated. One wishes the author had followed up more of these hunches, as they are often stimulating.

By the author's own admission, he has glossed over most of the recent work on science in the Victorian era, and when painting and poetry make up a part of his narrative subject, he takes no responsibility for them, saying that these materials are allusive and suggestive. This is just as well, as much of the lavish pictorial evidence on display here, especially the landscape painting, is clearly pre-Victorian. Freeman further says that familiar explanatory structures of the humanities and social sciences are firmly rejected by his postmodern position, and that the book will not appeal to those seeking definitive conclusions (p. 6). This is a rather startling declaration, and I am not sure what it means. If it is a claim that the author of a narrative history published by a scholarly press may, at will, opt out of the culture of evidence and inference, I beg to differ.

The readership most likely to benefit will be those who know little about the Victorian period in either its scientific or artistic dimensions but are willing to learn by following a rich interleaving of previous work to get a sense of the movement of the century, within the covers of a single volume. The abundant, almost superabundant referencing (nearly 2,000 footnotes in a book of just over 300 pages) makes the volume a useful entry port to a large literature. But to get an idea of what these rich materials mean one will have to go to A. N. Wilson's *The Victorians* (2002) or Walter Houghton's *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (1957), or some similar volume, to get an extended argument, as the book (quite deliberately it would seem) has no commitment to any concrete historical or historiographic position.

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ROBERT COLLS. *Identity of England*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 409. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$24.95.

Published in 1986, *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880–1920*, co-edited by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, made a vital contribution to the study of national identity in the British Isles. Colls's own volume on the subject has, therefore, been much anticipated. The context, of course, has changed: devolution to Scotland and Wales, the progress of the European Union, and the rise of multiculturalism have altered the terms of the debate. The old (if mythical) certainties of empire, ethnic homogeneity, and progress have finally been revealed as anachronistic, problematic, and partial. Flags and symbols emblazoned with the cross of St. George are today sported by neo-Nazis as well as by football supporters and traditional patriots. To ask "what is England?"—to question its future as

well as its past—is therefore an important task, and it is such a reassessment that Colls attempts.

The book is divided into two halves, six parts, and twenty-two chapters. The first half concerns itself with national identity as related to the growth, development, and exclusions of the English state; the second half focuses on national identity as a looser relationship between land and people. The discussion draws, where appropriate, on the voluminous recent work on national identities in British history, as well as on an impressively wide reading in other secondary literature and primary sources, and sees identity as malleable, movable, and manipulable. At one level an homage to George Orwell, at its best it is, like much of Orwell's writing, sensitive, subtle, and deeply human. Entirely undogmatic, it aims at starting a conversation, not terminating a discussion.

The book is admirably broad in its scope. While the usual suspects—Walter Bagehot, F. R. Leavis, Richard Hoggart, William Stubbs, J. R. Seeley—are discussed, so are those drawn from less orthodox ranks: Agatha Christie, Monty Python, Pete Townshend, and Billy Bragg. Readers will discover fascinating cameos of *Sanders of the River*, Thomas Cook's travel agency, the Ministry of Information, and the English Dialect Society. Colls ranges as far back as the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and as far forward as the beginning of the present century. His prose is never dull, his views are always intellectually lively, and he takes the reader on an epic journey across the centuries and, indeed, across the world, for this is no insular take on an island nation but one that locates England's identity at the heart of its global history. One is therefore as likely to encounter Irving Berlin or Idi Amin as Matthew Arnold or Stanley Baldwin.

Where one ends up is another matter. Having read the book twice, I remain unclear as to its overall argument. England and Englishness will continue, yes, albeit not in the same manner as before. Parts of that history should be rescued for the future, others (particularly elements incompatible with multiculturalism) will have to be discarded. Colls is fundamentally sympathetic to a popular, democratic sense of Englishness and unwilling to consign it to the dustbin of history, or to condemn it outright for having harbored elements of chauvinism, racism, and imperialism. But it does not require 400 pages of text to settle on these attitudes, and the rapid changes of direction and the apparent absence of connecting threads between separate parts of the discussion are bewildering and ultimately frustrating. If one were able to carry on the conversation with the author, it might all begin to make sense, but this is not a convivial evening in a public house. Colls is writing self-consciously about England, yet often the organizations, structures, or individuals he discusses only make sense in a British context: the *British* Broadcasting Corporation, the *British* Army, the *British* Empire, Raymond Williams (Welsh), and Humphrey Jennings (*Listen to Britain*). Colls does not ignore England's Celtic partners, but if

"No one today is purely one thing" (Edward Said, cited p. 192), I find it difficult to understand how England and Englishness can be extracted from a British context that has been particularly powerful for at least the last century. However, the critical defect is the way in which Colls, through praiseworthy ambition, has allowed his meaning to be obscured by the wealth of detail he has embraced.

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MARC BRODIE. *The Politics of the Poor: The East End of London, 1885–1914*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp.viii, 240. \$95.00.

The most influential interpretations of English working-class history in the industrial era between 1780 and 1945 have their roots in detailed local studies. Marc Brodie's subtle and thoughtful book critically examines one of the longest-lasting myths in this literature: that the working classes of London's East End were antipathetic to progressive and socialist politics in the three decades before World War I and were consistent Conservative Party supporters. This long-established view, voiced by Henry Pelling and made famous in Gareth Stedman Jones's argument that the English working class was remade between 1870 and 1914 around a consumerist and politically quiescent ethic, has never before been subject to sustained scholarly examination. Brodie is therefore to be applauded for writing an engaging and generally convincing account of political alignments in Stepney, Poplar, Bethnal Green, and Shoreditch during these crucial years.

Brodie's argument has several components. He first disputes the established view that the Trafalgar Square riots of 1886 were the work of unemployed casual laborers, and he goes on to argue that the docking labor force was actually fairly regularly employed. Second, using a careful study of the similarity between the census returns and the electoral register, he shows that the laborers and unskilled were only marginally underrepresented electorally: fifty percent of household voters and forty-five percent of lodger voters were laborers or artisans, compared to fifty-three percent of the adult male population who fell into these categories. However, those who were enfranchised were the most securely employed, and hence electoral conservatism cannot be attributed to the votes of the marginalized and unemployed. In Brodie's third chapter, in my view his most original and insightful, he contests the view that East Londoners were politically apathetic. He subtly points to the value of personal independence evident in working-class culture and indicates their skepticism toward aristocratic and elite values. He goes on to argue that the success of the Conservatives in this part of London was by no means unambiguous, since it was unchallenged in only four of the area's eleven seats. In the poorest constituencies,

the Tories did not predominate, and Tory success rested upon the abstention, rather than keen support, of workers. There was no straightforward Tory majority among the working class. After this fine chapter, the two final chapters peter out somewhat, since they focus on rather more specialized, though undoubtedly important, issues. Chapter four examines the role of religion, which Brodie thinks is considerable, and chapter five conducts a critical debunking of the widely held view that costermongers were a bastion of political reaction.

Brodie's meticulous work effectively challenges simple shibboleths of East London working-class history. He does so less by uncovering vital new evidence and more by the subtle and detailed reworking of familiar sources: Charles Booth's poverty inquiries, the census, electoral registers, and the like. The book carefully specifies subtle links between local conditions and political outcomes, although at times Brodie overplays his hand given the lack of evidence. For instance, the argument that the unemployed and unskilled were not central to the Trafalgar Square riots rests partly on indirect inference. The author cites some occupational information from arrest records (p. 22) but not in the kind of detail that is necessarily convincing. Can we infer from the fact that one-third of those who were arrested were artisans that the remaining two-thirds were laborers and the unemployed? If so, this would be a dramatic over-representation of such groups, who comprised twenty-seven percent of the adult male population in the three areas studied in detail. It would have been useful to have a systematic, quantitative breakdown of the arrest details, but Brodie generally shies away from the kind of systematic quantitative analysis of sources (such as the census) that might have allowed him to explore his arguments about the labor market more fully.

Brodie writes not as a cultural historian, but as a social historian with an interest in culture. He does not fully elaborate his fascinating observations about the cultural features of East End working-class life. To be sure, he does return on several occasions to his point about the importance of the "personal." He uses this observation in telling ways: to explore the nature of gossip, neighborliness in working-class communities, the role of theater and melodrama in working-class culture, and the way that political debate drew on questions of personality. However, the argument remains somewhat tenuous in the absence of the kind of ethnographic source that might allow it to be fleshed out more firmly.

There is no doubt that this book is one of the most important local studies to be published in recent years. It is to be hoped that, like other studies of its type, it is read not just by London specialists, but by all with an interest in understanding the contours of working-class history in England in the crucial period before World War I.

MIKE SAVAGE
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ADRIAN BINGHAM. *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. 271. \$98.00.

Adrian Bingham's examination of a previously untapped reservoir of evidence pertaining to popular beliefs in interwar Britain yields important findings. Bingham has examined the most significant of the mass-circulation daily newspapers with an eye to the way they treated masculinity, femininity, and modernity. He concludes that the arguments about the interwar period constituting a "backlash" are overstated, providing an important corrective to the way we have perceived the years between 1918 and 1939.

The interwar dailies depended upon advertising revenue to keep themselves solvent, and their editors had learned from Lord Northcliffe, who pioneered the practice at the end of the nineteenth century, that they had to appeal to women readers if they were to maintain circulation at a level sufficient to keep their advertisers happy. The papers could not, their editors knew, alienate the very demographic group that kept them afloat. They all carried a women's page that treated a variety of issues thought to interest a large and varied female audience, and they oriented their general pages toward human interest stories that would appeal to both men and women. Thus, Bingham argues, content that might emphasize a return to domesticity was balanced by tales of modern women flying across the Atlantic or being rained out at Wimbledon. Notions of "progress" or "retreat" cannot adequately capture the situation women experienced in the interwar period; rather, what Bingham calls "a complex picture of fragmented change" (p. 21) characterized the lives of men and women. Gender—both masculinity and femininity—was far more fluid than historians, including this reviewer, have suggested.

In arguing for this fluidity, Bingham resorts to a narrative strategy of "on the one hand" and "on the other" that serves to vitiate the force of his argument. The very real complexity of determining patterns in the shapes of masculine and feminine identity in interwar Britain should not prevent historians from attempting to make larger claims, whether they be about subjectivity, culture, or politics. For example, Bingham argues convincingly that the *Daily Mail's* obsession with the "flapper vote," coverage of which, Billie Melman has shown, exceeded all bounds of proportion, was actually an obsession with socialism. The paper's owner, Lord Rothermere, feared that women under thirty would flock to the Labour Party, bringing in a government that, he believed, would destroy the country. I would urge, however, that an analysis of the representations of femininity and Bolshevism would deepen our understanding of what the fear of socialism meant to Rothermere and to so many others in interwar Britain. Certainly we should accept at face value the conviction that Bolshevism constituted a danger to Britain; but there is more at work

here. The *Mail* also utilized the concept of the "feminine" to represent the dangers of Bolshevism. "Flappers" called forth ideas of frivolity, irresponsibility, and a set of sexual behaviors that constituted a significant break with the mores and morals of the past. But they could also represent instability of a more profound, threatening sort, a transgression of boundaries that could signal the annihilation of the self. As critics have argued, the subject of the interwar period experienced himself—and this claim should be extended to include women as well—as "shattered." Subjects whose formative identities derived from the experiences of the war felt a desperate need to protect themselves against the chaotic forces that threatened fragmentation and dissolution. Those forces might be internal or external; they might be conscious or unconscious sexual desires, or racial, sexual, gendered, or political "others."

Two of Rothermere's sons died in the Great War, a loss that left him "shattered," as one relative described him. His embrace of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler as exemplars of strong government is not merely indicative of his desire for a British equivalent, in which capacity, he believed for a time, Oswald Mosley could serve. Bingham shows that Rothermere's flirtation with fascism was not a shortlived, misguided infatuation; his admiration for the policies of Hitler and Mussolini continued long after his split with Mosley in 1934. I would argue that Rothermere's infatuation with strong, masculine leaders was not simply "a means of remedying what he perceived to be a loss of the virility and active patriotism that had previously marked the British Empire and its leaders," as Bingham puts it (p. 201). It also constituted a yearning for a figure possessing the power to keep the threat of annihilation at bay.

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ROBERT CALDER. *Beware the British Serpent: The Role of Writers in British Propaganda in the United States 1939–1945*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 311. \$49.95.

In the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States has experienced an intense debate over the challenge of hostile international public opinion and the alleged failings of America's efforts in the field now known as "public diplomacy." Theorists have pointed to the dimension of "soft power" in international relations—the attractiveness of a nation's ideas and life—and called for concerted investment therein. In this book, Robert Calder provides a case study of soft power at work, in the form of British literary propaganda deployed in the United States during World War II.

In 1939 Britain had a major problem. Its only hope of surviving an onslaught from Nazi Germany lay in winning aid from the neutral and sometimes Anglo-

phobic United States. Britain had successfully turned the tide of U.S. public opinion in its favor during the Great War, but that achievement had left America on guard against British propaganda the second time around. In September 1939, Britain's Ministry of Information announced a policy of "No Propaganda" in the United States and resolved to focus on facilitating coverage of the war through American commercial channels like Edward R. Murrow of CBS radio. But despite this "self-denying ordinance," Britain eventually worked hard to sway American opinion, with BBC radio broadcasts, press offices in the United States, a clutch of documentary and feature films, and as Calder demonstrates, the extensive use of British writers.

Calder shows how literary Britain rallied to the Ministry of Information's agenda in America, not as official paid lecturers but as informal ambassadors and independent voices. Working with the blessing and often guidance of the ministry, they reaped the benefit of a common language and a transatlantic literary culture. They toured, published nonfiction, novels, and short stories, broadcast, and for the most part dodged under the isolationist radar. Some visitors were controversial at home, such as the pacifists Normal Angell and Vera Brittain; others were counterproductive, like H. G. Wells or Noel Coward, but some hit the mark squarely. Calder—a biographer of W. Somerset Maugham—singles out Maugham for particular credit. Other writers who struck a nerve included J. B. Priestley, Storm Jameson, and Jan Struther, creator of *Mrs. Miniver*.

Calder contrasts the World War II campaign with its Great War equivalent. During the Great War, Britain had deployed literary giants of the stature of Rudyard Kipling and John Galsworthy to woo America. The World War II campaign was, by contrast, middle brow, seeking out regional voices and avoiding intellectual pretension in deference to America's perceived preferences. There is no doubt that the writers who made the biggest impact were those whose work was adapted by Hollywood. Calder points to Phyllis Bottome's *The Mortal Storm*, Geoffrey Household's *Rogue Male* (filmed as *Man Hunt*), to the contribution of James Hilton to *Foreign Correspondent* and the screen adaptation of *Mrs. Miniver*, and the work of R. C. Sherriff on *Mrs. Miniver* and Alexander Korda's *That Hamilton Woman!*

While Calder covers a broad range of territory and has an excellent command of the archival sources, there are some holes in Calder's bibliography. He appears unaware of an excellent book on British propaganda in the United States by Susan A. Brewer, *To Win the Peace: British Propaganda in the United States during World War II* (1997). Brewer details the key official themes of British information in the United States after America's entry into the war, including careful treatment of issues around the British Empire and an emphasis on postwar planning. Calder's narrative does not reveal the same themes in literary propaganda, which seems to reflect only the general

need to maintain sympathy for Britain. Perhaps there was no link between the preferred themes of the Ministry of Information and the output of British literary propaganda in the United States, but if so this deserves comment. Similarly, Calder gives little attention to the audience for these works. The prevalence of women writers deserves further investigation, given the greater tendency of women to hold isolationist views.

Calder does not attempt his own assessment of the ultimate impact of Britain's propaganda campaign, preferring to cite the views of other authors on this point. He has, however, delivered a painstakingly researched and elegantly written addition to the cultural history of World War II and Anglo-American relations. As a testimony to the working of soft power in times past, it is not without implications for our own time.

NICHOLAS J. CULL

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MARY JO NYE. *Blackett: Physics, War, and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 255. \$39.95.

The British physicist Patrick Blackett died in 1974, the year Margaret Thatcher came to lead the Conservative Party. Described in an obituary as "the last of the barons," he had been a member of the House of Lords, President of the Royal Society, and a Nobel Prize winner. Despite his associations with old institutions, he was a radical modernist, loyal member of the Labour Party, and an advisor to Britain's dirigiste industry department, "Mintech."

Throughout his life, Blackett was an apostle of the causes of science and modernity. He attended a technocratic high school established early in the twentieth century to provide the Royal Navy with officers. From the navy he passed to Cambridge University, to research in the Cavendish laboratory, then to operational research (OR) in World War II. More than a group of techniques, OR would serve, postwar, as a demonstration that a scientific approach to the problems of ordinary life, business, and manufacturing would, even if opposed by the forces of reaction, ultimately succeed and bring about improvement.

Blackett's postwar career combined development of the newly expensive instruments of big science, the pioneering of big academe in the physics department of Imperial College, and technocratic politics. It was rumored that he had written Harold Wilson's speech pledging that Labour would deploy the "white hot heat of the scientific and technological revolution."

Despite Blackett's iconic significance and frequent reference to his name in both the journalism of his time and the historiography of our own, there has been scant biographical treatment. Unlike his French contemporary, Pierre Joliot-Curie, Blackett has not attracted a direct historical gaze. Now the distinguished historian of science Mary Jo Nye has written a book

that whets the appetite by describing the complex of political, cultural, and scientific causes he so energetically espoused. She recounts the details of the world through which he moved, so his club "The Tots and Quots" rates a mention; the Labour Party of the 1950s and Imperial College are lit up briefly as by an asteroid passing through the atmosphere. The names of many interesting contemporaries pass by. Joseph Needham, Solly Zuckerman, and Michael Polanyi make cameo appearances.

Nye made the decision to write a biography of an individual, not the portrait of an age or the history of a network. She discusses at length the failure to award a Nobel Prize for the discovery of the electron and Blackett's later success in winning the prize. She talks about Blackett's manly disdain for fussing, but she does not speculate on what the awards suggest about the scientific community. Strong socialist principles are cited, but she scarcely footnotes Gary Werskey's *The Visible College* (1979) dealing with the prewar network of left-leaning scientists in which Blackett figured so significantly. Nor does she examine the complex of beliefs in science and socialism that so many of his contemporaries espoused with various accents. What came first: socialism or technocracy? And what did either have to do with Blackett's conduct of academic science?

Nonetheless, even with these silences the biography is an articulate if careful introduction to a Britain that is seldom remembered. Even if it is not the last word either on the man or his times, it will provide an invaluable resource for historians in other fields seeking a ready reference and for successors to Nye. Historians encountering Blackett for the first time will have an authoritative and useful account.

In a typically provocative observation the author points out that in 1948 two Britons won Nobel Prizes: Blackett, for physics, and the poet T. S. Eliot for literature. Eliot and other writers had been terrified of the world Blackett and his ilk were conjuring up. C. S. Lewis, Aldous Huxley, and George Orwell each described anti-utopias in which men like Blackett were the villains. The ghosts of that conflict over the future of modernity are summoned up by this biography. It will remain for others to bring them back to life.

ROBERT BUD
The Science Museum

THOMAS BARTLETT *et al.*, editors. *1798: A Bicentenary Perspective*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2003. pp. xii, 756. \$60.00.

The 1990s saw a series of historical anniversaries that were remarkably productive in Irish historiography. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these was the sesquicentennial of the Irish Famine, which triggered a series of important works on that watershed event. A similar phenomenon can be seen with the bicentenary commemoration of the 1798 rebellion, which helped to generate a wide variety of important articles and

monographs on late eighteenth-century Ireland. Based on a five-day conference held in Belfast and Dublin in 1998, this collection of essays reflects the wide range and sophistication of the work, acting as both an excellent reference guide to the current state of the field and as an inspiring spur to new research.

Conference collections are notorious for their incoherence, so it is a real credit to the editors that they managed to put together such a massive tome in a way that makes sense. Much of the credit here must go to Kevin Whelan, who provides a series of typically thought-provoking introductions for each of the eight sections. Resolutely focused on the complexity of late eighteenth-century Irish society and politics, these introductions will soon become must reads for graduate students and scholars desperate to keep up with the current state of the field. While the wide range of studies makes it difficult to analyze, I will focus this review on a series of themes that seem to dominate the best work in this collection.

One of the most important trends in recent Irish historiography has been an increased sensitivity to the significance of regional variation, a fact reflected in this collection. Fully two of the eight sections in the book are devoted explicitly to the regional dimensions of 1798. In one of the strongest chapters in the volume, Breandán Mac Suibhne examines relationships between politicization and paramilitary activity in western Ulster. Comparing the development of radical politics in northwest and southwest Ulster, Mac Suibhne finds significant differences between the two regions. Looking closely at Volunteer politics, he makes a persuasive case that while the Society of United Irishmen represented a "new opportunity" for radical politics in southwest Ulster, they had a solid foundation of anticolonial politics to build on in Donegal and Derry. Likewise, David W. Miller's examination of ritualized contestations of power in east Ulster is thought-provoking and potentially path-breaking, while Kevin O'Neill's close study of postrebellion violence in Ballitore, County Kildare, not only complicates the standard sectarian story but, in putting a woman's voice at the center of his analysis, also offers a refreshing contrast in a male-dominated historiography. Clearly, both our understanding of the politics of 1798 and the complex mosaic of late eighteenth-century Irish society have benefited in recent years from a greater sensitivity to locality.

Mac Suibhne's essay also highlights one of the most important developments in recent scholarship: a renewed sense of the importance of examining events in Ireland in the 1770s and 1780s, an emphasis that has led many scholars to explore the transatlantic dimensions of the late eighteenth-century Irish experience. One of the most productive scholarly trends of the late 1980s and early 1990s was the effort to better locate eighteenth-century Ireland within a broader European context. Led by Marianne Elliott's *Partners in Revolution: The United Irishmen and France* (1982), a number of historians examined the important and complex

social and ideological links between Ireland and France. Unfortunately, this fostered a tendency to privilege the French Revolution and European ties over transatlantic connections, particularly with the American Revolution and the emergent United States. While the European dimension of 1798 is not ignored (Hugh Gough and Brendan Simms make solid contributions here), it is the global reach of 1798 that stands out. Ruan O'Donnell explores republican struggles in early nineteenth-century New South Wales, while Maurice Bric and David Wilson examine the impact that Irish radical émigrés had on early American political culture and shifts in Irish-American identity. While one might wish for a more extensive engagement with issues of race, these studies certainly mark a productive trend in Irish historical scholarship and one can only hope that Irish historians will become increasingly engaged with the dynamic work being done in both Atlantic and the so-called New British History.

Finally, the use of Irish-language sources has been one of the most fertile areas of research in eighteenth-century studies. This has been particularly true of the study of Jacobitism. Éamonn O'Ciardha and Breandán O'Buachalla have been the leaders here, using long neglected sources to show Jacobitism as a much more complex system of beliefs than heretofore acknowledged. O'Buachalla's essay continues this line of work, examining the links between Jacobitism and the Society of United Irishmen. Analyzing Jacobite rhetoric and poetry, he builds a persuasive case that the United Irishmen benefited from elements of the Jacobite ideological inheritance, which allowed them to draw on an existing array of powerful radical political critiques of British colonial rule. Clearly, O'Buachalla has identified an area of research that needs to be explored in greater depth.

All in all, the collection reflects the healthy and dynamic state of scholarship on late eighteenth-century Ireland. It is certainly not without its problems. The most obvious one concerns the book's size; it contains thirty-three of the thirty-seven papers presented at the 1998 conference. Greater editorial discipline might have produced a streamlined version that would be more widely available (and might have arrived in a more timely fashion). That said, this is a rich collection of essays and a must read for anyone interested in late eighteenth-century Ireland or the age of Atlantic revolutions.

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ALVIN JACKSON. *Home Rule: An Irish History, 1800–2000*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 405. \$35.00.

This is a political historian's exploration of the history of a concept that more usually falls within the ambit of political science. Home Rule as a party designation and political program is indelibly associated with Irish nationalism in the period from the 1870s to World War

I. Since the twelfth century, all or part of Ireland has been subordinate to English (or British) authority. The constitutional forms of this relationship have varied significantly and have been the subject of much contention. The Act of Union (1800) was merely another contentious variant, and the repeal of the act for which Daniel O'Connell campaigned in the 1840s would, if achieved, have yielded yet another. Alvin Jackson shows how, against this background, Isaac Butt in 1870 propounded a formula to reconcile Irish self-government in domestic matters with membership of a wider British polity directed from Westminster. To this he applied the designation "Home Rule." This compromise between nationality and empire quickly acquired a hold over the opinion of the Catholic masses and, thanks to its advocacy by Charles Stewart Parnell, dominated Irish politics for nearly four decades. Even before the emergence of Parnell and his "new departure," many republicans had tempered their separatism to follow the Home Rule drum.

Jackson is an established authority on the Unionist mobilizations that arose in resistance to the intention of British Liberal administrations, especially in 1886, 1893, and 1912–1914, to deliver Home Rule to an Ireland that would be predominantly Roman Catholic. ("Home Rule is Rome Rule" was one of the slogans.) The present work displays just how familiar Jackson is with the other side of the story. Of particular value is his exposition of the views, plans, and stratagems of politicians, civil servants, and opinion makers in the press. Any Home Rule bill or proposal had to have a specific value for such variables as: powers to be reserved to Westminster, financial provisions, level of future Irish representation at Westminster, and protection to be guaranteed to minority interests. Jackson's book is an excellent guide to the changing combinations that were adumbrated from 1886 to 1920.

In 1914, the Irish majority seemed to be within a whisker of achieving the long-desired Home Rule, before the Great War intervened. By the war's end, the majority would not take a present of Home Rule. The present was, indeed, offered, in the form of the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, with Home Rule for each of both parts of a partitioned island. Southern Ireland said no, and under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921 moved on to dominion status and the road to eventual full formal independence. This left the Unionist-dominated six counties of Northern Ireland as a new polity endowed with the Home Rule status that Unionists had so adamantly opposed for generations. The most original aspect of this book is Jackson's conceptualization of Northern Ireland as a specimen of Home Rule in practice. Various insights emerge, some of them ironic. In the past, Unionists had condemned various proposals for all-Ireland Home Rule on the grounds that the provisions for protection of minority rights and interests would not be effective in practice. The working out of the Government of Ireland Act in Northern Ireland

proved the point, but, of course, at the expense of a different minority.

Since the proroguing of the parliament of Northern Ireland in 1972, the province has been subject to direct rule from Westminster with some short intervals when one or another formula for power-sharing government has been in place. The endeavors of the British (and Irish) governments over this time to provide structures within which politicians could agree to exercise devolved authority on an acceptable basis, together with the recalcitrance of the intended beneficiaries, are carefully explored here. Particularly valuable are Jackson's insights into the personalities of key Unionist leaders, from both before and after 1972. This book has the stamp of authority, an impression heightened by Jackson's easy invocation of the apposite literature on a host of topics.

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LOUISE FULLER. *Irish Catholicism since 1950: The Undoing of a Culture*. Paperback edition. Dublin, Ireland: Gill & Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xxxviii, 380. £14.99.

When the present reviewer first visited Ireland in the 1960s, the Catholic Church there enjoyed extraordinary compliance with canonical norms for religious practice. For example, very nearly one hundred percent of those adult Catholics not excused for illness or other hindrances attended Mass every Sunday. Popular and clerical opinion traced this behavior back to the early medieval "isle of saints and scholars," and academics had done little to challenge the assumption that religiosity was an inherited attribute of the Irish. In the 1970s, Irish historians began to examine past religious practice, most famously in Emmet Larkin's essay arguing that a "devotional revolution" occurred during the decades immediately after the famine of the 1840s (see Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850–75," *AHR* 77:3 [June 1972]: 625–652). We now know that pre-Famine Catholic religious practice was far from universal in many parts of the country; for the most part historians debate not whether there was a devotional revolution but the details of its timing and the mechanisms that brought it about.

The fact that "Irish" piety was a time-bound phenomenon, not a timeless inheritance, has become much easier to understand in the twenty-first century, when an Irish prime minister can live openly with a woman to whom he is not married. Nevertheless, as recently as 1997 journalist Mary Kenny could entitle a book *Goodbye to Catholic Ireland* without realizing that the "Catholic Ireland" she remembered from her youth had said "Hello" only about 150 years earlier. By contrast, Louise Fuller places her analysis of the dismantling of Ireland's Catholic culture in the context of that culture's construction in the post-Famine period and its realization in the institutions of the

southern Irish state. The result is a sophisticated and important work despite the fact that the author was granted access to only a tiny fraction of the relevant material in ecclesiastical archives. However, the phrase "since 1950" in the title is slightly misleading, for the main body of the book covers only the three decades from 1950 to 1980; following the conclusion there is a thirty-two-page epilogue sketching developments over the succeeding two decades.

Nevertheless, this anomalous structure—presumably the result of the publisher's desire to capture a nonacademic market—works reasonably well, especially for an American audience. Readers on this side of the Atlantic will have heard of some of the scandals recounted in the epilogue and might be tempted to surmise that whatever happened to the Irish church during the late twentieth century can be understood in the same terms as the disillusion of American Catholics with their scandal-ridden church in recent years. In fact, the Irish case is unique, as Fuller makes clear.

By concentrating on a three-decade period centered on Vatican II, she demonstrates that the council had truly revolutionary consequences. She describes vividly the complacency of ecclesiastics who regarded near-universal practice as a sure measure of their success in the 1950s, the casuistical mindset that underlay much of that practice, the cozy relationship between church and state, and the hierarchy's reliance on that relationship for the means to keep modernity at bay. Perhaps it was inevitable that those means would fail: the creaky mechanisms of censorship of magazines and movies would be no match for television, available to much of the Irish Catholic population from Britain or from Belfast by the 1960s. But it was *aggiornamento* that changed everything, for censorship could hardly be used to prevent the faithful from learning that the pope himself favored coming to terms with modernity. Archbishop McQuaid of Dublin typified the naïveté of the hierarchy when, upon his return from the council, he reassured those "who may have been worried by much talk of changes to come" that "No change will worry the tranquillity of your Christian lives" (p. 112). Fuller demonstrates that the real challenge the hierarchy had to face was not the humble worriers, but the educated laity together with the theologians (two groups the hierarchy had long been able to cow into compliance).

By the 1980s it was clear that an empowered laity, and the democratic polity it sustained, could no longer be counted on to do the hierarchy's bidding in matters concerning the sins of concupiscence. At the same time the Irish church—bishops, priests, and people—was becoming more concerned with social justice issues: evidence that *aggiornamento* really had made progress in all orders. The two decades that Fuller relegates to her epilogue are perhaps too short a period in which to judge how the revolution she describes will ultimately play out. Measures of religious practice in the Irish Republic are still substantially higher than those of any other Western European country, though significantly

lower than they were in the 1950s. Will Ireland become a starkly secular society like most of its European Union partners? Or will religious values find a continuing role in the public sphere, as they so obviously do in the major country whose levels of religious practice so clearly resemble those of Ireland: the United States?

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SOPHIE LIGNON-DARMAILLAC. *Les grandes maisons du vignoble de Jerez (1834–1992)*. (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, number 26.) Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 2004. Pp. xiv, 567.

Documentary evidence shows that Spain began exporting sherry during the late fifteenth century, while the sherry trade with the New World and northern Europe took off after 1720. As Sophie Lignon-Darmaillac informs us in her fine monograph on the leading wine houses (*bodegas*) of the sector, wines bottled under the appellations of sherry and manzanilla had to be grown in the southwestern part of Andalusia, in the towns of Jerez de la Frontera, Puerto de Santa María, and Sanlúcar de Barrameda. From the earliest times, these fortified wines were a favorite beverage of English settlers in the province of Cádiz. Later, the British Isles and the Low Countries became the leading markets for sherry. Even so, it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that foreign sales of sherry overtook those of its great rival, port.

Lignon-Darmaillac follows in the path of her dissertation director, Alain Huetz de Lemp, whose seminal work, *Vignobles et vins d'Espagne*, was published in 1976. Her meticulously researched account traces the growing fortunes of the big names of sherry production, among them Pedro Domecq, González Byass, Garvey, Osborne, and Barbadillo. After the abolition of the restrictive guild, the Gremio de la Vinatería, in 1834, these “veritable dynasties” grouped around a handful of families strengthened by intermarriage, saw off many of the region’s smaller wine growers. Deprived of the necessary funds for investment, the latter succumbed to a series of crises, most memorably of all the ubiquitous phylloxera outbreak of 1894 that ravaged Andalusia’s vineyards. Meanwhile, with the aid of capital repatriated from Spain’s former empire after 1824 and 1898, the leading *bodegas* transformed themselves into giant corporations.

Yet the economic and social history of Spain’s sherry trade also had its darker side. Lignon-Darmaillac recounts such ignominious episodes as the dangerous and illegal practice of fortifying local wines with industrial alcohol imported from Germany from the late 1870s—which eventually led to the introduction of the term *denominación de origen* as a guarantee of origin—as well as the violent confrontations between the export houses and their half-starved day laborers. These events reached a dramatic climax in the anarchist invasion of Jerez de la Frontera in January 1892,

when cries of “Death to the bourgeoisie!” and “Long live the social revolution!” resonated through the streets.

Faced with surplus production of alcohol, from the early twentieth century onward, the large houses diversified into another product, brandy, which enjoyed a boom in domestic sales during the 1920s. However, the progress of the sherry trade was abruptly ended by the Spanish Civil War and World War II. Moreover, replanting those vineyards destroyed by the phylloxera epidemic proved to be a lengthy and expensive business. Not until the early 1950s did the sherry trade recover something of its former glory, with exports peaking at around 1.5 million hectoliters in 1979. The euphoric atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s attracted a number of new names into the trade, among them the future convicted criminal, José María Ruiz-Mateos, whose vast financial conglomerate, Rumasa, was experiencing a giddy rise. When the Rumasa group collapsed in 1983, however, the writing was already on the wall for the sherry trade. The English middle classes were slaking their thirsts with so-called British sherry, much of it originating from Cyprus and South Africa. In response to the crisis, the authorities brought in two far-reaching reconversion plans in 1983 and 1991 that drastically reduced the total number of hectares planted with vines.

Finally, Lignon-Darmaillac shows how the restructuring of the industry, which required huge sums of capital in order to modernize equipment, threatened the very existence of the large houses, many of which were swallowed up by foreign multinationals. The final two decades of the last century witnessed the globalization of Spain’s sherry trade, as Andalusia’s experience mirrored that of many other wine-exporting regions. By 1992, when her story concludes, Allied Lyons had taken over the Harvey Group and held a forty-five percent stake in Domecq. International Distillers and Vintners, a subsidiary of Grand Metropolitan, controlled Croft as well as thirty percent of González Byass, while Seagrams owned Sandeman. Among the traditional houses, only Osborne remained a family-owned company.

Based on painstaking research in a number of private archives of the large *bodegas* as well as a myriad of local sources, both written and oral, Lignon-Darmaillac’s nicely written analysis offers a series of valuable insights into the closed social world of the great sherry houses of Andalusia.

JOSEPH HARRISON
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JOTHAM PARSONS. *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 322. \$59.95.

Jotham Parsons’s new study returns to the important question of the role Gallicanism played in shaping the early modern French state, a subject first raised by

eminent (but today too little read) historians such as Victor Martin, William F. Church, Pierre Blet, and Aimé-Georges Martimort. By taking seriously the often arid and arcane disputes that roiled French jurists and churchmen in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Parsons affords us an enriched and insightful perspective into how the Gallican views of each group helped to mold both the Bourbon monarchy and later opposition to it.

Gallicanism was a spectrum of ideological stances that encompassed the often competing interests of the crown, legists in the parliaments, and the French prelate. These various positions, furthermore, shifted over time in response to new challenges, not least of which were France's rivalry with the Habsburgs and the advent of French Calvinism. Parsons begins his study by examining the transformation of late medieval Gallicanism. What began as essentially an antipapal movement dedicated to the cause of church reform became after 1500 a largely humanistic enterprise to define the French monarchy's historic relationship with the Gallican Church. Whatever serious issues the crown had with Rome over governance of the Gallican Church effectively became moot as a result of the 1516 Concordat of Bologna. In this accord, Francis I and Pope Leo X jointly affirmed the principle of monarchy over and against the arguments of Gallican legists, who favored local ecclesiastical self-rule monitored by the king's sovereign courts. As a result, "erudite Gallicanism," as Parsons styles it, became even more militantly assertive in the hands of classically trained jurists, such as Guillaume Budé, Antoine Loisel, and Michel de Montaigne. It developed as a political theory that privileged customary practice and historical experience over revealed and rationally based metaphysical truth, a position that might be called "episcopal Gallicanism." At stake in the ensuing debates was nothing less than defining the future development of the early modern French polity.

Advocates of erudite Gallicanism, as argued in chapter two, saw the Gallican Church as an integral part of the historical development of the French *res publica*, thus the notion of the "Church in the Republic." Proponents of the alternative position, which its critics rather simplistically construed as "ultramontanism," asserted that the French polity was a divine union of church and state under the joint tutelage of the French monarchy and Roman papacy, with the crown decidedly the dominant partner. Parsons traces these contrasting ideological positions in the Wars of Religion up through Henry IV's reign and culminating in the Estates General of 1614–1615. In chapter three, building on the earlier work of Donald Kelley and Nancy Lyman Roelker and a recent study by Alain Tallon, he examines the institutional and intellectual framework of erudite Gallicanism as it developed in the hands of legal scholars and publishing circles in Paris. Coming at a time of great monarchical weakness, erudite Gallicanism essentially mounted the claim that the king's sovereign courts, by right and

historical custom, provide the best safeguard for the crown's prerogatives in church affairs against the threats posed by Leaguer rebellion, Jesuit-inspired regicide, and Tridentine reform. However, as Henry IV consolidated his power after his Catholic conversion in 1593, so he sought to distance the crown from the constraining embrace of his Gallican legists. The big question is why?

The final three chapters of the book go a long way toward answering why the crown opted in favor of episcopal rather than juridical Gallicanism. One reason concerned the jurisdictional boundaries between the king's courts, Gallican bishops, and the papacy. For example, accepting the legists' claims that the king was not subject to excommunication, as Cardinal Jacques Davy Duperron pointed out both in his polemic with King James I of England and his address to the Estates General in 1615, raised the horrifying prospect of dechristianizing the French state. In chapter five, Parsons follows the tortuous course of a series of legal suits and disputes where judges in the Parlement of Paris sought to speak on Gallican episcopal affairs. Time and again, they found their efforts thwarted by the crown. It seems diplomatic considerations, in the form of at least tacit papal support of France's anti-Habsburg policies, trumped juridical Gallicanism. Also important was the crown's growing fiscal dependence on the ready grants (*dons gratuits*) it received every five years since the 1580s from the Assembly of Clergy. As analyzed in chapter six, the Assemblies of Clergy increasingly leveraged their fiscal advantage to advance the cause of episcopal Gallicanism. Not that proponents of royal absolutism, such as Cardinal Richelieu, needed much prodding, for the personalization of royal power in a centralized administrative state shared much in common with the bishops' own views of their place in the church hierarchy.

As Parsons amply demonstrates, unlike Henrician England a century before, the early Bourbon monarchy did not need to break with Rome to achieve near total control over its territorial church and, through it, greater influence over French society as a whole. After the 1620s, legal Gallicanism gradually became the ideological redoubt of opposition to the Bourbon ecclesiological state, morphing into both parliamentary obstructionism and Jansenism. Echoing the arguments of Dale Van Kley and William Doyle, Parsons sees ensuing generations of these conservative judges and obdurate Jansenists helping a century later in the Enlightenment to undermine the ideological moorings of the Ancien Regime. In sum, this is a significant study that contributes to our ongoing quest to understand both the genesis and eventual demise of the early modern French monarchy.

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ALAN JAMES. *The Navy and Government in Early Modern France, 1572–1661*. (Royal Historical Society Stud-

ies in History New Series, number 40.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 198. \$70.00.

Alan James examines the development of the early modern French navy from its nadir during the Wars of Religion until the period of its greatest strength under the guidance of Jean-Baptiste Colbert. James asserts correctly that scholarly scrutiny of the history of the French navy has suffered from an excessive focus on the contributions of Cardinal Richelieu, and from an outdated historiography that overemphasizes the disrepair and disorganization of the early modern French navy and underemphasizes its achievements. Many historians tend to measure the premodern French navy against those of the Dutch and the English and to focus on the race for supremacy in the Atlantic. This agenda, James argues, still dominates the historical debate, even though it is essentially anachronistic, thus obscuring the history of the French navy as an institution, its true accomplishments, and its role in French state building.

James strives to correct this imbalance. He argues that excessive emphasis on Richelieu or Colbert as institutional innovators is to misunderstand the real nature of their contributions to the French navy. James also contends that to focus on the Atlantic theater of war and on overseas colonies, and France's seeming failure to compete successfully with the Dutch or the English in the Atlantic, is to misunderstand fundamentally the military and foreign affairs agenda of the French crown in the early modern period. In the eyes of the French monarchy, and of officers such as Richelieu and Colbert, the struggle for supremacy in Europe was always the most important preoccupation. And in Europe, the French crown considered Spain to be its primary adversary, so that the most important theater of operations was the Mediterranean rather than the Atlantic. When it came to the Atlantic, Richelieu and his successors tended to follow the time-honored practice of aligning France's diplomatic and naval interests as closely as possible to those of either the Dutch or the English, thus allowing the French navy to benefit from the strength of these two Atlantic nations' navies.

Just as Richelieu and Colbert followed a traditional agenda in terms of where they deployed France's naval power, so, too, James argues, were they less innovative than historians have thought in how they financed and controlled the navy. Historians have credited them with unrealistically grandiose programs of institutional reform, which has resulted in an overly pessimistic assessment of their legacies in terms of naval reform as well. Rather, in James's view Richelieu and Colbert in reality innovated only minimally in how they financed and directed naval affairs, and in this respect they differed little from their predecessors and successors. Expediency and the urgent need for practical results always took precedence over grand schemes for institutional restructuring, results that these men managed to achieve through traditional methods with a higher

rate of success than most historians have realized, and against tremendous odds.

The greatest obstacle the French navy faced lay in geography. Although France possessed extensive maritime coasts, on the English Channel, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean, its ports tended to be relatively widely spaced. The major French port cities thus developed a strong sense of regionalism and an aversion to interference from the center that the French government never managed to overcome in the early modern period. Thus royal officials seeking to marshal the resources of these ports in support of the navy had to accept more administrative and financial fragmentation than was true in more compact countries like Holland or England. That meant that only men such as Richelieu, capable of asserting strong personal control over the unruly nobles, cities, and financiers contending for control of the money destined for the navy, could hope to expand the strength of the French fleets sufficiently to meet the demands external threats and internal unrest placed upon them. This is exactly what Richelieu and others managed to do. The French navy was there for the crown when it was needed, and when it languished, it was usually because the concerns of the crown were focused elsewhere.

Although James states that he hopes to correct an excessive focus on Richelieu to the neglect of other leading naval figures who also contributed significantly to the success of the French navy, in fact the book is focused squarely on the career of Richelieu, and on Richelieu's struggles to master naval commanders, rebellious port cities, and the often less-than-competent—or honest—financiers upon whom he depended to supply the cash needed to keep the navy afloat. Still, James offers a refreshingly balanced and well-researched assessment of Richelieu's naval program, and his book comprises an interesting and valuable contribution to a much-neglected aspect of early modern French history.

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HUBERT CARRIER. *Le Labyrinthe de l'État: Essai sur le débat politique en France au temps de la Fronde (1648–1653)*. (Bibliothèque d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, number 14.) Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur. 2004. Pp. 694. €107.00.

The title of this book comes from a *mazarinade* published in Paris in 1652. There were 5,500 such pamphlets published during the civil war of the Fronde (1648–1653), 2,000 in the year 1649 alone. Hubert Carrier has devoted his career to their study and has already published three books on them. In this one, he investigates the wide range of concepts and theories discussed in these pamphlets, asserting that they provide a window into the general political thought of the time. The title indicates the complexity and diversity of these ideas, and the intricate maze of conflicting

currents of thought expressed in the pamphlets. Carrier agrees with Hélène Duccini (*Faire voir, faire croire: L'Opinion publique sous Louis XIII* [2003]) that there was genuine public opinion and political debate during the mid-seventeenth century expressed in these *mazarinades*. He disagrees with Christian Jouhaud, who does not regard the pamphlets as a spontaneous expression of contemporary political thought but rather as a carefully engineered propaganda tool meant to manipulate public opinion and provoke political action (*Mazarinades: La fronde des Mots* [1985]). Carrier considers Jouhaud's approach more valid for the second phase of the Fronde, the revolt of the princes from 1650 to 1653, than for the first phase from 1648 to 1649, which he considers to have been a genuinely popular explosion of political ideas and debate.

Carrier has written a detailed textual analysis of the contents of all 5,500 of these *mazarinades*, using as many actual quotations as possible. Only someone with his expertise could have made such a detailed and thorough study. The first part of the book discusses currents of political thought, including attitudes toward the king, the royal family, and the monarchy; the people of France; the nature and extent of royal power; constitutionalism; the regency; the defense of absolutism; theories of aristocratic government; the ministerial problem; the *parlementaires* and judicial theories; and foreign policy. This section is about half the book, and I enjoyed it the most, which will probably be the case for many readers. Carrier is always careful to present both sides in any debate, and to indicate both mainstream and marginal opinions, a feature that should be most useful to other scholars.

Part two explores the pamphlets' discussions of economic and fiscal problems including financial abuses, tax problems, inflation, suggestions for reform, and public debt. Part three looks at social structures and attitudes as described in the *mazarinades*, including social groups of great nobles, clergy, sword and robe nobles, bourgeoisie, working classes of Paris, and peasants, and contemporary theories on a society of orders and class warfare. Carrier demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the historical literature of the period, and he puts the ideas and debates in these pamphlets into an historiographical context whenever possible.

This book is well organized, logical, precise with carefully defined terms, and frequent, excellent summaries. It covers everything that the pamphlets said on virtually every topic, and should be very useful as a reference tool for scholars interested in early modern European political thought and pamphleteering. It does not discuss the production of these pamphlets, who paid for and bought them, who wrote them, who printed and distributed them, and so forth. (Carrier has discussed production in his previous work, *La presse de la Fronde, 1648–1653* [2 vols, 1989–1991]). His current book covers only the intellectual contents of the *mazarinades*. It is not a particularly easy book to

read because of its extensive detail, but it will almost certainly become the definitive work on the subject. There is not another book that is its equal in terms of the thoroughness, extent, and precision of its coverage.

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DAVID GARRIOCH. *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 382. \$34.95.

In this book, David Garrioch sets out to fill a surprising lacuna in anglophone historiography on France. The past quarter-century has seen a burgeoning specialized literature on the city of Paris in the eighteenth century, exploring every aspect of its urban geography, social life, and political history in the run-up to and during the French Revolution. Yet so far there has been no survey or synthesis of such writing for a wider English-speaking audience. Garrioch, who has already contributed two important monographs to the recent historiography, would seem to be the ideal candidate to fill the gap. In many ways, his book succeeds admirably in its aims. There can be few historians who possess Garrioch's command of the Parisian archives, or who have made so thorough a study of the vast and growing secondary literature on the city. His synthesis of these sources is presented in unfailingly concise and elegant prose, accompanied by a wealth of apt illustrations and photographs. This work will serve for years to come as an effective launching pad for further research. At the same time, however, readers who are expecting a major statement on the role of Paris in the origins and development of the French Revolution may well be disappointed. For after what appears to be a long wind-up pointing in just this direction, Garrioch's book reaches curiously cautious and equivocal conclusions, that fall short of the title's promise.

Garrioch's introduction raises high expectations. In it, he vows to address "an old paradox": "How could Paris have produced the revolution that took place there? . . . How could a metropolis with low rates of violence and apparent political passivity have led an upheaval that would transform Europe?" (p. 4). The answer, he insists, requires a longer view than that afforded by beginning with the "pre-Revolution" of the 1780s, or even the now conventional focus on the political storms of the 1750s. The book's argument thus unfolds across three roughly chronological sections, encompassing the entire eighteenth century. The four chapters of the first offer a synchronic description of "The Social Order of Customary Paris" early in the century. Garrioch's first chapter is a small tour de force, moving from vivid evocation of the sounds, smells, and sights of the city to a memorable description of what remained for most of its inhabitants an intensely face-to-face, hierarchical, and customary social world. From this phenomenological starting point, Garrioch turns to an analysis of the social hierarchy of

Paris, starting at the indigent bottom, where he places a particular emphasis on the distinction between the "known" and the "unknown" poor; then turning to the laboring classes, where the focus is their corporate organization and the stresses it underwent in the course of the century; and finally to the urban elites, divided between a nobility whose relation to the city remained ambiguous, and a steadily growing bourgeoisie with a far stronger subjective attachment to it.

Although there are some hints of the turmoil to come—increasing numbers of artisanal strikes, the famous beating visited on the young Voltaire by aristocratic thugs—Garrioch stresses that early eighteenth-century Paris was a generally stable, if by no means static, society. What then upset this equilibrium? When did Paris begin to turn "revolutionary"? The middle section of the book, "City Government and Popular Discontent," shifts to the second quarter of the century and two different signs of incipient friction between the Bourbon monarchy and its capital city. On the one hand, there were the infrastructural challenges of provisioning, governing, and policing what was by far the largest urban population in Europe, where the monarchy's efforts at modernization could provoke episodes of popular paranoia like the "vanishing children" scare of 1749–1750. On the other hand, the monarchy's behavior on the ideological plane was itself surprisingly retrograde: Garrioch calls upon his unparalleled knowledge of the Faubourg Saint-Marcel to provide a marvelous account of the court's heedless and self-destructive efforts to stamp out the Jansenist heterodoxy.

The combined result of this mid-century turmoil was a novel "politicization" of both the popular and middle classes of Paris, with consequences that Garrioch then explores in the third and longest part of his book. The first five chapters of "Making a New Rome" are formally thematic, yet they soon acquire a narrative thrust, as the Bourbon monarchy begins to skid toward revolution. First, there are the famous scandals of the 1750s and 1760s, from the Damiens assassination attempt to the climax of parliamentary obstructionism in the Maupeou "coup"—the Parisian hammer blows that contributed so much to the "desacralization" of the monarchy. This ominous perceptual shift was accompanied by a striking "secularization" of the city, described in the succeeding chapter, which resulted in declining numbers of priests and a loosening grip of parishes over urban life by the 1770s and 1780s. From there, Garrioch turns to the monarchy's final efforts at Enlightenment-inspired urban renewal, which, by the 1780s, seemed to result only in widespread charges of "despotism." Chapter ten, "The Integration of the City," is another tour de force, describing the acceleration, in the last decades of the century, of the economic and cultural processes that rendered Paris a far more unified city than it had ever been before, under the sway of a single Parisian "public sphere." The "integration" of Paris was far from complete, however. Garrioch's account of the making of a "new

Rome" concludes with analysis of the gap that had now begun to open up between the two urban cultures that dominated Parisian life at the end of the century: the new bourgeois or "metropolitan," and the "plebeian" offspring of popular, customary culture. The tension between the two was vividly displayed in the "Réveil-lon" riots of April 1789, which shook Paris even as the delegates to the Estates General began to assemble at Versailles.

Having brought readers to the brink of the revolution, however, the narrative advance of the book suddenly stops, without climax or conclusion. The final chapter is entitled "The City and the Revolution," but its argument serves chiefly to drive a puzzling wedge between the two. There is no doubt, Garrioch insists, that the historical evolution described in the book was somehow necessary for the revolution: "It was only in such a place, already a locus of social, economic, and political experimentation, a city unlike any other in Europe, that revolution could have taken place in the form that it did" (p. 302). Necessary, but wholly insufficient, apparently. For the great *journées* of July and October 1789, July 1791, and August 1792 were all, according to Garrioch, the improvisations of an unprecedented moment, inexplicable in terms of the historical developments of the century that preceded them. Can it really be case that the forcible relocation of the court to Paris in 1789, or the violent overthrow of the monarchy itself in 1792, had so little to do with the historical evolution meticulously reconstructed by Garrioch? If so, then the book would seem to be either mistitled or unfinished—a problem compounded rather resolved by its brief epilogue, whose fast-forward glimpse of Paris in 1800 provides further evidence for thinking that revolutionary Paris was an entirely a creation of the 1790s.

Explanatory caution is always to be respected, especially in a synthetic work covering so much ground, and, above all, on territory that has been a graveyard for so much historiographic hubris. Yet there are signs that more may be at work here than modesty and circumspection. In his introduction, Garrioch reminds us that eighteenth-century Paris was both "the capital of an absolutist state" and the headquarters of the Enlightenment. Yet neither of these facts acquires the salience one might expect in his account of what rendered Paris quite so revolutionary in the course of the century. In fact, the uninitiated reader might fail to grasp that Bourbon absolutism had actually abandoned its capital city after 1683, an historic retreat that is certainly one key to grasping the evolution of French politics in the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, the symbolism of Voltaire's expulsion from Paris in his youth is explored by Garrioch, but not that of his triumphant return to the city in his old age. The Paris of the philosophes, of Denis Diderot and the salons, the "kingless capital of the Enlightenment," in Colin Jones's happy phrase, is not missing from this book, but neither is it granted any independent explanatory force in the "making" of the title. Of course, no book

can do everything, and Garrioch warns his readers at the start that "This also is a local history, not a national or even a regional one" (p. 7). One can well understand his reluctance to attempt both a reliable survey of eighteenth Paris and a new, Paris-centered account of the origins of the French Revolution, giving due weight to both the political involution of late Bourbon absolutism and the Enlightenment. Having accomplished the first of these tasks with panache, however, no historian is better suited or placed than Garrioch to tackle the second. If we are lucky enough to get the sequel, it will be well worth the wait.

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NICHOLAS PAPAYANIS. *Planning Paris before Haussmann*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 336. \$55.00.

Georges-Eugène Haussmann had ideas about the city, but these were not expressed as ideas but as projects. There is thus an enormous difference between those who imagined the city before him and his making of the city. He knew about the Saint-Simonians, for example. His favorite bankers, the Pereire brothers, were Saint-Simonians. But Haussmann's conceptualization of the city, for example the act of incorporation, was not about ideas, it was about income and order. This is the case with almost all his urban projects. He spoke of the parks as the lungs of the city, but he built them more because Louis Napoleon wanted them. Hygiene was of primary importance, but everyone had that idea. Ditto for streets. There was no one who thought about the city at the time who failed to realize that something had to be done about movement. Nicholas Papayanis's thesis is something of a nonthesis. Many thought about Paris before Haussmann, and many afterward. But he built it, and his adoption of earlier ideas was quite limited. It should also be noted that there is a political dimension. Those who most thought about the city were on the Left; they wanted a republican city, but at best they were outside the government and had to depend on their publications to influence things. There is a sharp break between words and deeds. Papayanis tends to put them in the same register, as if there were some direct connection between what was thought and what was built.

In a sense the comparisons with Haussmann, whether direct or implied, have much of the apples and oranges about them. He never wrote anything about city planning. His pamphlets on water were a contemporary polemic and hardly a treatise on urbanization. It is not at all clear that he read many of the treatises Papayanis analyzes. He was an administrator of genius, and his mind was fundamentally manipulative. He showed, in no area of his life or intellectual activity, any interest in the imagination. The sole exception to this seems to have been his interest in music, although here, too, his taste appears to have been conventional.

Haussmann was a man through whose mind ran all the intellectual currents of the day, usually in some watered down, popularized form. If he was a big reader it is not apparent from his *Mémoires*, nor are there literary allusions in his prose. He wrote dull but clear reports (and they were the kind he appreciated). The few poems he wrote as a young man are without inspiration, rhyming clusters of conventional thoughts and emotions (about walking in the mountains for example, or imitating the conventions of a pastoral). He took his urban ideas from life rather than study. The importance of Bordeaux is an excellent example; there he saw the work of Tourny. Haussmann did not like architects and was much happier working with engineers, presumably men who thought in practical terms as he did. He spoke of his aesthetic interests, but they were quite banal.

What he did with Paris—and one must always remember that he had no power except that which came from Louis Napoleon—was to regularize it. Part of the charm and grandeur of Paris is its regularity. All problems were reduced to formulae in Haussmann's administration, and this was noticed and continues to be noticed by those who deplore his monotonous city. (Papayanis reproduces photos of "monotonous" sections in his book, i.e. the rue St. Antoine.)

Of course Haussmann borrowed or was influenced by all those who came before him. He did not appear in some vacuum. What Papayanis makes clear is that everyone who thought about it, from the time of Voltaire at least—even the kings who tried for so long to control the growth of the city—is that something had to be done about Paris. The medieval city was unhealthy, inconvenient, dangerous, stinking, and overcrowded. These problems, already quite apparent in the eighteenth century, only became more so with time. Added to the difficulties of Paris was the revolutionary activity in the city. It had become dangerous in a much more general way than the individual mugging or theft.

It is no revelation that Papayanis tells us all the obvious: Haussmann's work was foreshadowed. The point is that by the time he was given the job and the power, there was a long heritage of thinking about the city. Anyone who worked on Paris would have been the beneficiary of this tradition. In addition, much of this tradition—straight streets, for example—is so obvious that it is silly to attempt to establish some influence between what Haussmann did and what some predecessor wrote.

Haussmann and Louis Bonaparte were exceptionally well matched. Neither was original, they were repositories, or perhaps the better metaphor is collectors, of the intellectual, artistic, social, and economic, currents of their day. The major difference is that Louis Bonaparte had more of the romantic, he was a dreamer, his ideas were vague, his thinking often clouded by enthusiasms. He was not a doer in the sense of Haussmann. Thus did they complement each other. And if Haussmann was the man who made it work, he

could not have done so without Louis's backing and support. As soon as it was withdrawn, Haussmann fell.

Some see Haussmann as a representative figure, able to express many of the values of his age. This characterization cuts both ways: he was the creator or the destroyer of Paris. Some see him as the instrument of Louis Napoleon's urban ideas, however confused these might have been. Some see him as the perhaps unconscious borrower of others' ideas (or less delicately, as a cannibal). The late Papayanis, who sadly did not live to see his book published, saw him as the last.

Is there another bureaucrat who has been as studied as Haussmann? None comes to mind. After a long eclipse, part of the fallout of the abysmal end of the Second Empire, he has had champions and detractors in almost every generation. In the last few decades we have seen the apotheosis of a centenary exhibition in Paris, a number of books and specialized studies, and even the reissue of his ponderous and self-serving three volumes of *Mémoires*. Although Haussmann is not the direct subject of this book, he is the *eminence grise* whose accomplishments provide the author with his thesis and his research agenda.

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MARY GLUCK. *Popular Bohemia: Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 224. \$35.00.

Mary Gluck had the difficult task of writing this book under the long shadow cast by Jerrold Seigel's magisterial history *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830–1930* (1985). She distinguishes her effort from his more overtly sociological treatment, as well as from Elizabeth Wilson's more recent *Bohemians: The Glamorous Outcasts* (2000), by stressing "the symbolic spaces where modernism meets bohemia" (p. 8). Several perceptive essays cumulatively demonstrate that urban popular culture was inseparable from the varying presentations of self that constituted bohemia. Gluck argues that bohemian modernists did not retreat into their private psyches, and in contrast to Seigel she stresses their relationship with popular rather than bourgeois culture. She admits that this "is not particularly original" (p. 2), and pays some obeisance to postmodern appreciation of popular cultural forms. In fact, Wilson makes both these points, though her book does not focus exclusively on France.

An introductory chapter lays out the argument connecting bohemianism, popular culture, and modernism. This is followed by three chapters of roughly forty pages each, dealing in turn with romantic bohemians of the 1830s, realists and flâneurs at midcentury, and decadents in the 1870s and 1880s. A final, briefer chapter focuses on turn-of-the-century primitivism, the last two pages of which constitute a brief conclusion.

Illustrations comprise thirty-four of the 187 pages of text. The brief introductory chapter and lack of a concluding one suggest that the strength of the book lies not in its theoretical premises but in the various discursive contexts Gluck develops to elucidate how bohemians evolved over these twenty-year intervals. In a note to chapter one, she casually dismisses theorists who seek to distinguish "modernism" from the "avant-garde," and both concepts are sometimes elided with bohemia, so that non-bohemian modernists (e.g. Stéphane Mallarmé) have no place here.

Gluck begins with the battle over Victor Hugo's play *Hernani* (1830), and maintains that popular melodrama inspired the heroic self-image of the young romantics. She contrasts this form of popular theater with the more staid and bourgeois Comédie-Vaudeville, and claims that Théophile Gautier's famous argument in favor of art for art's sake was not meant as a defense of elitist high culture but rather celebrated popular and commercial culture.

If the theater formed the main discursive context of the romantics, then journalism shaped the succeeding generation. Gluck focuses almost entirely on the persona of the flâneur in this chapter, and contrasts the colorful romantic bohemians with the self-effacing dandies who nearly blended in with the bourgeois they were parodying. Her exclusive focus on Baudelairean urban observers and "physiologists" who dissected the multitude of urban types leads her to exclude not only Henri Murger (who is termed a "sentimental" bohemian, in contrast to Gautier's ironic stance) but Gustave Courbet, who was certainly both a realist and a bohemian. Nor does Gluck relate the flâneur to the transformation of Paris under Georges-Eugène Haussmann (his name is even misspelled on p. 100, where she claims Charles Baudelaire disdained the urban renewal project).

Despite the title of the book, this is much more a history of bohemians than of bohemia; one rarely encounters much geographical specificity. In the next chapter, on the decadents of the 1880s, we do meet the Hydropathes of the Latin Quarter and then migrate to the Chat Noir of Rodolphe Salis and Émile Goudeau in Montmartre, but the bulk of the chapter focuses instead on Jean-Martin Charcot and his performances of hysteria. Gluck makes some suggestive connections between Charcot, Montmartre poet-performers, and J. K. Huysmans's arch-decadent character Des Esseintes. Hysteria, she argues, functioned as a template for cabaret artists performing their inner dramas in public, and she notes the surrealists' appreciation of Charcot's hysterics as further evidence of their modernist impact. Gluck's close focus on one theme means she minimizes other contemporary currents. She comments that Huysmans's novel parodied naturalism, "which had become emptied of creative energy by the 1880s" (p. 158), though this was the same year in which Emile Zola published *Germinal*. She claims that the bohemian cabaret scene was also in decline as early as 1885, the year the Chat Noir ceremonially moved to

larger quarters. The old locale was taken over by Aristide Bruant, one of many cabaret performers who sang of the lower classes in argot. Although Gluck argues that the cabaret declined because the performers had “no grounds in everyday experience” (p. 149), Montmartre bohemia remained vital (and politically radical) at least until the mid-1890s.

Gluck has interesting things to say about Primitivist escape from Paris bohemian life, in particular that most, including Paul Gauguin, first encountered the primitive not overseas but right in Paris. True “exots” (Victor Segalen’s term) distinguished themselves from tourists and colonial administrators, much as would later hippie travelers. Her claim that primitivism ended by World War I might have surprised Michel Leiris and the surrealists in the interwar years.

Neither a synoptic history of bohemia nor a detailed study of the origins of modernism, Gluck’s book does reveal nineteenth-century discourses that shaped bohemian responses to modernity. Modernism met modernity in part via bohemia.

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DAVID SKUY. *Assassination, Politics, and Miracles: France and the Royalist Reaction of 1820*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen’s University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 301.

The task that David Skuy attempts in this work about the reaction to the assassination of the duke of Berry on February 13, 1820, and the birth of his son seven months later is to explore “how the assassination and the miracle birth merged with the political, social, and philosophical developments in French history to effect radical change in the course of the French Restoration” (p. 14). He wants to contrast his contention of the primacy of royalist reaction to Pierre Rosanvallon’s *La Monarchie impossible: Les chartes de 1814 et 1830* (1994), wherein Rosanvallon asserts that it was inherent weaknesses in the Charter of 1814 that spelled inevitable doom for the Restoration, and to Sheryl Kroen’s *Politics and Theatre: Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830* (2000), which argues that the general population never accepted the Bourbon regime as a legitimate political authority. Both Rosanvallon and Kroen see the demise of the Restoration as rooted in its very beginning, whereas Skuy wants to place it in the royalist reaction of 1820. Skuy asserts that the royalist reaction made Louis XVIII’s policy of *union et oubli* fail. His key sources are the illustrations of these events and personages, plus some archival work in Isère and Haute Garonne.

Skuy divides the royalist reaction into three periods: panic about possible civil unrest, with the solution being new laws that restricted liberty and the press; debate over a revision of the electoral law that would give the top twenty-five percent of the voters two votes; and the period from the passage of the new Law of the Double Vote until the deputy elections in November 1820, when the government and the royalists won “the

destruction of the liberal opposition and a dramatic and widespread public acceptance of the Bourbon regime” (p. 19). He addresses these three phases twice, once thematically and once chronologically. First, the thematic approach covers the electoral system and its weaknesses, then the role of conspiracies in French politics, and ends with a discussion of the political philosophies of the era and their adherents. The chronology chapters cover February, when Élie Decazes was replaced by the duke of Richelieu as first minister and the initial shock weathered; March–April, when the laws restricting habeas corpus and re-instituting press censorship were passed; May–June, when the debate on the new electoral law and the importance of appeals to public order took place, and finally August–November, which witnessed written accusations of Decazes’s involvement in the Berry conspiracy, new conspiracies, the birth of the duke of Bordeaux, and finally the triumph of the royalists in the November elections. Skuy omits any mention of events from June 12 until August 12.

This book suffers from a number of serious problems. Most important, Skuy does not delve deeply into any of his issues. He skims over conspiracy theories, political philosophies, electoral laws and results, and the role of illustrations in molding public opinion. He overstates conclusions (e.g. p. 19 on his main thesis, and pp. 149 and 212 on the Berry and Chambord subscriptions). He never addresses key issues to demonstrate his thesis (e. g. since Decazes had already drafted the essence of the three Exceptional Laws prior to the duke’s assassination, would these have passed even without it?) Skuy continually uses the word “campaign” in discussing the regime’s efforts to mold public opinion, even using the word “media” to describe various forms of communication. However, he never shows how the regime controlled the production of the thousands of illustrations that were produced in 1820 and beyond.

Skuy’s most in-depth work is on the use of illustrations to mold public opinion, but his conclusions seem obvious or irrelevant (see his discussion of feminism, pp. 220–25). Skuy is sloppy in his historiographical work. For example, he cites the work of this reviewer, but he reverses the findings on voter turnout for the elections of 1817–1819 from large to small (p. 40). Also, how can one focus on Haute Garonne and fail to list Robert Forster’s works on Toulouse in the bibliography? There are some fascinating possibilities in the royalist reaction of 1820 concerning people’s responses to traumatic events that might help us understand our own reactions to more recent political turmoil, but unfortunately such insights are not forthcoming in this book.

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SUDHIR HAZAREESINGH. *The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cam-

bridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 307. \$49.95.

France's first national holiday originated in the pious afterglow of the Concordat. In 1804, Neopolis, a (probably bogus) Roman martyr, was canonized as Saint-Napoleon, and August 15, the feast of the Assumption, was designated the day to venerate this patron saint of warriors. Since August 15 happened to be the birthday of the newly minted emperor, the festival of Saint-Napoleon was created "to cultivate the image of Napoleon Bonaparte as a ruler who was true to the Catholic faith" (p. 5), but reduced to a clandestine affair among ardent Bonapartists after Waterloo. In February 1852, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte revived it as a state-sponsored event in order to (as the official decree put it) "bring together all minds in a common sentiment of national glory" (p. 22). The eighteen annual celebrations of the Saint-Napoleon held throughout France between 1852 and 1869 are the subject of this excellent short book by Sudhir Hazareesingh.

"Despite their symbolic richness and political complexity," Hazareesingh states, "the civic festivities of the Second Empire and the Napoleonic culture in which they were embedded were long exercised from French collective memory" (p. 11). In his hands, however, they reveal much about the reestablishment and transformation of Bonapartism. For example: the *Medaille de Sainte-Hélène*, which "helped turn August 15 into a cult of Napoleonic tradition, especially in provincial and rural France" (p. 74). Beginning in 1857, some 390,000 bronze medals (adorned with the profile of Bonaparte wearing a laurel wreath) were distributed by the government to honor the old soldiers who wore them, suspended from a green and red ribbon, to march in the Saint-Napoleon parades.

The Republican leader Léon Gambetta reviled Bonapartism as "a forgery of democracy" and reminded the regime that its birth (the coup d'état of December 2, 1851) was a crime. Hazareesingh, by contrast, prefers to look for links and continuity between the participatory civic order and institutions the Second Empire established, particularly at the local level, during the 1860s and the subsequent stability achieved by the Third Republic. The military display associated with Bastille Day since its establishment in 1880, he argues, was inherited from the prior celebration of Saint-Napoleon. Consistent here with what he has argued in other recent works, he challenges us to rethink received ideas about the political history of nineteenth-century France.

The product of research in twenty-two departmental archives and the National Archives, this book shows a keen eye for novelistic anecdotes: the case of a veteran of the 1812 Russian campaign who sought a medal but lacked proper documentation of his service (p. 85) is right out of Balzac, while the disputes between mayors and priests over ceremonial precedence almost every August 15 (p. 166) resemble the 1930s world of

Gabriel Chevallier's fictional *Clochemerle*. The book includes a number of well-chosen illustrations; my only quibble is that Hazareesingh fails to use this visual evidence to full advantage.

ROBERT BEZUCHA
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SUZANNE K. KAUFMAN. *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 255. \$34.95.

For nearly a century and a half, the French Pyrenean village of Lourdes has welcomed a steady stream of pilgrims and tourists from around the world, all drawn to the famous grotto where, in 1858, the fourteen-year-old peasant girl Bernadette Soubirous claimed to have had several visions of the Virgin Mary. The majority of visitors now, as a hundred years ago, are desperately ill, seeking to avail themselves of what they believe to be the miraculous healing powers of the waters that bubble up from the spring outside the grotto. But the town of Lourdes itself seems to belie its sacred status. The streets are lined with "countless piety shops selling bottled Lourdes water, mass-produced religious articles, and an enormous variety of novelty items—from shrine T-shirts to Mother-of-God bottle openers" (p. 1). This seeming contradiction—the jarring juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane—lies at the heart of Suzanne K. Kaufman's fascinating and thought-provoking book.

Kaufman argues that the rampant commercialism associated with the shrine since the late nineteenth century was neither a debasement of Catholicism nor simply a strategy employed by an embattled church hierarchy to boost the shrine's popularity. Instead, she maintains that "the remaking of Catholic devotional activities within an emerging commercial culture produced distinctly modern forms of popular religiosity, innovative practices that offered new opportunities as well as issues of contention" (p. 4). Kaufman rejects Emile Durkheim's assertion of the ontological separation of the sacred and the profane, insisting instead that this dichotomy emerged out of particular political and cultural circumstances. Thus, the "intermixing" of commerce and religiosity that characterized Lourdes was not a sign of advancing secularism but rather a modern phenomenon that produced "a profoundly contemporary shrine" (p. 18). The thousands of trinkets, picture postcards, medals, and bottles of Lourdes water did not undermine religion but rather "enlivened the experience of Catholic pilgrimage for many believers," offering the devout (especially women, who constituted the vast majority of visitors) "new possibilities for connecting with the sacred" (p. 13). Lourdes was nothing less than the new face of Catholicism in an age of consumerism and mass culture.

The emergence of Lourdes in the 1870s as France's first mass national pilgrimage site and the attendant burgeoning of the town's religious tourism industry provoked widespread controversy, most predictably

among anticlerical republicans. Journalists and politicians decried the “frenzied, irrational” and “hysterical” (p. 78) atmosphere at the pilgrimage site and deplored the shrine’s violation of what they saw as the fundamental opposition between reactionary religion and modern capitalism. Moreover, the spectacle of thousands of women journeying by train to the shrine and immersing themselves in the hubbub of religious commerce disturbed republicans who aimed to isolate religious practice in a feminine, private, and thus politically impotent realm.

The critique of Lourdes voiced by Catholics reveals a similar discomfort with the conflation of religion and commerce. Like their anticlerical counterparts, Catholic critics lashed out at the “‘ignorant’ masses,” especially women, who succumbed too easily to “commercialized forms of worship” (p. 82). They contrasted the debased commercial atmosphere at Lourdes with an idealized, purer form of spirituality rooted in peasant worship practices “free from the depredations of commerce” (p. 82). Clerical defenders of the shrine were caught in a dilemma: while fearing that the ever growing commercialization of the site detracted from its sacred purpose, they well understood that the astonishing popularity of Lourdes was in large part the direct result of the blending of religion and commerce. Refusing to condemn commercialized religion wholesale, they found themselves distinguishing between legitimate modern religious products and forms of devotion and the illegitimate economic exploitation of the site and its visitors. So eager were they to justify Lourdes in modern terms that they developed an elaborate system of authenticating miracle cures that involved certification by multiple licensed doctors. That this process met with widespread incredulity and ridicule from the majority of the medical community does not negate the striking facts that administrators felt compelled to seek the imprimatur of modern science and that they had enough support to be able to claim to have won that endorsement.

This is a sophisticated, erudite, and provocative study of one of the world’s most enduringly popular modern sites of Christian worship. In arguing for the transformative character of the shrine’s amalgamation of spirituality and commerce, Kaufman offers a compelling explanation for its longevity and for the ever-growing market for mass-produced religious objects even today. Refusing to condescend to her subjects, in particular the thousands of desperate women who made their often painful way to the shrine, Kaufman has produced an important book that will be of great interest not just to historians of France but to anyone interested in the role of religion in the modern world.

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JAMES SMITH ALLEN. *Poignant Relations: Three Modern French Women*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 270. \$42.50.

In this book, James Smith Allen analyzes the works of three nineteenth and early twentieth-century French women writers to address larger issues of feminism, literary production, and modernity. Although the three figures—Marie-Sophie Leroyer de Chantepie (1800–1888), Geneviève Bréton-Vaudoyer (1849–1918), and Céline Renooz-Muro (1840–1928)—are little known today, Allen maintains that they represent an important gesture of feminism; that is, they wrote to construct meaningful lives that included agency, independence, and a critique of social and cultural constraints on women. None of these women identified herself as a feminist, but, according to Allen, they articulated “traces of feminist consciousness” in their discursive renderings of subjects vitally important to them: namely, marital, familial, sexual, and religious or scientific relationships.

The book begins with extensive literature reviews of feminist scholarship, women’s history, and literary theory. Allen is familiar with just about all of the scholarship relevant to his subject; indeed, the scholarly apparatus that he so conscientiously deploys almost overwhelms his own, original contribution to it. The works of Joan W. Scott and Michel Foucault especially influenced him in terms of thinking about these three women’s writings as configurations of identity within a vast field of asymmetric and varied relations of power. Allen argues that despite their obscurity, perhaps even because of it, the lives and writings of Leroyer, Bréton, and Renooz contribute to a better understanding of how middle-class French women challenged patriarchy. He occasionally borders on essentialism when he suggests an inherent or forced similarity of feminine sensibilities—for example when he refers to “the special nature of women’s creative endeavor” (p. 2)—but he is too careful a historian to stray far from the specific historical conditions of women’s writing in nineteenth-century France, and the individual characters of his subjects.

Each of the three chapters devoted to one of the women reveals Allen’s thorough research and sensitive analysis of printed and manuscript documentation. Allen draws affecting portraits of these most ordinary and deeply emotional lives. Leroyer was a provincial landowner who resided in or around Angers her entire life. She managed three houses, several farms, and a large number of extended family members, friends, and servants, although she never married. Allen presents Leroyer as a complex figure, impatient with the narrowness of provincial life, adhering to a romantic and spiritual ideal of virtue, aspiring to literary achievement, and devoted to her many dependents. These often contradictory features revealed themselves in Leroyer’s extensive correspondence with successful authors like George Sand and Gustave Flaubert, and in other works that traversed the boundaries of fiction, criticism, history, and autobiography. According to Allen, Leroyer’s life was her devotion—to art, family, region, and idealism. And this independent

self-consciousness manifested itself in writings that defied genre classification.

By contrast, Bréton lived in the artistic and literary hub of Paris and traveled frequently. For her, as for Leroyer, relationships figured prominently in her life and writings, including the loss of her fiancé, the artist Henri Regnault, in the Franco-Prussian War, her unhappy marriage to Alfred Vaudoyer, and her second son Jean-Louis Vaudoyer's successful career in letters. Bréton wrote her sorrows, fears, frustrations, thoughts, and artistic judgments into mostly private letters and diaries, the latter recently published in both French and English (edited by Allen). Although outwardly conforming to behavior appropriate for a woman of her class, Bréton constructed a critical and independent identity through her writing, according to Allen.

Renooz was the only one of the three to embrace a public life, although she, too, eschewed organized feminism. After leaving her unfaithful and peripatetic husband, she took her four children to Paris, where she pursued independent study of science. In 1897 she founded the Neosophic Society, a group that challenged empiricism as the basis of science and developed an epistemological alternative in feminine, intuitive understanding. Renooz disseminated her ideas in numerous publications and lectures, and she was ridiculed by the press and established scientists. However, Allen sees her critique of science as a forerunner of contemporary feminist thought that deconstructs the masculine assumptions underlying the very language of reasoned discourse and suggests alternative epistemologies, like the work of Hélène Cixous, Julia Kristeva, and Luce Irigaray.

Adopting a capacious and inclusive definition of feminism, Allen contends that Leroyer, Bréton, and Renooz are feminists and moderns because they enacted independent identities, agency, and self-consciousness in writing. He also suggests, as have other historians, that French feminism was distinctive in its more literary than political orientation, particularly in contrast to Anglo-American feminism's suffrage movements. This book is a thoughtful addition to existing scholarship on feminism and women's history, and the three nineteenth-century women could find no better biographer than Allen.

WHITNEY WALTON
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GONZALO J. SÁNCHEZ, JR. *Pity in Fin-de-Siècle French Culture: Liberté, Egalité, Pitié*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. x, 318.

The concept of pity, according to Gonzalo J. Sánchez, Jr., was at the heart of the quest of intellectuals in fin-de-siècle France for a theory of justice and morality appropriate to the recently established secular republic. The author takes up this theme through the close reading of an impressive selection of texts from philosophers, educators, and novelists, focusing on the period from 1880 to 1914. Sánchez opens with a

prologue that reviews the debate over pity between its critics in the seventeenth century and its defenders in the eighteenth. For François de la Rochefoucauld, pity was a self-serving sentiment rather than an ally of virtue; for René Descartes it was a "a form of sadness that is passive and non-instrumental . . . the self-love of the weak" (p. 15). A century later, for Denis Diderot and the philosophes involved with the *Encyclopédie*, pity had become "a universal, natural, and humane passion facilitating intrasocial goodness," a tradition brought to its fullest statement in the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (pp. 17–18), and elaborated by the Romantics, such as Alphonse Lamartine, Jules Michelet, and Victor Hugo.

In the middle years of the nineteenth century, the official philosophy of Victor Cousin offered an alternative path to morality through disinterest rather than pity. According to Sánchez, threats to the social and intellectual order at the end of the century provoked a recentering of moral philosophy around pity as a way to solve the problems of "living together and knowing together" (p. 45). Sánchez divides the body of his work into three main sections, opening with extended discussions of a number of moral philosophers, most of them associated with the Académie des sciences morales et politiques. In part two he places pity within a number of disparate debates in French intellectual and political life: the French reception of Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche, the Solidarity movement and the Dreyfus affair, and secondary education for women. Sánchez concludes with readings of a wide range of fin-de-siècle novelists, including naturalists such as the Goncourts and Emile Zola, the Catholic writers Paul Bourget and Léon Bloy, and Marcel Proust and Pierre Loti.

Many of Sánchez's observations on his chosen texts are sensitive and astute. In his discussion of Alfred Fouillée, for example, Sánchez illuminates an important effort to define sentiments as cognitive and volitional, thereby raising their philosophical status and opening the way for pity to assume a role in moral discourse. In Sánchez's reading of Proust, pity is "an instrument and reward of our emotional education, not a spur or consequence of acts" (p. 252), a comment that suggests an interesting development from some of the more instrumental analyses developed by philosophers of the Third Republic. Sánchez intersperses his comments with extensive quotations from his texts, so that readers can measure his interpretations against their own.

Sánchez's book is, however, also frustrating and at times opaque. While the opening and closing sections on philosophy and literature generally cohere, the middle chapters seem both selective and arbitrary. As a stylist, Sánchez is sometimes drawn to arcane language, with no advantage to the reader, as when he chooses "eleemosynary" over "charitable" (p. 143). More serious, however, is the slight treatment of context, despite Sánchez's recognition that the rediscovery of pity was based on an assessment of a moral

crisis. The church-state conflict over education, and in particular the heated debate over the possibility of a secular rather than a religious morality, are never directly addressed. The virtual absence of this political context distorts our understanding of the work of the intellectuals in question, whose ideas were part of a battle going on that Sánchez seems to be aware of but does not take into account. For this dimension, readers might consult Phyllis Stock-Morton, *Moral Education for a Secular Society: The Development of Morale Laïque in Nineteenth Century France* (1988), a book not included in Sánchez's bibliography. In his chapter on women's education, Sánchez misses the fundamental work of Jo Burr Margadant, *Madame le Professeur: Women Educators in the Third Republic* (1990). Even within the domain of intellectual history, Sánchez is not fully persuasive, for he never gives those who fall outside of the "pity tradition," in particular those associated with "solidarism," a full hearing. Sánchez's book introduces the reader to an intriguing set of ideas but left me unclear about how much weight to give them in thinking about the history of the Third Republic.

THOMAS KSELMAN
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MICHAEL SEIDMAN. *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968*. (International Studies in Social History.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2004. Pp. x, 310. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.

The uprisings of May 1968 in France are now ancient history, according to most undergraduates, and therefore fertile ground for historical analysis. In this book Michael Seidman offers a detailed and richly researched overview of the student and worker movements of that eventful spring. His work constitutes a useful, informative alternative to the two kinds of studies that still dominate writing on May 1968: journalistic accounts written shortly after the fact, and nostalgic retrospectives penned by and addressed to the "1968 generation." Unfortunately, Seidman's impressive command of historical detail is not matched by his conceptualization of the events of May. In arguing against the idea of May 1968 as revolutionary, he concentrates most of his attention on what it was not, contributing regrettably few insights to explaining what it was.

The book takes a chronological approach to the May movement, starting with an analysis of French student life and the rise of revolutionary student movements during the 1960s. Seidman gives an excellent summary of the complex situation at Nanterre, as well as the (often neglected) turmoil in the dormitories at nearby Antony. He then follows the movement from Nanterre to the Sorbonne and national prominence, detailing the occupation of the Latin Quarter and the street fighting that erupted there by the end of the first week of May. From chronicling the student insurgency in Paris the book moves to exploring the workers' revolt,

which created the largest strike movement in French history and threatened to topple the Fifth Republic, ending with an analysis of Charles De Gaulle's success in restoring the status quo.

A word about the use of historical sources is in order here. Seidman has profited from the recent declassification of French state documents on May 1968, consulting a wide variety of official materials. Most notably, he makes abundant use of police reports, adding a new dimension to our knowledge of the events of May. Seidman also thoroughly explores press and journalistic accounts, as well as the pamphlets and other writings produced by the May activists themselves. The one weakness is his relative neglect of oral testimony. Since oral sources provide an invaluable tool in writing the history of the recent past, their neglect here limits Seidman's ability to craft a fully articulated account of the May movement.

This is especially true of his discussion of working-class agitation and the tremendous strike wave that it produced. Very much in the grain of his first book, *Workers against Work: Labor in Barcelona and Paris during the Popular Fronts* (1991), Seidman argues that French workers in 1968 were not revolutionary, that they only wanted more money and free time to enjoy consumerism. More specifically, he contends that young workers did not play a prominent role in starting the movement (although, as he notes, they were the most likely to want to prolong it), and rejects the idea that the strikes repudiated the traditional union leadership. Yet if this is true we need a much stronger explanation of why workers rejected the Grenelle accords, against the advice of that leadership. More generally, the facile equation of consumerism and depoliticization needs to be explored more thoroughly here. For example, one form of consumer protest, the bread riot, played a seminal role in both the French and Russian revolutions.

Seidman concludes his book by arguing that the real importance of May 1968 was as a myth of revolutionary change for an aging generation. This is an interesting idea, but since he does not really address the history of memory or France after 1968 in much detail, it remains underdeveloped. One wonders, for example, how the end of postwar prosperity after the mid-1970s shaped views about May 1968 as a revolt against consumerism and alienated labor. A comparison with subsequent student movements would also be instructive. Seidman's study of the May 1968 movement in France constitutes a thorough reconsideration of this event from an historical perspective. It is a valuable resource for those wishing to learn more about the specific history of the movement, but it leaves open the broader question of its significance for the history of modern France.

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MARJO-RIITA ANTIKAINEN. *Sääty, sukupuoli, uskonto: Mathilda Wrede ja yhteiskunnan muutos 1883–1913*. [Social Class, Gender, Religion: Mathilda Wrede and a Changing Society 1883–1913]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 83.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2003. Pp. 208.

A Finnish noblewoman living at the end of nineteenth century, Mathilda Wrede has often been called an “exemplary Christian” or “Protestant saint.” She worked and evangelized for decades among prisoners in Finland. Later, she was an advocate of the peace movement. This study focuses on Wrede’s many social and cultural activities as well as on her international work. The author widens the approach of gender studies by focusing on an upper-class woman.

Marjo-Riita Antikainen’s book looks how gender, religious faith, and social position led Wrede into contradictory positions and influenced her aims. Wrede’s grew up in the ordered class society that still prevailed in Finland and Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. Her father’s official rank obliged his daughter to assume a share of social responsibility, but instead of the benevolent activities typical of her class, Wrede found new ways of expressing herself. A strong religious awakening and involvement in Free Evangelical circles led her away from the conventional pattern of upper-class Finnish ladies.

Wrede received both appreciation and opposition from local prison officers. She was able to show that released prisoners who joined some religious group were less apt to commit more crimes, but some officers felt that Wrede disrupted the work that inmates were doing. The examples of upper-class charities all over Europe inspired Wrede and her brother Henrik to found a shelter for released prisoners.

Modern ideas of gender and social class were evident in the way Wrede treated female and upper-class prisoners. She did not pity them in the same way she did male prisoners with lower-class backgrounds. Shared experiences of faith became more relevant than class-consciousness. Christian friendship and the experience of being accepted by prisoners caused Wrede to stop using her noble title; she was Miss Wrede, “friend of prisoners.”

Research concerning Scandinavian women of the nineteenth century has highlighted the role of gender in social activity. Women were assumed to be motherly, and they worked in society like sisters for the benefit for other women. Wrede belonged to a new generation. She did not present herself as a motherly figure. Sisterhood was not important to her either. She stood outside the prevailing role models and class attitudes. Her approach to people emphasized friendship and religious equality. She did not want her gender to prevent anyone from receiving her religious message.

By the beginning of 1890s, Wrede had obtained a degree of recognition. She was not given an official position, but she had become so famous and influential

that prison officers invited her to be an honorary member of their newly founded association. The end of Wrede’s activity is closely linked to political changes in Finnish society. At the turn of the century, she was faced with a new type of inmate: political prisoners. Striking socialist inmates caused problems in prisons. Wrede reduced the religious content of her work and started to support the demands of such prisoners. She also began to focus more on the humane treatment of inmates in general and on social services. Her new political activity caused mixed feelings among Wrede’s supporters, and bureaucratic restrictions were enacted.

Wrede was idealized in biographies written by other women. She became a national and international legend, especially in the Christian peace movement. This book is the latest attempt to place Wrede in a broader scholarly context. Antikainen writes with elegance and understanding, basing her analysis on a wide range of source material.

LAURA KOLBE
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JOHANNA VALENIUS. *Undressing the Maid: Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Construction of the Finnish Nation*. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 85.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2004. Pp. 222.

Most historians will be familiar with Marianne, Germania, Britannia, and Columbia, the female national symbols of France, Germany, Britain, and the United States, respectively. Mother Svea, the female personification of the Swedish nation, and her Finnish counterpart Suomi-neito (the Finnish Maid) are probably less well known outside of Scandinavia. This study by Johanna Valenius provides a welcome opportunity for an international audience to become familiar with the latter and, more broadly, with the role this female figure played in the process of Finnish nation-building at the turn of the twentieth century.

According to the author, the Maid familiar to Finns today is a young woman with long, blond, braided hair, wearing a national costume consisting of a loose dress with a vertically striped skirt, a decorative wool apron and buckled shoes. In the early twentieth century, however, this particular representation was just one among several competing embodiments of the emerging Finnish nation. Granted the semi-autonomous status of a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire in 1809 (after 300 years of Swedish rule), Finland witnessed intense political struggles in the decades prior to its national independence in 1917. During these struggles, each political faction promoted its own particular version of the Finnish Maid. While the international-minded socialists promoted a female figure dressed in simple classical drapery without national insignia, those who strove to align an independent Finland with the other Scandinavian counties (and particularly Sweden) favored the image of a maiden dressed in bear skins, connoting ancient Nordic mythology. Not surprisingly, intellectuals bent on creating a distinct Finn-

ish culture and identity as the basis of an independent Finnish nation preferred the maid in national dress. In the most interesting and successful parts of this study, Valenius provides a richly illustrated analysis of these competing images as represented in contemporary satirical drawings, postcards, and paintings.

Valenius's study is informed by insights from a broad range of academic disciplines and intellectual traditions, including history, anthropology, cultural studies, feminist studies, postcolonial studies, film studies, literary studies, and folklore studies. While one can only applaud an author so well read in recent theory and methodology, the intellectual result will probably be frustrating for readers interested in Finnish history in general and the process of Finnish nation-building in particular. Frequently, Valenius's work seems more a theoretical essay than a historical study, and occasionally the historical evidence serves only as illustrations of theoretical points. Given the wealth of fascinating material that Valenius has collected, including the eighty-three illustrations contained in the book, this is disappointing. The images themselves are so intriguing that they deserve more than cursory mention. For readers unfamiliar with early twentieth-century Finnish history, more detailed explanations of the cultural and political references made in the satirical images would have been useful. More systematic translations of the captions accompanying these images would also help non-Finnish readers. Nonetheless, this book offers an interesting, if incomplete, account of some of the discursive battles surrounding Finnish nation-building.

BIRGITTE SØLAND
Ohio State University

MIKKO MAJANDER. *Pohjoismaa vai kansandemokratia? Sosiaalidemokratit, kommunistit ja Suomen kansainvälinen asema 1944–51*. [Nordic Country or People's Democracy? Social Democrats, Communists and Finland's International Position 1944–51]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 88.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2004. Pp. 505. €29.00.

Mikko Majander's book is the latest in a series of Finnish research publications that take as their starting point the question of how Finland managed to avoid becoming sovietized in the immediate postwar years. Majander poses the question slightly differently and juxtaposes the preferred communist option of a people's democracy against the Nordic model stoutly propagated by their social democratic opponents. He does this in a somewhat unusual fashion: the first hundred-odd pages of his book are in the form of a free-ranging introduction and summary, with the remaining three hundred pages presenting an immensely detailed reworking of the ground for the years 1944–1951. This approach does not work very well. The introduction is too rich and varied for the subject at hand, with the result that the reader is led, as it were, from a large debating chamber in which issues such as

identity, historical legacies, and the contours of the postwar world are discussed into an interrogation room where the words and actions of the two parties, communist and social democrat, are subjected to meticulous scrutiny.

Majander argues that Scandinavism was not a concept deeply rooted in the hearts of the leadership of the Communist Party, which is not surprising, given their devotion to the Soviet Union, and that even Swedish-speaking dissident socialists who allied with the communists in the Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL) saw northern Europe more as a bridge to the Soviet Union and the promotion of peace than as a bastion of Western values. The Soviet Union was worried that the Swedish social democrats would seek to form a pro-Western bloc with other northern European social democratic parties. Its anxiety to prevent Finland slipping out of its control, and its longstanding aversion to Finnish social democracy, made the struggle between the two wings of the labor movement in Finland particularly intense and bitter. Under the leadership of a younger generation, the so-called "comrades-in-arms socialists," men who had recently fought against the Russians, the Finnish Social Democratic Party survived the defection of its dissidents and adopted a tough anticommunist stance. Its anticommunism and hostility toward the Soviet Union not only provoked rage in Moscow; it also alarmed the party's Scandinavian comrades, who feared that it might be counterproductive.

One is left with the distinct impression that the Finns always provoked a certain uneasiness in Scandinavian socialist circles. The Swedes in particular felt more sympathy for the peace opposition wing of the party, many of whose members moved into alliance with the communists, than with the "comrades-in-arms" socialists, whom they suspected of being too attached to the German cause. The strongly anti-Swedish sentiments that had permeated Finnish nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s, and which had been given renewed force by Sweden's unwillingness openly to support Finland during the Winter War, also hampered relations. Finnish socialists made a point of emphasizing their Western and Nordic credentials at public meetings and conferences, but this was patently intended as an appeal for support, and the reader might wish for more evidence of what Swedish and other Scandinavian labor leaders thought privately of this campaign. Majander provides extensive, at times exhaustive detail of speeches and resolutions made on official occasions, but he has not delved into correspondence or diaries that might have provided a rather different picture. The Finnish communists for their part dominated their fellow parties in Scandinavia, since they were by far the most powerful, and moreover had close links to Moscow. At the meeting of Nordic communist parties held in Oslo in February 1948, they played the role of masters instructing their pupils, attacking those misguided Scandinavians who were still prepared to support social democracy, and

pointing to the tactics employed by communists in Eastern Europe as the way forward. The Finns were able to win the day, persuading the delegates to denounce neutrality and Scandinavism as covers for imperialism. Their ascendancy was short-lived, however. By 1948, Moscow had come to the conclusion that affairs in Finland could be managed quite satisfactorily by compliant bourgeois politicians. The Russians also noticed that Sweden had remained outside military alliances. This may well have affected the outcome of the negotiations in the spring of 1948 for a treaty of mutual assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union, with Moscow prepared to accommodate the Finns' wishes in order not to push Sweden toward the Western alliance. The Soviet Union had already learned though bitter experience in 1939–1940 that trying to foist a people's democracy on the Finns would provoke vigorous resistance; the Finnish communists failed to appreciate this. In the end, their dream of Finland following the Hungarian path proved more illusory than the social democratic desire to be welcomed unconditionally into the Scandinavian home.

DAVID KIRBY
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JOHN EDWARD TOEWS. *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 466. \$85.00.

Berlin in 1840 was alive with heightened expectations of cultural reform and renewal. John Edward Toews's densely packed evocation of this moment, and its immanent collapse, reveals the hopes and ambitions associated with Friedrich Wilhelm IV's coronation. The spirit of the time inspired not only the historians, philosophers, composers, and architects whom Toews studies but also a Russian student then at the University of Berlin, Ivan Turgenev, who later published a modern masterpiece, *Fathers and Sons* (1862). His theme of paternalism and its paradoxically stifling and rejuvenating effects would have provided an apt subtitle for Toews's new book.

As crown prince, Friedrich Wilhelm was tutored by Romantic thinkers and thus early drawn to "the reformers [of 1807–15] by their emphasis on mobilizing individual freedom for communal ends" (p. 45). Toews rightly reminds us that the hopes invested in the Prussian prince by his tutors were both religiously and nationalistically motivated; indeed, these two factors were inextricably linked. The goal of the reform movement, as of the Wars of Liberation veterans, was to found an ethically based community within German national boundaries. Toews emphasizes, quite rightly, how the stress placed on ethical (rather than ethnic) bases was rooted in a revitalized historical consciousness, and this forms his book's major contribution to our growing understanding of the complex origins of German nationalism.

Seeking both an authentic form for Prussian-Ger-

man community and an expression of his religious beliefs, the crown prince drew on conservative Protestant thought as well as German idealism. He understood his authority as patriarchal in the most fundamental sense: his Hohenzollern patrimony expressed in a paternal relationship to his people, moderated by the changing influences of Romanticism (itself not a static group of principles or practitioners). Intending to create an ethical community based on a historically conceived German identity, Friedrich Wilhelm invited like-minded individuals to serve his state. In consultation with his longtime advisor, the antiquarian and diplomat Christian von Bunsen, Friedrich Wilhelm recruited a diverse but subjectively connected group of intellectuals and artists, including composer Felix Bartholdy Mendelssohn; maverick philosopher Friedrich Schelling; pioneering historian Leopold von Ranke; the father of the legal-historical school, Friedrich von Savigny, and his student, Jacob Grimm, creator of the first German dictionary as well as collector of fairy tales; and the architect whose name was to become synonymous with Berlin, Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Toews devotes a chapter or section to each man, correlating their work, both prior to Berlin and upon entering into the historically transformative moment of 1840, with the intentions of the monarch they served. Radically reconceptualizing their relationship to the past, these men formed interlocking conceptions of historical consciousness, religious-ethical principles, and political goals. It is no small trick to locate these similarities in forms as disparate as sonatas, cathedrals and legal thought, but Toews devotes many pages to the illustrations of each. In the end, these similar stories provide fundamentally identical messages: each man strove to "rebel against the world of the fathers of the present and recent past, to displace the present fathers with the recreated fathers from the ancient past" (p. 322).

If the subtitle were to be "Fathers and Sons," it is striking that while Toews presents these personality studies as grounded in historical context, their private family lives appear to be irrelevant. Even Frederick Wilhelm's own father, his son's contrapuntal, is only sketchily present. Biographical details appear only when they are immediately relevant to a publication or decision taken. While Toews clearly aspires to a broader, culturally informed intellectual history, his sources and selection of biographical detail conform more to conventional studies of famous men. Letters form a major source for Toews's study, but the intimate aspect of correspondence—whether its dailiness in the lives of men who wrote for a living, or its the homier references to loved ones or the religious fervor experienced within a community—remains unfathomed. The strange cumulative effect is that of a "collective project" presented acontextually: told one life at a time, with the lives not tied together except analogously.

Ultimately, Toews is wrestling with the demons of Romanticism, just as his subjects did. "To grasp and

affirm one's identity within history was to understand the specific acts that produced the reality in which one lived, the acts of human individuals framed by their relationship to transcendent authority" (p. 314). Friedrich Julius Stahl, legal theorist and Prussian appointee, provides Toews with the clearest formulation of the reform project. With 1848 looming, that project's failure looks like an elaborate trainwreck in the making; is it not strange, then, that Ranke, Grimm, Mendelssohn, Schinkel, and their compatriots left such a lasting legacy? The meanings of our multiple pasts, frequently negotiated, were first vigorously explored in this generation's political aspirations for ethical community, and we would do well not to neglect their religious motivations.

SUSAN A. CRANE
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ISABEL V. HULL. *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 384. \$45.00.

Isabel V. Hull has written a powerful analysis of the Prusso-German military between the founding of the German Empire in 1871 up to the end of World War I. It is a book that takes her back to her first study of the entourage of Kaiser Wilhelm II, in which she demonstrated that among the many power factors around the imperial court the "maison militaire" was increasingly calling the shots during the last years of peace before 1914 and until the fall of the monarchy. Hull's latest book goes well beyond that earlier framework and breaks new ground in historians' never-ending quest to understand the origins and the course of what has been called the "primordial catastrophe" of the twentieth century.

In an introduction that is striking for its concise statement of her purposes and unencumbered by lengthy methodological and historiographical discussions, Hull states straight-forwardly that hers is "a study in institutional extremism." She then defines the specific German military version of this extremism as "the repeated and unlimited application" of violence: "Following necessary-seeming routines, military extremism gravitates toward final, or total, solutions" (p. 1). These "final solutions," she continues, "were in fact expectations and habits that resulted from the means itself, violence, and from the institutional measures taken to wield and control it" (p. 2; also for the following quotes). Her study is thus an attempt to show "how the means overwhelmed the ends, indeed, became the ends." However, her focus is "not on ideology but on *military practices* and the basic assumptions behind them and on how these may be understood in an anthropological and organizational-cultural sense as *military culture*." It was this military culture that is said to have resulted, in the case at hand, in the Prusso-German "tendency toward extreme warfare." Hull appreciates that other modern armies have also inclined toward the use of extreme force. But their

"descents into dysfunctional, pure violence were sooner or later halted by intervention from outside the military, either by civilian government and/or by public opinion." The political and constitutional structures of the Bismarckian empire, by contrast, had no such effective mechanisms of intervention, and this, in turn, buttressed the German armed forces peculiar military culture and its proneness to an ever escalating application of brutal force.

Given these premises, it might be expected that after an examination of the role of the military in the Prusso-German constitutional system, Hull would proceed straight to World War I and the application of military extremism in Belgium and northern France in the fall of 1914, elaborating on John Home's and Alan Kramer's study of German atrocities. Instead she begins with a detailed examination of German military practices in Germany's African colonies and the suppression of the uprisings of the Herero and Nama in German Southwest Africa in 1904–1905 in particular.

Stimulated by the upcoming centenary of this genocide, German scholars have been providing plenty of fresh evidence on its origins and course in recent years. But with her institutionalist perspective and on the basis of further primary material, Hull succeeds in answering a number of crucial questions about whether the extermination of the Herero was planned and based on the deliberate application of extreme force. Her conclusion is that the killing of tens of thousands of men, women, and children developed from Germany's military culture as it "unfolded in a difficult war." It is this dynamic, with its tendency toward extreme violence and "final solutions," that drove the Prusso-German military, conditioned as it was by a unique military culture, to pursue World War I to the bitter end. All the while they were fixated on the notion of "final victory" and unable, due to their cultural-institutional conditioning, to contemplate any alternatives. Marshaling evidence for this from a variety of German archives, Hull's book makes for depressing reading even to students of the horrendous atrocities committed against civilians during World War II.

It is not difficult to predict that Hull's analytical framework will generate debate and further research. Those historians of modern Germany who have proclaimed the demise of the *Sonderweg* argument will have to grapple with its resurrection in this book in the constitutional-political realm. At the same time, Hull's study will be of great interest to students of violence. Some historians of colonialism have maintained that the genocidal practices in Africa and elsewhere before 1914 ricocheted back into Europe and help to explain the use of total warfare in the trenches of the Western front or the even more massive casualties incurred during the years of more mobile warfare in the East. With her institutional approach, Hull is not convinced by this "boomerang" interpretation. Instead she sees a straight parallelism, certainly as far as the German case is concerned.

Accordingly, Hull is also inclined to play down the racist aspects of colonial violence. Although the commander of the German troops in Southwest Africa at one point specifically speaks of the conflict as being a "race war" justifying utmost brutality, Hull discerns the root cause of the atrocities in institutional culture rather than in biologicistic ideologies. Finally, her institutionalism leads her to de-emphasize agency. Lothar von Trotha acted with extremism not because of his particular psychological makeup but because he had imbibed the violent ethos of German military culture.

A good case can no doubt be made in support of this position. It is more difficult to accommodate within this framework those who, although raised and operating within the same institution, did not follow the rigidities of the culture and its routines, advocating instead more peaceful alternatives. Some even resisted those who merely thought in terms of "final solutions." If military culture marks people as deeply as Hull postulates, it may not be enough to argue that these "good apples" are the proverbial exceptions that confirm the rule. Still, this is a rich and thoughtful book that will lead historians of modern Germany to re-examine the decade prior to 1918, and it may also push scholars of the military in other European societies to test again the relationship between military-political institutions and the resort to extreme violence.

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TERENCE ZUBER. *Inventing the Schlieffen Plan: German War Planning, 1871–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 340.

Terence Zuber introduces significant new evidence where documentation has been chronically thin in the debate about military strategy and the origins of World War I. He concludes that the German general staff never adopted the scheme, which historians have habitually called the "Schlieffen Plan," for a reckless war of aggression. Instead he reconstructs, in far greater detail than previous scholars, the real contingency plans for mobilization that the general staff revised from year to year between the end of the Franco-Prussian War and 1914. The original texts remained secret until their destruction, along with the majority of the imperial military archives, in World War II. Zuber has deduced much of their substance by meticulously collating references from peripheral sources. Analyzing fragments from German military archives and from the protagonists' voluminous official and private publications in the interwar years, he retraces exercises conducted before 1914 and recriminations exchanged after defeat. Although most of these highly technical accounts of case studies, war games, staff rides, and operations are at best ambiguous about the actual war plans, Zuber's expertise as a former career officer in the U.S. Army is a particular asset in piecing together persuasive evidence from them.

In this context, the single most important document for the historiography of German war planning becomes more of an anomaly than ever. The spectacular manifesto for an offensive against France that Alfred von Schlieffen composed in 1905 was a didactic exercise, Zuber believes, not a war plan. This could explain why a copy survived among Schlieffen's private papers. It would also account for the improbable scenario of an advance across Luxemburg, Belgium, and Holland and into northern France by the entire field army, leaving virtually nothing to defend the common border farther south or the eastern front against Russia. Zuber interprets the document as Schlieffen's brief to his successor, Helmuth von Moltke, illustrating his conviction that in any European war Germany would fight outnumbered, could win swift and conclusive victories only in the west, and must mobilize far more men than planned. To defend against France alone, he warned, the army would need all trained reservists and auxiliary troops, and even substantial new units, to turn the northern flank of a French offensive in sufficient strength to counterattack decisively. None of the general staff's annual mobilization plans, Zuber finds, involved such a gamble, even during Schlieffen's own tenure. They all distributed forces more prudently on the western and eastern frontiers and usually included the option of a limited offensive against Russia. Although they did increasingly assign reserve formations to the initial advance, they designated only those actually available. When the army went to war it followed these more prosaic guidelines, not the 1905 draft from Schlieffen's dead hand.

Zuber dates the "invention" of a hyperbolic "Schlieffen Plan" to the moment the westward offensive failed in 1914. Several of the former chief's subordinates, serving in positions of responsibility, blamed Moltke. They accused him of weakening a crucial thrust toward Paris that they ascribed to Schlieffen, then needlessly hesitating at the climax of the campaign and handing the initiative to the enemy. Several of them ran the army's historical department after 1918, and they perpetuated their allegations by publishing selectively from the archives. Frustrated German nationalists could therefore insist that the army might have won the war in a few months, if only Schlieffen's design had been executed with its author's unflinching resolve. Zuber claims that this thesis has dominated scholarship ever since, reinforced by the Schlieffen draft when it became public after 1945. He charges that the myth of a promethean formula for war, calculated years in advance, has too conveniently suited historians' indictment of reactionary, militaristic elites in Germany for bringing about World War I and ultimately the Third Reich.

Regrettably, this book does not explain how its revelations affect the more sophisticated understanding of German war planning that has evolved in recent decades. Few scholars still read Schlieffen's 1905 draft literally, for example, but Zuber's notes scarcely refer to the historiography since the 1970s. The editors

might have helped by insisting on substantive introductory and concluding sections, instead of abandoning the reader to dense, technical recitation and notes (containing disconcertingly frequent errors in transcribing German and French) with inadequate maps. This important synthesis of neglected sources will have to be incorporated into more accessible works to reach the readership it deserves.

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WERNER ABELSHAUSER *et al.* *German History and Global Enterprise. BASF: The History of a Company.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 677. \$75.00.

This new, company-sponsored history of one of the world's most important chemical producers deserves the attention of all historians of modern German business. Its authors relied overwhelmingly on the BASF corporate archives, supplemented by an extensive reading of the secondary literature. They did not consult the archives of the companies with which BASF did business, notably Dow, Shell, and Bayer, to the detriment of their account. The only limitation on their research imposed by the company was the application of the usual thirty-year rule. BASF management allowed the authors complete freedom in reaching their conclusions. The authors' approach highlights what one of them, Werner Abelshauser, terms the "social system of production." It supersedes, though does not replace, Peter Hayes's history of IG Farben during the Nazi period.

The book is divided into four sections defined in accordance with the company's development. The first covers the years 1865 to 1900 and was written by the German business historian Wolfgang von Hippel. It suffers from a stiff translation and provides an uncritical chronological account. Hippel describes the origins of the firm in the 1860s. Under its founder Curt Engelhorn, the company concentrated on earning quick returns. In traditional German business fashion, BASF entered into cartels to limit competition, relied on retained earnings to expand, and concealed profits in hidden reserves and in the depreciation account. This strategy relieved it of the necessity of using bank credit or issuing stock. In this early period, the company earned very substantial returns. In 1885, Engelhorn was ousted by the company's directors and was replaced by Heinrich von Brunck, who changed the firm's focus to developing technology, neglecting financial considerations. Symbolic of this approach was BASF's struggle between 1880 and 1894 to develop a viable production method for synthetic indigo. Ironically, it is unclear whether this business ever earned a profit.

The second section, written by Jeffrey Allan Johnson, covers the years 1900 to 1925. It provides a clear account of the relationship between scientific innovations and business strategy. During these two and a

half decades, BASF developed the contact process for manufacturing sulfuric acid and synthesized ammonia. During World War I, it moved increasingly toward inorganic chemistry. It did not produce explosives, though it did manufacture substitutes such as chlorine and phosgene gas, and constituents of mustard gas. The company also made an enormous effort to develop artificial fertilizers. After the war, it synthesized methanol, a chemical with a wide variety of applications. The cost of developing these new products compelled BASF to enter the capital market and to accept government subsidies. These sources enabled it to build the new facilities at Oppau, near Ludwigshafen, and the major new plant at Leuna near Merseburg in central Germany. Throughout this phase, BASF continued to engage in anticompetitive activity. In 1905, it helped organize the Dreibund, a forerunner of IG Farben, with Bayer and Agfa. In 1919, it joined the nitrogen syndicate organized by the Reich government. Finally, in 1925, BASF played a leading role in forming IG Farben, the merger which included all of the major German chemical producers. Interestingly, as Johnson points out, this step was prompted by the promulgation of the Reich cartel law of 1923 that made cartels vulnerable to prosecution.

Raymond G. Stokes wrote the section covering the years 1925 to 1952, the period in which IG Farben controlled the fate of BASF. Unfortunately, his analysis suffers from a questionable use of the autarky concept and an incorrect characterization of IG Farben as a trust. He shows that IG Farben never fully integrated its management and accounting systems, leading to strategic errors. The new firm continued the practices of its predecessors, engaging in anticompetitive behavior, accepting subsidies from the Weimar and Nazi governments and concentrating on technological rather than financial considerations. Stokes provides a sober, unsparing account of BASF's involvement with IG Farben's chemical and synthetic rubber plants at Auschwitz. BASF at Ludwigshafen was not in control of this project, although some of its managers did participate. Stokes makes clear that in spite of the massive use of slave labor, very little was produced by IG Farben at Auschwitz. Nor did the company reap substantial profits from the enterprise. With the end of the war, the Americans seized IG Farben and put its leaders on trial. The facilities in the east, Auschwitz and Leuna, were lost to the Soviets while the Ludwigshafen and Oppau plants were returned to production under French supervision.

Abelshauser wrote the section concerning the re-stored BASF from 1952 to the present. He delivers a good account of the divestiture of IG Farben and the reconstitution of BASF. Significantly, the firm immediately resumed the anticompetitive behavior of its predecessors. It opposed Ludwig Erhard's free trade policy and avoided competing with its former partners in IG Farben. Abelshauser provides a very revealing description of BASF's efforts to transform itself beginning in 1963. The company attempted to move up the

production chain into the consumer goods market and to shift its emphasis to profits. Consequently, it created foreign subsidiaries and entered cooperative arrangements, notably with the American companies Dow and General Electric, and developed plastics, magnetic tapes, and automotive paints. This strategy failed, primarily due to the inability of the company's social system of production to adapt to new circumstances. In contrast, its conversion from coal to petroleum based chemistry and implementation of the *Verbund* (integrated production) concept were successful.

In conclusion, this comprehensive new history of BASF will serve as the basis for subsequent research on the firm. It offers a cornucopia of information concerning not only the company's internal structure, personalities, and technological initiatives but also the relatively inaccessible area of anticompetitive behavior. It provides the fairest assessment of the company's involvement in criminal activity at Auschwitz that we are likely to receive. It also offers a useful case study of a German firm's difficulties adjusting to the postwar business environment.

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PETER HAYES. *From Cooperation to Complicity: Degussa in the Third Reich*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 373. \$40.00.

Peter Hayes's fine study of Degussa was commissioned by a German company worried about its role under the Nazis. In the 1990s many similar studies appeared as German and Austrian companies suddenly found commercial reasons, embodied in regulatory threats and class actions in the United States, to publicize their past crimes. Degussa, or Deutsche Gold- und Silber-Scheideanstalt AG (the German Gold and Silver Separation Institute), played a crucial role in the "laundering" of gold looted either from occupied countries or literally ripped from the teeth of concentration camp victims. Another Degussa subsidiary made Zyklon B, the infamous pesticide used in the gas chambers at Auschwitz and Majdanek. Degussa had reason to be nervous.

This book, written for one purpose, appears after the peculiar conjuncture has passed. The German companies have reached collective settlements with claimants. Profits have fallen and extra expenditures, such as historical investigation, have been wound up. Hayes's study now must stand on its own, and it does. In the first place, it constitutes a real contribution to business history. Hayes, who wrote a prize-winning study of IG Farben, knows the chemicals business. He has a capacity to unravel very complicated transactions and show the principles that make a business move in a certain way. These virtues matter more in the case of Degussa, a relatively small company, but one that had niche markets, overlapping holdings, joint ventures, participations, and agreements with literally dozens of different competitors and allies. It refined precious

metal. It marketed liquid gold. It made pesticide. It provided the hydrogen perborate for the most popular German detergent, Persil. It made carbon black, and so on.

With the arrival of the Nazis, Degussa found itself squeezed between its giant competitor, IG Farben, and the demands of the Nazi war machine. Hayes shows that the company prospered mightily under the Nazis, and benefited from the "aryanization" of all sorts of Jewish property, some of which continues to enrich the company today, but he also uncovers the Faustian bargains of wartime production, when a totalitarian state made deals it never honored, rarely paid invoices on time or at all, yet demanded huge investments in plant and machinery that the company could never make profitable in peace time. But Nazism went beyond that. It demanded and got from Degussa an ideological commitment, a Nazi way of behaving, a willingness to mobilize and direct the employees and, of course, to enforce obedience to the party. Degussa had to learn to tack and come about in the shifting winds of Nazi politics. The company had to allow incompetents into the inner circle who had, it was hoped, the confidence of the local Nazi leadership. It needed to compete for contracts and defend market share. Step by step, the company became enmeshed in activities that the directors knew were wrong. Hayes calls the constant Nazi pressure "the malignant creep of its mission" (p. 283). Thus gold refining became tied up with concentration camps. Aryanization became more brutal and less consensual. The extension of the need to fumigate inmates in concentration camps and to keep soldiers' clothes lice-free slipped into the manufacture of a gaseous pesticide that Hayes estimates killed a million people. The story goes literally from cooperation to complicity. The executives of Degussa became willing and knowing accessories to the greatest crimes in history but were, in Christopher Browning's phrase, "ordinary men."

The directors and managers of Degussa, with the exception of Fritz Roessler, the gentlemanly heir of the founding family, never uttered a word of regret or compassion as Jews were hounded from their jobs, nor any sense of outrage at their mass extermination. These guilty men got away with their crimes. The company profited from the wholesale theft of Jewish property and does so today. Hayes believes that the German state and people have done a good job of facing their past. Yet the expropriation without compensation of "communist" Jewish families in the former East Germany and the return of property to the old Nazis goes on today unnoticed. West German judges dispense monstrous injustice with the same pedantic callousness that allowed Degussa directors to do their jobs without remorse or reflection. Hayes writes that even Roessler "was not above certain forms of racist discourse." Jews could never be more than an alien, seditious presence; as Roessler wrote, "Jewry . . . [was] a cultural danger . . . played too large a role in German public life" (p. 25). Hitler could do what he

did because Germans from Roessler down thought what they thought. Now that the Federal Republic of Germany has become *judenrein*, the problem no longer exists.

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HAROLD JAMES. *The Nazi Dictatorship and the Deutsche Bank*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 286. \$40.00.

This thoroughly researched, closely annotated book is one of several made possible recently by the opening of the voluminous records of Germany's biggest bank to unfettered historical research. It is an augmented version of Harold James's portion of an earlier work commissioned by the bank, which was written by an international team of historians and published in both English and German: Lothar Gall *et al.*, eds., *The Deutsche Bank 1870–1995* (1995). As was the case with that work, the bank records used in the current book are open to all other scholars.

In a new overall assessment of the bank's history during the Third Reich, James notes that German bankers faced the daunting problem of operating under a dictatorial regime unfettered by law that espoused principles "aimed fundamentally at the destruction of the economic system in which and for which they functioned" (p. 19). At the core of Nazi ideology lay a hostility toward finance capitalism encapsulated in the party program's commitment to "breaking the serfdom of interest." As James observes, the party associated bankers "with the allegedly defunct economy of 'liberal individualism' and found them to be at odds with its notions of state-led economic activity" (p. 19). The Nazis therefore periodically subjected banks and bankers to propagandistic attacks throughout the Third Reich. Their hostility was directed with particular vehemence at the handful of nation-wide "Great Banks" with headquarters in Berlin, among which the Deutsche Bank was the largest. James sees the responses of the latter's directors to this adverse political environment as characterized by a clash of two strategies of adaptation: "on the one hand, self-defense against the intrusions of party and state; but accommodation and compromise on the other" (p. 19). As his study makes clear, the latter strategy increasingly prevailed.

Although the Nazis derogated the large banks, they found it convenient to allow them to continue to function. Rather than nationalizing them, as some party radicals proposed, the regime enabled them to repurchase the portions of their stock the republican government had taken over to rescue them at the time of the financial crisis of 1931. But despite the remarkable recovery of the German economy during the peacetime Third Reich, James points out that the banks were slow to benefit. This was in part because of the depression's aftereffects, as bad loans continued to hobble them and the availability of under-utilized

industrial capacity held down the demand for fresh capital. Regime-imposed ceilings on interest and dividends further hobbled banking, as did the mobilization of large-scale state credit. These handicaps were partially offset by the government's reliance on the big Berlin banks to float large state bond issues to finance Adolf Hitler's rearmament program. But as the build-up for war mounted, the government's insistence on ever more bond issues exhausted the capacity of the market to absorb them. Finding itself obliged to retain sizeable portions of the bonds, the Deutsche Bank became a major creditor of the regime. By the late 1930s, some of the bank's directors privately voiced misgivings about government policies that were isolating Germany from world trade and distorting its economy by relentlessly channeling capital into preparations for war. But they lapsed into resignation after protests along similar lines by the central bank, the Reichsbank, resulted in a purge of its leadership by the regime.

Once the war was under way, the Deutsche Bank increasingly served as a kind of automatic teller machine for the Nazi regime and the industrial-military complex it spawned. Large-scale credits were routinely extended to companies that enjoyed the favor of the political authorities. Among the recipients were building firms involved in construction of a concentration camp at Auschwitz and the IG Farben chemical trust, to which the bank extended credits for erection, near that camp, of a synthetic rubber factory to be constructed and operated with slave labor. James's characterization of those credits as "sinister" (p. 161), implies, however, an element of choice in such matters on the bank's part that had by the wartime years been eroded to the vanishing point.

The Deutsche Bank's extensive participation in wartime economic spoliation is one of the focuses of the book. Acting for the most part through foreign banks taken over in the wake of Hitler's conquests, it acquired lucrative holdings in numerous large industrial and commercial firms in occupied territories. These acquisitions took the form of commercial purchases, but under the political circumstances the bank enjoyed bargaining leverage that enabled it to achieve highly advantageous terms.

The book also deals with the bank's acquiescence to Nazi racist policies by dismissing Jewish directors and employees as well as with its implication in the "aryanization" of Jewish property, topics James has covered more extensively in his *The Deutsche Bank and the Nazi Economic War Against the Jews* (2001).

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GRETCHEN E. SCHAFFT. *From Racism to Genocide: Anthropology in the Third Reich*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 297. \$36.00.

This book comprises at least three projects. At the center is an account, based on original archival sources

from the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (Institute for German Work in the East, or IDO), of the central role that anthropologists played in the National Socialists' genocidal population policies. Gretchen E. Schafft contextualizes this research in the history of anthropology and of National Socialism, making the central themes of the book intelligible for the nonspecialist reader. Finally, the book describes the author's own experience with historical research and meditates upon the role of memory and forgetting in anthropology specifically and in professions generally.

By giving prominent place in the book to episodes from her own research and to many of the most fascinating documents she discovered, Schafft highlights both the methods and importance of historical reconstruction. If the descriptions of tracking down archival sources, finding previously unused documents, and even ordering books in the Library of Congress lack the dramatic punch and self-critical edge of Michael Verhoeven's film *Das schreckliche Mädchen* (1990), they do ably convey the thrill of historical research. For Schafft, herself an anthropologist, such research is important to overcome what she calls "professional denial," which "leaves the way clear for a lamentable lack of information, a revisionist historical view, a continuation of misconduct, and a repression of those who would attempt to learn from the past" (pp. 226–27).

Schafft, like many authors self-consciously addressing popular audiences, dismisses academic literature that might in fact have made the book speak more powerfully and accurately to general readers. Her choice to neglect secondary literature relevant to her topic stems, at least in part, from the belief that, as she puts it, "[t]he request among German historians for a more nuanced picture of the Nazi past too often led to rationalizations, a kind of mild rebuke to those who were active Nazis, and an attempt to relativize the past" (p. 242). Yet even the nonspecialist might have profited from, for example, the controversy between Gisela Bock and Claudia Koonz on motherhood in the Third Reich or the discussions by Christopher Browning and others about the role of intention and structure, ideology and practice, in the development of the Holocaust. Similarly, greater engagement with recent academic literature on the history of anthropology and imperialism would not only have helped the author avoid basic errors of fact, such as the assertion that Rudolf Virchow was Jewish. It also would have put her readers in touch with ongoing discussions of the continuities between National Socialism and German imperialism in Africa, especially the Namibian genocide, in which anthropologists also played an important role.

The real center of this book does not suffer directly from these weaknesses. Using National Socialist documents located in Poland, the United States, and Germany, Schafft reconstructs the precise roles played by anthropologists in Nazi population policy in the East, including the murder of Jews, the "Germaniza-

tion" of newly conquered land, and the sorting of subject populations. She shows how Austrian anthropologists rushed to gather bodily measurements and some sociological data from the Jews of Tarnów, Poland, before, as one put it, the SS took "any kind of measures" against them. She considers the research and propaganda role of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut für Anthropologie and reveals that it received significant funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. Using captured Nazi documents in the Smithsonian Institute, Schafft reconstructs the rise and fall of the IDO, which operated in Krakow from 1940 until the German retreat forced it to close shop. The IDO did propaganda work for the German occupation and supported the German reorganization of the East, including the murder of Jews and Roma. Indeed, Schafft shows, an IDO member, Fritz Arlt, helped set up Auschwitz. Anthropologists also developed a one-to-four scale of "Germanness" to sort residents of occupied Poland. The Nazi government used these numbers to make decisions about marriages, labor and military service, and internment in concentration camps.

Schafft concludes her work by tracing the postwar careers of National Socialist anthropologists, facilitated by the scandalous failure of the Western allies or of the Federal Republic to hold them, and many other professionals, responsible for their roles in the Nazi regime. She also suggests that German anthropologists have yet to give up race as an analytic category. The recent German example she cites, however, a study comparing body fat in "White" and "Pakistani" Britons, seems fairly benign in comparison with both earlier German anthropology and also with the racist pseudoscience carried out by scholars outside of Germany, including such notorious books as Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (1994), as well as the more *salonsfähig* racisms that attribute poverty to "culture." Nonetheless, anthropology committed no greater crimes than it did during its close association with National Socialist Germany, and Schafft does an admirable job of reconstructing this participation in horrific detail.

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MATHIAS BEER and GERHARD SEEWANN, editors. *Südostforschung im Schatten des Dritten Reiches: Institutionen, Inhalte, Personen*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 119.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2004. Pp. 288. €44.80.

The theme of this collective effort, as suggested by its title, is the link between scholarship on Southeastern Europe and politics. Although the focus is on Nazi Germany, the politicization of scholarship on Southeastern Europe was by no means unique to National Socialism. It may perhaps be dated from the beginning of the twentieth century, when German and Austro-Hungarian ambitions in the region were at their

height. Yet the Nazi period stands out because of the systematic intertwining of scholarship with expansionist and racial policies and the heinous uses to which scholarship was put. Willi Oberkrome emphasizes the ethnocentric character of German studies on Southeastern Europe in his essay on regionalism and research on nationality. While the trend was evident before the 1930s, he points out that under National Socialism it became predominant, as many humanists and social scientists assumed responsibility for supplying those engaged in conquest, occupation, and destruction with relevant data. It was they, he argues, who provided a scholarly justification for racial policies and the Germanization of occupied territories. Christian Töchterle puts the matter in context by surveying the emergence of racial theorists in Germany and Southeastern Europe in his discussion of the "Dinaric race."

Many of the essays deal with institutions. Co-editor Gerhard Seewann makes clear in his history of the Südost-Institut in Munich between 1930 and 1960 how research and state policy were linked, especially after 1935, when Fritz Valjavec entered the institute; he strove to make it a center of "combative scholarship" and to use it to promote National Socialist ethnic policies, all with support from the SS. Two other research institutes were founded precisely to achieve political ends. Christian Promitzer describes how the Südostdeutsche Institut in Graz, established immediately after the Anschluss in 1938, was beholden to National Socialist ideology until its dissolution in 1944. The Institut für Heimatforschung in Käsmark, in Slovakia, Christoph Morrissey points out, also put politics ahead of scholarship, but he notes that in combatting the Slovaks it allowed local interests—those of the Zips district—to prevail over broader National Socialist objectives. An apparent exception to the general pattern was the Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien established in Sibiu, Transylvania, in 1941. Harald Roth argues that the institute was not politicized and National Socialist ideology was largely absent from its publications, but he needs to go more thoroughly into these matters to be convincing.

The remaining articles describe the activities of individuals. Isabel Heinemann sketches a group portrait of the so-called racial experts who served as both theoreticians and functionaries in the work of "racial homogenizing." The majority, she concludes, had academic training, especially in the arts and sciences and agrarian studies, and many were members of the SS. Michael Fahlbusch also investigates general patterns of behavior, but uses a small sample: four prominent individuals who were engaged in research on Eastern Europe during World War II. He does not find that they participated directly in the forced transfer and destruction of populations, but he argues persuasively that they nonetheless contributed significantly to the decision making of those who did carry out such acts. Fahlbusch is especially critical of Valjavec as one who was deeply involved in party and state activities and

very probably served in an SS task force in south Russia in the latter part of 1941. Valjavec gets lots of attention: from Norbert Spannenburger, who examines his career between 1934 and 1939 and concludes that he crossed the line separating scholarship from politics and used the structures of the Nazi regime to further his own ambitions; from Gerhard Grimm, who compares his career with that of Georg Stadtmüller and points to Valjavec's stronger connections to the power elites; and from Krista Zach, who traces his political activities as recorded in his unpublished diary.

The subject of this volume is by no means new. Co-editor Mathias Beer, in his introduction, points to the growing quantity and increasingly probing nature of the available literature, as he and Edgar Hösch in his concluding essay attempt to place *Südostforschung* in the broad framework of German historiography. The present work, then, serves as a valuable and critical review of historical research and scholarly debate on a highly sensitive theme and suggests where matters now stand.

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BEN SHEPHERD. *War in the Wild East: The German Army and Soviet Partisans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 300. \$29.95.

This is a book about field officers with intermediate command positions in the German Ostheer, or Eastern Army. Ben Shepherd describes how the 221st Security Division, one of five security divisions in the rear area of the Army Group Center, fought real and suspected partisans near Smolensk and then in the Homel/Gomel and Starodub regions. He builds on earlier studies in German and English and uses documents in Germany's Federal Military Archives as well as American microfilms of captured German documents. German legislation precludes full disclosure in various cases, so that several names in the book appear in pseudonym, including that of the division commander in 1942.

Shepherd calls the 221st division a vital cog in the implementation of the Nazi war of extermination. It has a "damning" (p. 227) track record of deep involvement in war crimes. In the second half of 1941, it did not often kill Jews itself, but it cooperated smoothly with the SS killings of Jews, Red Army commissars, and other "suspects." And even though partisans still posed no grave threat, the division in that year was indiscriminately brutal against civilians.

Shepherd's book carefully describes and explains the thinking and conduct of the division's commanders of the anti-partisan campaign. The ruthlessness of that campaign was virtually inevitable or, as Shepherd calls it, "preordained" (p. 224). Yet this is above all a book about diversity in conditions and in German perceptions; it does not give easy answers. The main reason for the brutality, Shepherd argues, was ideological: the senior officers hated Slavs, and they shared the Nazi

view that the war aim was not just to defeat the Red Army but also to decimate, subject, and exploit the people of the Soviet Union. Shepherd also stresses a long German military tradition of suspicion of citizens in arms and, indeed, of treating insurgents ruthlessly. That tradition began in the Prussian fight against Napoleon Bonaparte in 1813, and it had also found its expression in the beginning of the twentieth century, when the German military took action against the Herero in Africa and against Belgian and French citizens during the Great War.

Shepherd is most original in showing in great detail that in 1942 and early in 1943, a diversity in the treatment of partisans developed. Whereas some divisions (the 286th and 201st) were extremely ruthless, another (the 203rd) was less so, and, most importantly for his argument, the 221st division began to act with restraint. The officers of that division decided to cultivate the population and, more than other officers, gave preferential treatment to deserting partisans. In December 1942, many months before the army high command was to do so, the division commander warned against the killing of captured partisans. Shepherd also concludes tentatively that the division's rank-and-file adopted this more measured approach.

Earlier studies have emphasized that severe German conditions were conducive to German army brutality. Yet Shepherd argues convincingly that the case of the 221st division shows that such severe conditions could have the opposite effect. A change in circumstances rather than in German thinking had "increasingly compelled restraint" (p. 147). The division acted less ruthlessly precisely because it was under greater threat from partisans than other divisions were. It had fewer battalions, whose men often had never fought before. These "shortcomings, imposed by higher-level decree, of its own manpower and administration" produced a "lack of ruthless alternatives" (p. 228).

Shepherd calls crucial as well the perceptiveness of the officers, pointing out that another division in similar conditions (the 203rd) acted less pragmatically. Nevertheless, in his discussion of the year 1942, situational factors stand out as crucial. From April 1943, the 221st division reverted to its earlier, far more brutal stance and indeed surpassed it in its "dead zones" policy. This happened partly out of German despair at the growing prospect of a defeat in the war. Yet here, too, Shepherd deems crucial "the urgent immediacy of the situation" (p. 187) in which the partisan opponent had grown even stronger.

To my mind, this book has only minor weaknesses. One is that sometimes one notices that the book derives from a doctoral dissertation. I find unconvincing the notion of a "propensity for professionalized violence" (p. 224) as something that helps explain army brutality; is such a propensity not what armies are all about? And I secretly wish that the author had been able to use Russian-language sources; it would have made the book more detailed and, perhaps, more original. Nevertheless, in its kind—a study of Wehr-

macht conduct based on German sources—this book meets the high standard the historiography has reached and makes a solid contribution to the debate.

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MICHAEL H. KATER. *Hitler Youth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 355. \$27.95.

Hitler Youth (Hitler-Jugend, or HJ), some very young, died as combatants in World War II, a number of them on suicide missions. Some committed war crimes. Was their behavior a product of coercion or of a true willingness to serve the aims of the regime? Was there complicity on their part, or worse, guilt? And if so, to what extent were they complicit or guilty? Such questions are raised in this book, the work of a respected contributor to the social history of Germans under Nazi rule. Michael Kater pulls together anecdotes and quotations that give insight into the minds of those involved. He has consulted archives, diaries, memoirs, and secondary sources. Charges of guilt or complicity would seem to apply only to individuals, but the author applies judgment to groups as well, and that raises questions. For example, Czech atrocities against German girls seem to get off lightly, because Czechs, "as patriots, had moral justice on their side" (p. 236). Apparently much depends on your vantage point.

Kater sees complicity even in extreme situations, where such judgment really does not belong. When women of the Bund Deutscher Mädel in der Hitlerjugend (BDM) became army assistants, they "were surprised, along with the male soldiers they were serving, by the furious onslaught of the Red Army in the East . . . [the women fought] ferociously and undoubtedly [killed] many. This alone made them complicit in Hitler's aggressive warfare since 1939" (p. 234). What were the women supposed to do? Questions of complicity and guilt might be appropriately applied to, say, medical doctors, who have a code of ethics, but I question applying such a criterion to women under attack.

In addition to the author's stated purposes, there are two unstated ones, both warranting consideration. The first is to show that Germans were victims too. "[I]njuries suffered even by blameless young people . . . are often overlooked or downplayed, in light of the towering injustices perpetrated . . . on foreign enemies . . . this suffering must also find its place in the history of youths under Hitler" (p. 240). Here Kater treats the exploitation of HJ and BDM, who were put to war duties at ever younger ages as the war went on. His second unstated objective is to commemorate the "resistance" posed by the martyred White Rose group and the "dissent" expressed by the actions of the Swing groups (jazz fans), even though "the efficacy of their activities was null" (p. 165).

A larger feature of the time was the encroachment of totalitarianism on civil society, an incomplete intru-

sion, as it was hampered by “the everyday dysfunctionality of the Hitler regime,” a condition Adolf Hitler himself fostered for his own purposes (p.114). Nevertheless, the regime could be deadly. Even some members of Swing groups ended up in special concentration camps. Much of the complaint against them was the robust sexual promiscuity that affected German youth from 1936 to 1945, something that took Nazi leaders aback, not what they had in mind when they fostered the slogan “Give a child to the Führer.” In any case, pregnancy among unmarried girls was rampant from the 1936 Nuremberg party rally forward, and eventually venereal disease became endemic, sometimes being contracted from slave laborers as well as from other Germans. What may have occurred is some sort of inversion of values; rather than chastity, license was the way to go. A much more serious inversion of values apparently occurred with SS and some Hitler Youth. In place of a morality that was endued with mercy, morality for these males became having the “strength” to be merciless.

Important in its own right, this work is also useful for the materials it provides for further research. The book contains seventy-four pages of tightly packed notes, replete with information. That will help, as more remains to be known about the unleashed sexual license and its causes, and about the inversion of values. Group dynamics may one day provide some insights. So, too, may studies of bullying and hazing. Brain research will reveal more about the development of children and adolescents. Psychodynamic thought will lend help, as will sociological studies. To paraphrase a remark by psychoanalyst Erik Erikson, history and psychology (let us here add sociology) travel on parallel tracks. May they continue to enrich one another.

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KIMBERLEY A. REDDING. *Growing Up in Hitler's Shadow: Remembering Youth in Postwar Berlin*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. xiv, 193. \$59.95.

Sixty years after the end of World War II, the Nazi regime continues to fascinate audiences the world over. Big-budget cinema films, TV miniseries, exhibits and documentaries of all kinds, plus hundreds of history books and dissertations demand attention. However, interest seems to stop in the year 1945. Aside from a trickle of monographs on the origins of the West German *Wirtschaftswunder* and the beginnings of the German Democratic Republic, relatively few non-German scholars (and virtually no filmmakers, documentary producers, or novelists) have paid serious attention to the fate of ordinary Germans, let alone youth, in the immediate postwar era. Perhaps historians imagine that this hungry, rubble-strewn world, punctuated only by the pathos of the Berlin airlift, lacked the sex appeal of high drama. Kimberley

A. Redding demonstrates that this was simply not the case.

Redding first conceived of her study in the wake of another such turning point, the immediate post-Wende years, one of which she spent as an English instructor in eastern Berlin. For her subsequent dissertation, she interviewed thirty-five Berliners born between 1926 and 1933 from the eastern and western halves of the city, intertwining these oral documents with a discussion of broader developments within the capital and Germany as a whole in order to reconstruct the experiences and outlook of the “lost youth” in the later 1940s and 1950s. As she points out, there was little doubt—both among the victorious Allies and within German society itself—that this generation of traumatized Hitler Youths (and potential “Werewolves”) was indeed corrupted, unreliable, and simply “lost.” But while the slogans and pageantry of the Nazi era are all too familiar to us today, very little is known about the actual experiences and attitudes of this youth cohort. Thus Redding’s book satisfies a genuine need. To be sure, memory plays tricks on people, and on no one so much as the elderly. To her credit, Redding addresses this cognitive problem head on, describing the selective nature of memory and its susceptibility both to our inborn storyteller instinct and false memories acquired long after the fact. Indeed, both this study and oral histories in general are most successful when they stick to concrete everyday experiences and perceptions.

Redding’s discussion partners had much to say about their experiences in the various Nazi youth organizations and the *Kinderlandverschickung* program, and not all of these memories are negative. Like most Germans of their generation, the youths in Redding’s cohort recall “lovely childhood years” within a culture and society that the rest of the world has viewed as not only criminal but downright demonic. Once again, the oral history approach is helpful in contrasting everyday existence with the historical big picture. For young Berliners, life in the Third Reich was not a blood orgy but rather a “normal” routine of school, Hitler Youth drills, and piano lessons, so that “while the German invasion of Poland constitutes a turning point in political analyses and history textbooks, it figured insignificantly in interviewees’ personal recollections” (p. 6).

The book details the interviewees’ personal experience or awareness of other issues of the day: harrowing Allied bombing raids, the rape of tens of thousands of girls and their mothers by Red Army soldiers, the postwar dance craze, the rise of juvenile delinquency, and the alleged epidemic of “female depravity” fueled by the breakdown of public morals and a desperate shortage of eligible males for marriage (which public officials at the time called the *Frauenüberschuss* or woman surplus, as if the women themselves were to blame). Then there are recollections of the “hunger years” and the backbreaking work of the rebuilding phase, the competition between Communist and non-

Communist youth organizations, the everyday reality of the Berlin blockade, the founding of the two republics in 1949, and finally the 1953 workers' uprising. The book closes on a poignant note as the East German interviewees muse on the peaceful implosion of the GDR in 1989—yet another turning point in their lives, and one that, ironically, they are less well equipped to master.

Redding's microhistory is packed with intriguing anecdotes, making it a valuable reference book for Berliners and historians of the city. But it also raises vital questions which other historians may wish to pick up on. At what point did ordinary Germans recognize the war as lost? How did the progressive collapse of public authority and Nazi credibility during the later war years help delegitimize the regime even before May 8, 1945? To what extent did the Hitler Youth experience and the self-reliance fostered by the post-war situation lay the foundation for Germany's later success? These questions are worth pursuing, and Redding's book provides an excellent starting point.

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Y. MICHAL BODEMANN. *A Jewish Family in Germany Today: An Intimate Portrait*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. 280. \$22.95.

TANGLED ROOTS: STRUGGLING WITH A LEGACY OF WAR. Directed and written by Heidi Schmidt Emberling. 2004; color and black and white; 66 minutes. Distributed by New Day Films.

Y. Michal Bodemann's book follows the life and family of the Kalmans: four siblings from a prominent and religious family from Slawkusz in Polish Galicia who survived the Holocaust. Their parents, Jacob and Esther Kalman, had eight children, but only Albert, Itzhak, Jurek, and their sister, Gertrud escaped death. Bodemann's book consists of an amalgamation of interviews that he conducted with various members of the Kalman clan from the early 1990s to 2004, organized into four parts, each part devoted to one sibling. The strength of the book lies in the voices of the Kalmans themselves.

Since Albert was deceased when Bodemann began the project, we learn about him from his wife, Eva, and their five children: Berthold, Ronnie, Salek, Esther, and Gabriel. Albert, eldest of eight siblings, was a Zionist who in the 1930s planned to immigrate to Palestine, against his mother's wishes. Albert gave in to his mother and remained in Slawkusz. When the war began, he was recruited into the Judenrat but refused and was sent to a concentration camp. In 1941 he was transferred to Buchenwald, where his brothers Itzhak and Jurek had also been sent. His sister Gertrud was liberated from Bergen-Belsen, and at the war's end the British army brought her to Buchenwald. There she

was reunited with her brothers, and they were all sent to the Landsberg Displaced Persons Camp near Munich, Germany. In Landsberg, Gertrud met and married Leon Guterman and subsequently emigrated to the United States.

The brothers remained in Germany and began a business buying and selling used appliances. Kalman Household Appliances grew into a large and successful firm, but the brothers became increasingly unable to manage it. Their arguments eventually led to the company's bankruptcy and the brothers' estrangement. This story is told and retold through the various interviews. Each sibling's children describe the trials and tribulations of growing up Kalman in Germany. Some have made successful lives and careers there; several immigrated to Israel. Those who remained in Germany either married or are living with non-Jewish mates.

Bodemann describes his study as a "biographical portrait of a family in many voices." Unfortunately, there are important voices missing, and some voices are louder than others. Albert, the eldest sibling, died before Bodemann began the project, and Itzhak, the second eldest, refused to be interviewed. Itzhak's wife Fela is also absent. Itzhak's story is told by his daughter Dina and includes a brief interview she conducted with her father. In addition, Bodemann interviews Dina's first and second husbands. Since Gertrud's health was deteriorating and her memory poor, her story is told solely through her son, Jerry, from New Jersey. Gertrud's husband, Leon, is also missing. Jurek's son Jonny reluctantly agreed to a thirty-minute telephone interview, described in another short chapter.

Bodemann fused together interviews he conducted at different times, and the research is sloppy. He interviewed some family members repeatedly, others not at all. Both the interviews and chapters vary in length and quality, the writing and translations are clumsy, and there are many typographical errors. The book is lopsided. Half the book is devoted to Albert's story, while the stories of his three surviving siblings comprise the second half.

This is not a scholarly book of Jewish life in Germany, nor a portrait of a "typical Jewish family" in postwar Germany. While Bodemann provides a brief introductory chapter contextualizing the situation of Jews in Germany after the war, he fails to show how the Kalmans fit in. The Kalmans do, however, have a fascinating story that is as much about the problems of running a family business, the difficulties Holocaust survivors face in trusting others, and dysfunctional family relations as it is about Jews living in Germany.

In *Tangled Roots*, Heidi Schmidt Emberling also investigates family history: her own. In this documentary film, Emberling tries to make sense of what it means to be the daughter of a German Lutheran, Wolf Schmidt, and a Jewish American mother, Janet Sherman. Growing up in Freiburg, Germany, her father came to Los Angeles in the 1960s to work in the

entertainment industry. He met Emberling's mother, Janet, who eloped with Wolf against her parents' wishes. Emberling identifies and feels comfortable as Jewish; the film explores her journey into her German heritage.

"I never talked openly about the war and its aftermath with the Jewish or the German sides of my family," Emberling reveals. When she first learned about the Holocaust in high school, she felt ashamed of being German. She never equated being German with Nazism, and does not see her German family as Nazis. Through interviews with her father's family in Germany and her mother's family in the United States, interspersed with actual film footage from World War II, the film explores the meaning of her mixed background.

Emberling's journey begins with a trip back to Freiburg with her father. Only seven years old when his hometown was destroyed, Wolf describes the November 22, 1944, British bombing attacks. Emberling includes documentary footage of bombs released from planes and shots of Freiburg's devastation, and these are underscored by her father's words and her aunt Gabi's description of the toll the war took on the family. Emberling's grandfather, Fritz, who was fighting on the Russian front, was taken to France as a prisoner of war and not released until 1947. He subsequently suffered from depression and mental illness.

Emberling gets into trouble in the first half of the film, as her focus on German "suffering" is described without the larger context of World War II, or the Holocaust. By focusing on German "victimization," she presents a distorted view of history, blurring the boundaries between perpetrator and victim. If the Germans are victims, then who is responsible for the war and the Holocaust? This becomes even more problematic as Emberling appears to portray sympathy for the victimization of Germans as well as apparent Jewish indifference toward the Holocaust. This comes across in an interview with her mother, who knows nothing and seems to care little about her Jewish relatives killed in Europe. "The family didn't dwell on these things; they didn't talk about them," Emberling's mother reveals. Unfortunately, neither does Emberling. Emberling addresses difficult issues only late in the film when she probes into the actual military history of her German grandfather and discovers, to her and her family's dismay, that he was a member of the Nazi Party. She seems shocked by this information. The most interesting part of the film is when she confronts her German family about this, visits Dachau, and then asks them how they feel about her being Jewish. We find out that her German relatives do not see Emberling as a "real Jew," since she is not Orthodox, even though she identifies as Jewish and her Jewish relatives see her as such.

The film is low-key, just scratching the surface regarding Holocaust memory, Jewish and German identity, and contemporary German-Jewish relations.

The film also notes American Jewish indifference to the suffering of European Jewry through the example of Emberling's family and, regrettably, her own inattention to this. The film is more about the legacy of guilt that Germans bear and some of their responses to it: Emberling's aunt Corola thinks Germans have paid enough and wants to move on, whereas her father accepts this legacy as part of postwar German identity. Emberling ends her film by mentioning that her parents divorced. Her mother remarried an American Jewish man; her father remarried a German Lutheran woman. She does not ask if the German-Jewish narrative affected their marriage, although we suspect it did.

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F. W. KENT. *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence*. (Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History, number 24.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 230. \$36.95.

This suggestive book on Lorenzo de' Medici as patron, which grew from a series of lectures, looks for its audience to art historians whom F. W. Kent feels might benefit from a historian's discussion of the fragmentary information surrounding Lorenzo's various activities. Caught chronologically between two great family patrons, his grandfather Cosimo and Cosimo I, sixteenth-century Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose patronage programs dramatically altered the artistic and urbanistic landscape of Florence, the extent to which Lorenzo fostered the arts has long been debated. The obvious factor complicating the comparison concerns his death in 1492; he was still in his forties, not young by fifteenth-century standards but still young enough for speculation about what he might have done for art had he lived longer. A further vexing issue concerns finances and whether Medici fortunes had diminished such that, notwithstanding his political prominence, Lorenzo could ill afford to divert shrinking funds toward expensive public projects, especially at a time when he was scrambling to finance dynastic ambitions for his children. Yet monies seem to have been readily available to feed his voracious appetite for fine antiquities, notably gems, coins, and hardstone vases. Kent gives a passing nod to these scholarly concerns without, however, weighing the evidence. Rather, he aims to convey an overview in the heroic vein of Lorenzo as a committed if remote patron and promoter of the arts. Kent devotes chapter essays to Lorenzo's aesthetic education, what he calls "the temptation to be Magnificent," Florentine building activities in the late 1480s until his death, and Lorenzo as proprietor of country villa estates.

In any discussion of Lorenzo's patronage, the temptation is overwhelming to speculate what might have been, whether regarding support for various churches and civic projects, his library of Greek and Latin manuscripts, or those Tuscan villa projects. For example, in the chapter on Lorenzo's aesthetic preparation,

Kent suggests Lorenzo was a firm friend of leading artists and architects such as Francione, Giuliano da San Gallo, and the composer Heinrich Isaac. He muses about how Lorenzo might have learned about drawing: "It is particularly easy to believe what one cannot prove, that Lorenzo frequented Andrea del Verrocchio's workshop, so fertile of talent and much favored by his family" (p. 20). Kent consciously casts aside Ockham's razor to create out of intriguing bits of information gleaned from a variety of sources, a kaleidoscope of Lorenzo's activities, whether as a member of the committee of overseers for the Florence cathedral, or as one who may have taken an interest in a new fortress being constructed ("Lorenzo was, I shall argue, at the very least a close observer of the process by which the new fortress of Volterra was designed in 1472" [p. 27]).

In his enthusiasm, however, Kent catches himself in a historiography that views patronage from the top down and uses reports of an association or a Lorenzo sighting in a document to argue for his substantial involvement in major projects in and around late fifteenth-century Florence. But the disturbing fact remains that Lorenzo did not commission or finance all the works he might have. Plagued by illness and declining finances towards the end, "his favorite schemes were unfinished" (pp. 149–50). He did not live to see the frescoes completed at Spedelatto or the terracotta frieze at his classicizing villa at Poggio a Caiano. But in the unfinished nature of his oeuvre lies its richness, for, as Kent elegantly summarizes quoting from T. S. Eliot's *The Hollow Men*, "Between the idea And the reality/ Between the notion And the act/ Falls the shadow" (p. 149). That shadowland becomes the author's canvas. Although this reviewer prefers to evaluate Lorenzo's patronage more cautiously on the basis of what he actually achieved during his truncated life, Kents argues suggestively by affinity and sometimes persuasively for his magnificence as a patron. It will be up to future scholars to figure out where Lorenzo's hand was guiding, where merely present, and where present only by association. With a slight turn of the kaleidoscope to dispose the fragments in a different pattern, one might conceivably argue that Lorenzo's posthumous reputation for magnificence in the arts derived in good measure from his association with the rich artistic culture of late fifteenth-century Florence more than the other way around.

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GEORGE W. MCCLURE. *The Culture of Profession in Late Renaissance Italy*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 373. \$65.00.

In this intellectual tour de force George W. McClure forges an analytic category not found in standard library subject classifications. Using the word "profession" from his title as an entry point, I turned up no

premodern subject heading on the theme of professions, careers, trades, or occupations. Yet, a visit to any popular bookstore will reveal rows of titles on choosing a career, along with joke books about lawyers, doctors, and politicians. The high visibility and broad variety of books on professions undoubtedly result from conscious marketing strategies that nurture a desire for this sort of information and entertainment, perhaps a feature of mature capitalist consumerism. But might it be that authors and publishers similarly enticed Renaissance Italians to want to read about professions?

The edifice McClure constructs rests on more traditional foundations than market analysis alone. He surveys humanist and theological underpinnings of the genre, focusing especially on Sant'Antonino of Florence's *Summa theologica*; chapter two introduces readers to collections of dirty jokes and to a variety of Renaissance parlor games. McClure carefully teases out relationships between highbrow scholarly pre-print treatises and scruffy popular humor as they fuse in the centerpiece of his study, Tomaso Garzoni's *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (1585), one of sixteenth-century Venice's great marketing triumphs. The massive tome, running to nearly 1,000 pages in the original and divided into 154 discourses, proclaimed itself to be an encyclopedia describing all the world's professions. Doctors, lawyers, prostitutes, pimps, cooks, printers, and hundreds more come in for their share of description, erudite rumination, and biting satire. The result is a leveling of the professions, finding merit and honor even in the humblest while poking at the foibles of the loftiest. Scholars generally agree that Garzoni aimed to show that good and bad reside in the individual, not in any profession as a whole.

Whether the book, which sold about 100,000 copies in the first century of its existence—with translations into German, Castilian, and Latin—contains any other consistent intellectual themes may be doubted. McClure finds meaning in the ordering of at least some professions, for example the treatment of surgeons before physicians, and the inclusion of humanists in the second and subsequent editions certainly has significance, but any conclusions, whether about Garzoni's intentions or his early modern readers' responses, must remain tentative. The book plagiarizes extensively, notably from Leonardo Fioravanti and from Ludovico Domenichi's translation of Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's work. McClure treats Fioravanti as a serious physician whom Garzoni may have admired, but he does not displace entirely the earlier view that Fioravanti was a snake-oil-peddling quack whose highly successful recipes for selling books inspired Garzoni to go one better and capture a giant share of the market for chaotic, useful, funny, popular books.

Who bought this amazing compendium? There were not enough Venetians to account for 100,000 copies, and so we must look to the tourists. What a wonderful

souvenir of the high life in Venice, an encyclopedia with a wickedly humorous collection of jokes and insider revelations on tricks of the trade sure to arm the hapless consumer in dealing with street vendors, notaries, masons, merchants, courtesans, laundresses, tavern keepers, and hairdressers. Book-hawkers in Piazza San Marco had a field day, with copies rolling off the presses as fast as the demand required. Moreover, the insatiable collector of popular, highly readable books not likely to be found back home might also buy Garzoni's other bestseller, *L'Hospitale de' pazzi incurabili*, thereby acquiring a dose of pop psychology centuries ahead of its time.

Other authors also sniffed the market and cashed in, none more creatively and successfully than Cesare Vecellio, with his volume of 500 woodcuts portraying the costumes appropriate to professions plied in Venice over the centuries. McClure insightfully contextualizes Vecellio in Garzoni's aftermath and links this visual delight to earlier work on ritual by Francesco Sansovino and to later books embedded in the culture of profession, especially to Fabio Glisenti's monumental treatise on the art of dying. But whether, in the end, McClure's authors and readers consciously developed a "culture of profession" seems problematic, at least to this reviewer. What can be said is that they wrote and consumed books on the subject in massive quantities.

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New Brunswick

DAVID B. RUDERMAN and GIUSEPPE VELTRI, editors. *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy*. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 293. \$55.00.

This cohesive and useful collection of eleven essays is devoted to Jewish cultural and intellectual history during the Renaissance and Baroque eras. Except for the introduction by the editor, David B. Ruderman, and the concluding essay by Moshe Idel, each essay focuses on an individual figure whose life and works illustrate a certain dimension of Judeo-Italian culture. Although the essays do not break new conceptual grounds, they offer more nuanced and detailed portrayals of select Jewish luminaries who excelled not in Jewish legal scholarship but in rhetoric, historiography, philosophy, kabbalah, music, magic, medicine, and the sciences. These portraits illuminate the relationship between Jews and Christians in Italy and the distinctiveness of Judeo-Italian culture.

The introduction delineates the various factors that shaped Jewish intellectual life in Italy: the new technology of printing, the enrollment of Jews in the medical faculties of Italian universities, the return of conversos to the Jewish fold, and the rise of Christian Hebraism and Christian kabbalah. Ruderman highlights the new social contacts between Jews and Chris-

tians that blurred previous cultural and religious boundaries and provided new social opportunities for the exchange of ideas. In Renaissance Italy, Jews not only translated philosophical and scientific texts from Hebrew or Arabic into Latin (as they had done in medieval Spain) but also absorbed from their Christian neighbors the literary forms and cultural ideals of humanism. Conversely, several Christian humanists not only mastered Hebrew and rabbinic lore under the tutelage of Jewish teachers but also appropriated kabbalah to Christianity.

Judeo-Italian culture is difficult to interpret because of its seemingly contradictory features. Cultural cross-fertilization went hand in hand with affirmation of Jewish spiritual superiority; close social contacts between individuals coexisted with forced ghettoization, economic restrictions, and local expulsions of Jews; admission of select Jews to universities took place while Jewish culture faced repression by the papacy and the Inquisition. Emphasizing the positive or the negative aspects of this multifaceted story thus results in diverse and even conflicting interpretations. If the introduction highlights the possibilities and novelty in Jewish-Christian relations, the essays offer a more sober picture of this complex past. For example, Jews in the employ of Christian patrons not only had to resist conversionary pressures, but they were also limited in what they could say about religious matters, hence resorting to intentional dissimulation. Thus Harvey Hames notes that Elijah del Medigo (1440–ca. 1490), the teacher of Pico della Mirandola and a much sought-after translator of Averroes's works into Latin, composed his theological treatise only after he returned to his native Crete where he could more freely critique the rise of Christian kabbalah and the blending of Neoplatonism, Christianity, and magic he encountered in Florence.

Familiarity with the literary genres, conventions, and sensibilities of Renaissance humanism characterized these Jewish intellectuals, giving rise to a distinctive Jewish version of humanism. Yet the appropriation of prevailing literary sensibilities did not diminish the emphasis on Jewish spiritual superiority and the salvific efficacy of Jewish law. Thus, Giuseppe Veltri notes that Leone Ebreo (ca. 1460–ca. 1535), the author of the best seller *Dialoghi di amore* and a well-respected physician, was not only proud of his Judaism, "his consciousness of Jewish identity is the essence of the philosophy" (p. 55). Veltri argues, not entirely convincingly, that Leone's success was due primarily to his eloquence capturing the discourse on love in the genre of courtly literature most successfully. Since Leone's Judaism was "too pale to be noticed by contemporary Christian audience," the book became a bestseller despite its author's religious identity.

The opposite dynamic is evident in the case of Joseph ha-Kohen of Genoa (1496–ca. 1577) who wrote a history of the wars between the Christian West and the Muslim East utilizing historical narratives by An-

drew Cambini (1455/60–1527) and Paolo Giovio (1483–1552). Despite the reliance on non-Jewish sources, as Martin Jacobs shows, the Jewish historian offered his Jewish readers “the traditional view of history based on concepts such as prophecy and fulfillment, sin and punishments which is completely different from his sources” (p. 75). A more controversial contemporary of Jacob ha-Kohen, Azariah de’ Rossi (ca. 1511–ca. 1577), not only mastered current historiography and its new recovery of the classical past but also subjected the New Testament Vulgate to close textual analysis, which he published in Italian for a Christian audience. Joanna Weinberg’s subtle portrayal demonstrates that Azariah’s textual studies expressed his deep commitment to the pursuit of truth for the purpose of attaining the perfection of the soul. In this regard, Azariah was inspired by the philosophy of Maimonides and his followers, even though Azariah’s approach to history differed markedly from that of Maimonides, capturing the divide between medieval and Renaissance mentalities.

The relationship between Judeo-Italian culture and its medieval antecedents in Spain and Provence is a theme that concerns several essays. Did Jewish intellectuals in Renaissance Italy depart from medieval paradigms or perpetuate them? Alessandro Gueta’s study of Yehiel Nissim of Pisa (ca. 1493–1572) presents a Jewish intellectual who criticized medieval rationalist philosophy even though he was also indebted to the scholastic philosophy of Augustino Nifo. Familiar with medieval Judeo-Arabic philosophy and with Christian scholasticism, Yehiel da Pisa also endorsed the views of Judah Halevi (d. ca. 1140) and the interpretative stance of the kabbalist Nahmanides (d. 1270) leading him to champion the ontological superiority of Jews, the salvific merit of Jewish law, and the epistemic superiority of the Torah over the natural sciences.

Interest in Judah Halevi’s *Kuzari* was shared by other Jewish scholars at the time who found in the text an answer to the deterioration of Jewish political status. Thus Judah Moscato (1535–1590) composed a commentary on Halevi’s *Kuzari*, which Adam Shears insightfully suggests functioned as a kind of encyclopedia, offering Jews wide-ranging knowledge on music, rhetoric, natural philosophy, rabbinics, and kabbalah. Eclectically combining humanist, Aristotelian, and Neoplatonic orientations, this encyclopedic commentary satisfied the quest for “universal knowledge,” a central Renaissance impulse, while giving it a particularistic Jewish orientation.

Spiritual pride did not prevent Jewish intellectuals from recognizing their relative cultural weakness and precariousness. In 1564, David and Abraham Provenzali, a father and son, proposed the creation of an academy for young Jewish males to provide broad knowledge of Judaism along with the secular sciences. Gianfranco Miletto analyzes the proposal and shows how this Jewish educational institution was actually designed to limit the exposure of Jewish youth to the

general culture, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, it resembled the curriculum of Jesuit colleges and the educational goals and mentality of the Catholic Counter Reformation. Jewish awareness of the turmoil in the Christian world was in part enhanced by conversos who returned to the Jewish fold, intensifying the involvement of the Inquisition in Jewish affairs. Eleazar Gutwirt’s study of the most famous of them, Amatus Lusitanus, explores the impact of conversos on Jewish life, especially the flourishing of humanism in the Ottoman Jewish community, and provides a novel exposition of Lusitanus’s creative fusion of history, medicine, and natural sciences.

The paradoxes of Jewish life in Italy is most poignantly captured in the study of Salomone de’ Rossi (ca. 1570–1628) by Don Harrán. Here is a Jewish virtuoso (a violinist, composer, and conductor of musical ensembles) who was employed by the Mantuan court of Duke Vincenzo I and his son Francesco. As a privileged Jew, de’ Rossi was exempt from various restrictions imposed on Jews, but he decided not to convert and did not sever his ties with the Jewish community in Mantua. His musical legacy included art music for the court as well as music for the synagogue and for special occasions in Jewish life (e.g. weddings, circumcisions, inauguration of Torah scrolls, Purim festivities, and celebrations of confraternities). Introducing Christian style music to Jewish communal life was not easy, and de’ Rossi needed the support of Jewish patrons and of rabbinic leaders. Conversely, de’ Rossi’s uniquely Jewish sensitivity to textuality shaped his court music, analyzed beautifully by Harrán. It was only in his instrumental music that the Jewish virtuoso could freely express himself, since it was not part of the Jewish synagogue tradition and was not practiced within the confines of the Jewish space.

The creative tension between universalism and particularism in Judeo-Italian culture comes to the fore in the interplay between philosophy and kabbalah. The theme weaves through various essays in the volume, albeit with relatively little innovation in analysis. The concluding essay by Idel provides an overview of Italian kabbalah, adding further support to his already well-documented arguments about its philosophical orientation. This matrix was in place already at the end of the fifteenth century, and into it Italian kabbalists absorbed and reinterpreted the mythic/theurgic kabbalah of Moses Cordovero and Isaac Luria imported into Italy from Safed. Through the analysis of the dialectical relations between Italian kabbalah and the kabbalah of Safed, Idel dismantles the traditional conception articulated by Gershom Scholem and assesses the creativity of Jewish culture in the early modern period. Idel concludes that “Jews absorbed elements of the culture and responded to new spiritual challenges” in their own distinctive way (p. 258) and that Jewish participation in Renaissance culture changed over time. In the first phase of the Renaissance (1470–1550) Jews were part of the Florentine group that contributed so much to the emergence of

the speculative aspects of the Italian Renaissance, but after the mid-sixteenth century, Italian Jews became “consumers of culture and intellectual views rather than significant contributors.”

To specialists in Italian Jewish culture this volume does not offer many surprises, but they can definitely benefit from its excellent scholarship. To Jewish historians who do not specialize in Italy, the volume offers more nuanced and subtle ways to think about the relations between Jews and non-Jews in the production of Jewish culture. To Europeanists who are not familiar with the history of the Jewish minority, this volume (and especially the bibliography) could open a new window into the richness of Renaissance culture, which cannot be understood without the Jews.

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DANIELA RANDO. *Dai margini la memoria: Johannes Hinderbach (1418–1486)*. (Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento; Monografie, number 37.) Bologna: Mulino. 2003. Pp. 575. €33.00.

Daniela Rando offers here an account of the life, work, and thought of Johannes Hinderbach—jurist, counselor, diplomat, and cleric. Hinderbach was educated in arts and law at the universities of Vienna and Padua. Before becoming bishop of Trent in 1465, he was in service to the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor and German King Frederick III. Hinderbach is best known for his participation in the affair of Simon of Trent, a boy believed to have been ritually murdered by members of Trent’s Jewish community in 1475. The reprisals—after torture, forced confessions, and obligatory conversions—were brutal, as members of the Jewish community were beheaded, burned, or dispossessed. Rando does not focus on this episode, offering instead a two-part study of Hinderbach in context, a practice that allows her, when she does arrive at Hinderbach’s perceptions of Jews, to explain his participation in the Simon episode in a way that is intuitively satisfying, blending as it does structure and individual agency. Rando’s study is enriched by her use of a distinctive source base, Hinderbach’s library of over a hundred manuscripts and forty incunabula. He annotated them richly, and Rando has used these marginalia to reconstruct the fears, joys, and machinations of a fifteenth-century individual. In so doing, she also makes a contribution to the history of pre-Cartesian subjectivity.

First the author provides a narrative of Hinderbach’s life and times up until his election as bishop of Trent. Here we learn, in addition to much about the give and take of transalpine church politics, that while at Padua Hinderbach was interested in the supposed tomb of Antenor and that he knew the work of the earliest Renaissance historian of Latin literature, Sicco Polenton. Given his proximity to Frederick III, Hinderbach’s acquaintance with Enea Silvio Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II) is unsurprising but

noteworthy in character. Hinderbach says that he was present when Piccolomini first encountered Tacitus’s *Germania*. He laments that, even though he helped Piccolomini become a cardinal, Piccolomini was less generous than he might have been after becoming pope; and in one of his annotations, Hinderbach goes so far as to take credit for impelling Piccolomini to write his celebrated work *On the Education of the Young* (p. 196).

It is in the book’s second half that Rando’s method comes into its own. Here she is less concerned with the flow of events and more with Hinderbach’s subjective experience as it finds reflection in his annotations. The creation of memory, the exegetical, repetitive nature of premodern reading, the constitution of the “self”: these concerns form the background to discussions of Hinderbach’s perception of the role of the bishop, his opinions on relics, and his understanding of prayer. Hinderbach emerges as an exemplar of a certain kind of reading practice and mindset: when Hinderbach encounters Job’s lament about God’s anger (Job 16:9), he writes in the margin that “this was verified in the person of Christ, in His passion.” Tellingly for what is to come, when he comes across the passage in Isaiah (Isaiah 6:10) averring that the people of Israel “see but do not perceive,” Hinderbach writes that “this has been verified among the stubborn Jews” (p. 373). Hinderbach’s “fears and frenzies” included women, Turks, and Jews. Rando argues that Hinderbach, who lost his mother (as well as his father) by the age of eleven, was shaped by the essentializing perception of women (as flesh opposed to reason, desire as opposed to discipline) available to Christian elites from late antiquity. From his annotations at least, Hinderbach emerges as a person whose mindset was shaped by books.

The Turks were a different matter, as many Westerners were shaken by Constantinople’s fall in 1453 and the seeming implacability of the Turkish advance. Yet here, too, Hinderbach’s opinions emerge out of the written culture in which he was enmeshed. For him as for many of his contemporaries, the Turks were “bloodthirsty,” “perverse,” “rabid dogs,” or “the scourge of God” on contemporary leaders grown lax. A deeper problem stemmed from what they shared with the Jews: both groups were characterized by *perfidia*, “faithlessness.” Hinderbach’s annotations regarding Jews make his beliefs clear. Often in the margins to scriptural passages (referring, say, to God’s anger), he will write simply, “contra Judaeos” (“against the Jews”). Thus an Old Testament passage about a specific instance of God’s wrath comes to seem, when highlighted and annotated, part of a general anti-Jewish message permeating scripture. Hinderbach’s reading is inflected by the common notion that the New Testament was a fulfilment and vindication of the promises adumbrated in the Old. Reading Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum historiale* and encountering a passage in which it was suggested that Jews needed the blood of Christians to cover up their own odor,

Hinderbach annotated: "here he is treating the foulness and filthiness of Jews and Jewesses" (p. 476). Hinderbach's consultation of texts furthered his assumptions about the world even as his assumptions colored the way he read. Rando has allowed us to enter into the mindset of a fifteenth-century individual, familiar to us from his intellectual habits, distinctive in his use of annotation as a form of self-portraiture, and alien in his assumptions.

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JANE BURBANK. *Russian Peasants Go to Court: Legal Culture in the Countryside, 1905–1917*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 374. \$49.95.

This impressive work by Jane Burbank examines the operation of Russian township (*volost*) courts during the final years of the *ancien regime*. The courts themselves constituted the lowest instance in the judicial system erected in 1864; operated by the peasants, they were to resolve petty civil matters and misdemeanors among peasants themselves (and, occasionally, petty townspeople and, rarely, individuals from the more privileged social estates). This study focuses on ten township courts, seven in Moscow province, two in St. Petersburg province, and one in Novgorod province; it combines a close reading of individual cases with a statistical data set based on 907 files. The overarching purpose is to challenge the view (widely held by liberal jurists and educated Russian society) that the Russian peasantry lacked a rudimentary understanding of formal law and that the courts themselves only attest to this lawlessness and barbarity in the countryside.

Burbank, eschewing traditional stereotypes and assumptions about the "peasantry" as some homogeneous collectivity, seeks to provide an entirely new perspective on individual peasants and their courts. By devoting considerable attention to the paper records (*deloproizvodstvo*) and the operation of these courts, she concludes that the courts provided an efficient mechanism for resolving conflicts, that Russian peasants shaped the legal culture of imperial Russia, and that the courts served to promote civility and legality. As the records of these ten township courts and official statistics demonstrate, these courts recorded a seventy-eight percent increase in caseload between 1905 and 1913 yet remained a model of "efficient, regulated, effective, and recorded justice" (p. 75). The analysis includes the critical war years and, among other things, reveals a remarkable increase in the participation of women. This study, along with other research, provides fresh insight into the petty civil and criminal issues of everyday concern for peasants.

Even so massively researched and carefully crafted a volume cannot answer all the questions it has raised. As the author notes, these ten courts were hardly "typical"; indeed, operating in the shadows of the two capitals, they could hardly be more atypical, especially when compared with courts and peasants in remote,

outlying provinces. Burbank does show some change within the years 1905–1917, but a broader longitudinal study from the court's founding in 1864 could give a more graphic picture of the processes and patterns of change in the village. Moreover, township courts—while dominant as the first instance—comprised part of a larger system; it would be desirable to complement the picture offered here with a similar study of the peasants' interaction with courts of higher instances to ascertain how they perceived the judicial system as a whole. Even if peasants appropriated (and prized) the township courts for their own purposes, that constitutes only part of their interaction with the imperial judiciary. But perhaps it is even misleading to generalize too hastily about the experience of litigants in township courts, given that these involved less than two percent of the rural population; whether the rest had no conflicts (hardly imaginable) or turned elsewhere for conflict resolution remains an unknown. No doubt further inquiry into the gender dimension would also be fruitful; after all, the township courts were essentially male courts, with men constituting eighty-six percent of the plaintiffs, ninety percent of the defendants, ninety-eight percent of the witnesses, and 100 percent of the judges. Whether women could not, or would not, bother with such institutionalized patriarchy remains an open question. And, however seductive and rewarding the focus on a single source might be, it will be important to explore other documentation, especially if one is to judge the fairness, scale of corruption, and sheer efficiency of such courts. Not only the press but litigation in higher instances and the peasants' own testimony (in collective resolutions, for example) can offer complementary—and perhaps contravening—evidence on how the majority of peasants actually regarded these courts and the tsarist judiciary. One can also quibble about methodology: while it is cumbersome to construct statistically valid samples (whether random or proportionate samples), it is essential if the numbers are to be meaningful. And interpretation of numbers, even if statistically valid, requires care. Thus, while Burbank praises the township courts for handling cases promptly (despite the sharp rise in volume), one might instead conclude that this system was turning into a conveyor belt that afforded hasty, not necessarily fair, verdicts.

Such comments can help shape future studies. In the interim, this volume represents a significant contribution to the field and, it is to be hoped, will spawn studies that explore other regions and sources and thereby shed still more light on the complex, changing world of the village.

GREGORY L. FREEZE
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KEES BOTERBLOEM. *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896–1948*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 593. \$44.95.

Kees Boterbloem's book traces Andrei Zhdanov's rise to one of Joseph Stalin's most trusted deputies by the late 1930s, carefully examining Zhdanov's role in the great purges, in the 1939 war with Finland, and the Nazi-Soviet Pact. In addition to tracing Zhdanov's life and role, the book provides a detailed history of government decision making during much of the Soviet period, based on impressive study of post-Soviet Russian histories, Western writings, and Soviet archives now available. Boterbloem particularly analyzes records of visits to Stalin's office and leadership meetings. The book has about 350 pages of text and almost 200 pages of footnotes, with about forty pages of bibliography.

While going into great detail on political decision making, Boterbloem's approach differs from that of other historians in downplaying the importance of rivalries among Stalin's deputies. Although often pointing out the importance of ties between leaders and their associates, he repeatedly criticizes scholars who stress the struggles between groups of leaders. In particular, he complains that the importance of the rivalry between Zhdanov and Stalin's deputy Georgiy Malenkov, and of independent initiatives by Zhdanov or others, has been exaggerated (p. 9). Boterbloem admits that Malenkov and Zhdanov were hardly close friends, but he insists that no leader dared to be close to any other for fear of arousing Stalin's suspicion. He states that until 1950 (when Stalin became sick), Stalin "left little room" for "personal vendettas" among lieutenants, and competition among deputies "was far less pronounced" than other historians make out. He also argues that it is wrong to attribute initiatives to Zhdanov or other Soviet leaders, since most such initiatives came from Stalin.

Of course, the Communist Party banned factionalism and Stalin was sensitive to any hints of collusion among his deputies, and historians can sometimes force untidy events into artificial patterns. But Boterbloem's avoidance of factional interpretation—breaking down developments into patterns that suggest struggle between rival groupings over power and policy—makes it hard to make sense of the flow of events and the mass of detail. Clashes between leaders seem like random actions, not explainable by differing viewpoints or continuing patterns of personal or policy conflict, and events appear to lack political meaning. For example, the author explains the 1948 Central Committee apparatus reorganization—from basically two big directorates (for propaganda and cadres) to numerous departments for industrial branches—as the result of expansion of the party's central staff. "By 1948 it had become evident that the Central Committee Secretaries heading the directorates could not cope with supervising the thousands of bureaucrats of their vast apparatuses" (p. 329). He seems to accept the official explanation of the 1948 appointment of Malenkov and his "ally" P. K. Ponomarenko as Central Committee secretaries as necessitated by the "increase in the Central Committee's work" (p. 330). He ne-

glects the political explanation: that the drastic reversal of Zhdanov's 1939 reorganization and introduction of Malenkov's preference for industrial branches and the promotion of Zhdanov's foes Malenkov and Ponomarenko can be read as signs of Zhdanov's political decline.

Reading this book brings to mind the question of how much political motivation should be read into politicians' actions. Memoirs and official records often downplay the political subtext of discussions or actions. In reacting against political overinterpretation, Boterbloem may go too far in ignoring political motivations. Nevertheless, his detailed examination of archival material brings up much new material on important questions, such as Zhdanov's relationship to Stalin in his last months.

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SERHY YEKELCHYK. *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 231. \$50.00.

The Soviet Union was designed as a nominal federation of nationally named republics, in significant measure to gain the loyalty of Ukrainians to an entity governed from Moscow. During the 1920s, Moscow pursued a policy of "ukrainization," subsidizing Ukrainian culture and promoting ethnic Ukrainians within Soviet Ukraine. This experience marked the generation of writers who are the subjects of Serhy Yekelchuk's subtle and convincing narrative. By 1930, the endorsement of Ukrainian culture was called into question. Some Ukrainian writers were purged for nationalism, others for an overweening Marxism that failed to acknowledge the leading role of Russia. Ironically, Yekelchuk argues, the rise of Russia as the leading nation of the Soviet Union allowed, even required, the creation of a parallel official history for Ukraine.

In 1937, as the Great Terror began, Russia was characterized as "the great Russian nation." The rhetoric of class struggle, Yekelchuk argues, was replaced by that of national struggle. Certain groups became "enemy nations." Ukraine was rather a necessary ally. As Poles and Germans were executed in the anticipation of a European war, Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals created a timely Soviet Ukrainian national myth. The Cossack Uprisings of the seventeenth century, the most important event in this myth, revealed the resistance of the Ukrainian masses to Polish gentry and their German hirelings.

Yekelchuk emphasizes the interaction between central authorities and Ukrainian writers. Guidelines from Moscow allowed, he maintains, room for creativity. Thus the rehabilitation of the seventeenth-century Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi in 1938 allowed him to become a hero of Soviet Ukrainian drama, but it did not determine how books, films, and

operas were to be plotted and produced. It is nevertheless remarkable how closely such creative work matched the demands of the moment. As Poles were purged, Khmel'nyts'kyi was an anti-Polish figure. During World War II, he stood for feats of arms. Afterward, he became a symbol of the shared fate of Russia and Ukraine.

Between war's end and Joseph Stalin's death (in 1953), Ukrainian writers found an uneasy truce with their official minders. The writers, interestingly, fell out of favor, issued self-criticism, returned to favor, and then produced the major texts of official memory. They denounced each other, edited each other's works, and yet somehow seemed to be engaged in a common project. One wishes to know more about their motives. Yekelchik claims to resolve tensions between centralizing and centripetal interpretations of Soviet history by focusing on the interaction between officials and intellectuals, but this move simply poses the same question of center versus periphery at a different level. Where did writers' commitment to Ukraine come from? Is it to be explained by (centrally directed) policies of ukrainization? By a continuous Ukrainian history? Or perhaps—a possibility which Yekelchik outlines but does not elucidate—ambitions within a colonial apparatus?

After the war, Ukrainian writers reached a durable truce with Moscow. Ukraine was to be seen as a distinct but fraternal nation, which in the seventeenth century had freely bound itself to its elder Russian brother: Russia and Ukraine were, so to speak, together but unequal. As Yekelchik notes, such compromises contained the seeds of contradiction. If Ukraine freely joined Russia, it must have a history of its own. Even if Russia (after the war) was the only "great" nation, Ukraine was still a nation, and Ukrainians could codify a national past. This process took the familiar forms of historical novels and national opera. These genres smacked of classicist stability in the Soviet Union, but here as in other empires (suggests Yekelchik) they were vehicles of post-Romantic nationalism.

Yekelchik's account is a model of archival research and clear exposition. Along with recent work by David Brandenberger and others, it exemplifies a fruitful trend: the institutionalization of the intellectual history of the Soviet Union. Before 1991 one could know, roughly at least, which ideas were at stake, but available sources overemphasized the perspectives of defeated factions and dissidents. Recent archivally based studies reveal that the tensions between ideas were real enough in institutional practice. Yekelchik chooses to emphasize a certain kind of career, one perhaps unglamorous and often ignored, of the creative intellectual who compromises, leaving behind works that are flawed as universal art but important as national pedagogy.

TIMOTHY SNYDER
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LEONA TOKER. *Return from the Archipelago: Narratives of Gulag Survivors*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 333. \$39.95.

Leona Toker has embarked upon an ambitious project in terms of both the volume of literature that she covers and the theoretical questions that she poses. Her purpose in giving us this interpretive reading of the Gulag literature is to establish it as a distinctive literary genre and to identify the distinguishing features of this genre. In the process of realizing her aims, she poses important questions about the relationship between fiction and ethics and between artistic and ethical truth, about the nature of testimony and the relationship between individual experience and collective suffering, and about the uncomfortable role of the reader as both a victim and perpetrator of crime.

Her introductory chapter has a distinctively ethical tone. She writes: "Opting for a study of atrocities is not a reason for self-congratulation, yet it is an ethically positive act, if only because the victims usually want the world at large to know of their plight" (p. 2). In the context of discussing the overreliance on statistics, she makes the point that for a victim to drop out of statistics altogether is far worse than the transmogrification of personal experience into statistics.

Most Western readers will be familiar with the writings of Varlam Shalamov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, but Toker outlines for us the contours of a vast corpus of literature from the 1920s onwards. As such, the book provides an invaluable reference work for scholars from many disciplines. Toker provides us with a historical background to the Soviet concentration camps. However, her main focus is on the literary shape of testimonial writing. She is, of course, aware of the prevailing hesitancy about focusing on the formal aesthetic aspects of Gulag literature: the idea that form is trivial and detracts from substance. There is a general feeling that just as there is something morally repulsive about concentrating on the table manners of a starving person, so, too, there is something morally wrong in concentrating on the literary form of accounts of extreme experience. But Toker contends that "It is now ethically possible and, I believe, necessary to consider the writings of former prisoners as *artistic works* and to analyze not just the testimony that they represent but also their formal features" (p. 8). And this is where the book excels.

Toker's skill lies in identifying for us the recurring literary strategies that contribute to the artistic cohesiveness and moral power of Gulag narratives. She refers to these as the semiotics of Gulag literature. The structuring features of this literature include a description of the arrest where the cruelty of the act is offset by the kindness of an individual. Physical hardships are experienced as moral indignities: "The demands of the moral self are almost naturally stronger than one's biological needs" (p. 95). It is for such reasons that fasting becomes the paradoxical response to hunger. The separation of the text into chapters mirrors move-

ment across the Gulag landscape. The several meanings of the Russian word *etap* promote this kind of slippage between context and text. The shock of acute suffering is often mitigated, or sometimes accentuated, by focusing on incidental features of the situation. Too much emphasis on relentless suffering might weaken the reader's engagement with the text. Thus torture and interrogation are represented as a battle of wits between the torturer and his victim. There a fusion of individual and collective concerns often reflected in a meditation upon the relationship between the zone as a microcosm of the larger zone. Chance in the ancient Greek sense always plays a part.

A challenge for all Gulag narratives is the negotiation of a compromise between the artistic demands for unity and coherence and the testimonial or witnessing demands for all-inclusiveness and comprehensiveness. Shalamov insists that "the smallest and the weakest" must be allowed to leave a record (p. 5). The tension in finding this balance surfaces in Toker's own study. If she errs, it is toward the ethical rather than the artistic: toward all-inclusiveness at the cost of structural simplicity and clarity. Throughout the discussions of fictional and documentary accounts, we are given a feeling of the inseparability of life and literature. But this approach raises many questions that are not answered. Since the Wilkomirski affair, the relationship among text, experience, and authority has become more troubled. Where do we draw the line between fiction and fact? Who has the authority to speak for whom? And does the commonality of literary structure tell us anything about fundamental human ways of coping with extreme experience? These are questions that will be easier to debate since the appearance of Toker's book.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

FRANÇOISE DUNAND and CHRISTIANE ZIVIE-COCHE. *Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 BCE 395 CE*. Translated by DAVID LORTON. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 378. \$45.00.

With Françoise Dunand and Christiane Zivie-Coche's book, originally published in French in 1991, Cornell University Press has cornered the market in high-level introductions to ancient Egyptian religion, along with Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (1991), Jan Assmann's *Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (2001), and books by Siegfried Morenz, Erik Hornung, Claude Traunecker, and Dimitri Meeks. All take seriously Egyptian theology, cosmology, and iconography on their own terms, not simply as precursors or counterpoints to Christianity; all are sensitive to the different ideologies and texts of different temples; and particularly Shafer and Dunand/Zivie-Coche convey the central importance of

practice and ritual, lest Egyptian religion appear no more than the thought-experiments of ancient sages.

In Dunand and Zivie-Coche's book one gets the best in French Egyptology, exhaustive in coverage, with brilliantly sweeping insights that are informed as much by comparison and ethnography as by archaeology and epigraphy. Quoting Marguerite Yourcenar and Claude Lévi-Strauss, it represents Egyptology as a real intellectual pursuit, not just a source for History Channel sensationalism. Of course, for the American reader seeking efficient, historically-grounded prose and specific examples, there can be a downside to the more abstract French style of Zivie-Coche's segment, even in David Lorton's excellent translation. And unlike Assmann and Shafer, Dunand and Zivie-Coche do not document the innumerable sources they cite (apart from those they quote), making the student's pursuit of primary materials difficult. Major references are gathered in bibliographies at the end; but Dunand has not updated hers from the 1991 French edition, thus leaving aside a considerable body of recent scholarship on Greco-Roman Egyptian religion.

Yet it is for Dunand's half of the book, "Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt," that the volume stands out among these other introductions; for neither Shafer nor Assmann offer systematic discussion of the fascinating changes in Egyptian religion that took place under Hellenism, nor do books on Greco-Roman Egypt offer proper explanations of classical Egyptian religion. Dunand is herself among the most important and insightful scholars today of Egyptian religion of the Greco-Roman period. With her overview of religious developments through the rise of Christianity, this book successfully captures both Pharaonic and Hellenistic periods of Egyptian religion as distinct phases.

Zivie-Coche, an eminent archaeologist, approaches classical Egyptian religion as a complex thought system with its own subtle structures, none of which can be reduced to the caricatures of idolatry, animal worship, and intellectual mind games that have been applied to Egypt since the ancient Greeks. She devotes chapters to the significance of Egyptian gods, their verbal and iconographic representations, and to the uses of and variations in pantheons, the mythology of creation, and time itself, before turning to temples and rituals. In a particularly interesting chapter on Egyptian temples and the "grammar" of their iconographic and ritual arrangement, Zivie-Coche proposes that through these physical features "the temple was capable of functioning on its own, without priests, for the combination of images and texts on the walls were in and of themselves performative, even when no one came to animate it" (p. 95). Another excellent chapter on religious practices and attitudes outside the temple priesthood—what is often called "popular religion"—covers festivals, magic, domestic cult, and the language of entreaty or prayer, yet makes clear their essential connections to the world of the temple.

Dunand's section of the book, which covers Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt through the rise of Christian-

ity, is more historically grounded, opening with chapters on the nature of Ptolemaic and Roman rulership and priestly responses to these foreign rulers. While priests had traditionally promoted rulership, some began to lead revolts in the Ptolemaic period; and so with Roman rule the priesthoods were supervised closely. Subsequent chapters address the invention and popularization of the hybrid god Sarapis; the popularization of the royal goddess Isis and mortuary god Osiris across Egypt; and the expansion of some major temple complexes like Esna and their traditional literatures. Dunand has always been particularly sensitive to the dynamics of Hellenism—the use of Greek language, images, and ideas to reframe regional traditions—and thus devotes two chapters to examining Greek colonists' incorporation of Egyptian traditions and Egyptian villages' incorporation of Greek traditions (especially iconographic). Astute discussions of Judaism and Christianity in Egypt make full use of papyri and archaeology as well as literary texts. The last chapters cover examples of continuing temple festivals and processions; various forms of extra-temple religion (pilgrimage, domestic shrines, oracles); and, in a particularly important chapter, the continuity of mortuary tradition through the Roman period, alternately appropriated by Greeks and Romans and maintained by Christians.

Overall, the two authors have produced an authoritative and accessible text for a course on religions of the Greco-Roman world or on Greco-Roman Egypt—if the instructor can compensate for the lack of citations.

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JOHN T. CHALCRAFT. *The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories: Crafts and Guilds in Egypt, 1863–1914*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 285. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.95.

This engaging book describes how Egypt's artisans and small entrepreneurs coped with the changes brought about by Westernization and British imperialism from the middle of the nineteenth century up to the outbreak of World War I. It departs from the assumption that history written "from below" should be restricted to farmers in their fields and workers in their factories. It also refutes the widespread belief—one to which this reviewer would have subscribed—that the Industrial Revolution in Europe wiped out the industries of Egypt and other Third World countries. Small-scale manufacturing and various service industries persisted in Egypt, adapted to changing consumer needs and environmental conditions, and even grew stronger in some instances. The traditional artisan and merchant guilds did indeed atrophy and disappear, partly because the Egyptian government stopped using them as agents of taxation. The needs that had been met by

those guilds persisted, however, and new forms of organization and methods of mobilization enabled workers to articulate them. By the end of the period under consideration, Egypt's petit bourgeoisie and workers were starting to ally themselves with the burgeoning movement of resistance to foreign domination.

Based on John T. Chalcraft's prize-winning dissertation, this work draws on documents in Egypt's Dar al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya, court proceedings, Cairo governorate records, British consular correspondence, yearbooks, contemporary accounts in books and periodicals, and previous historical studies. To be sure, the rise of the Egyptian government under Muhammad Ali and his heirs, the imposition of a "temporary" British military occupation in 1882, the influx of European manufactured goods, and the immigration of European (and Asian) workers all affected—and generally for the worse—the conditions under which Egyptian artisans and merchants labored. Nevertheless, the operative assumption of contemporary observers and subsequent historians that Egypt's workers were a group that was acted upon is refuted by the evidence that Chalcraft presents. They were, in fact, actors. They adapted to changing conditions, adopted techniques of production, and refined their methods of organization. Although the government did not promote—and indeed actively discouraged—Egyptian factories, there were still growing numbers of Egyptians who spun and wove woolen and cotton cloth, cobbled shoes, built houses, prepared food and drink for consumption, and transported goods and people. As the guild system atrophied, they lost some of the traditional protections that had helped them to earn their livelihood. In some instances they effectively exploited themselves, their families, apprentices, and employees to compete with foreign-made products, reducing real wages, working longer hours, and forgoing better quality tools and working conditions.

The cab drivers' strike of April 1907 was a brief episode that erupted as a reaction to efforts by the Egyptian authorities, pressed by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, to enforce existing regulations against abuse of horses and other draft animals by carters and coachmen. It was also a reaction against the appearance of the first automotive taxis in the streets of Cairo and the willingness of the authorities to license them. As traffic ground to a halt and violence erupted in the city, the government made important concessions to the drivers, relaxing the inspection of draft animals, and the strike came to an end. It soon was followed by similar job actions by fishermen, butchers, matweavers, and tramdrivers. The Nationalists, mainly middle-class professionals, began to espouse the strikers' demands and to provide educational and other services to workers. What had begun as a protest movement of coach drivers began to evolve into a general workers' movement with long-term implications for Egyptian nationalism, but the failure of the National Party to become a mass move-

ment delayed this process. The imposition of martial law following the outbreak of World War I and the subsequent proclamation of the British protectorate silenced the Nationalists and, indeed, the workers. The subsequent development of organized labor in Egypt has been related by Raouf Abbas, Joel Beinin and Zachary Lockman, and Ellis Goldberg, among others, but Chalcraft's book makes a valuable contribution to our general knowledge of Egypt's economic history before World War I and our specific understanding of how Egyptian workers organized themselves within a challenging political and economic environment. The book is written in an engaging style and is graced by some contemporary photographs that also help to convey the author's message.

ARTHUR GOLDSCHMIDT, JR.
Penn State University

S. ILAN TROEN. *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 341. \$35.00.

Zionism's success in establishing a Jewish state ultimately lies in its historical ability to control land, settle it with immigrants, and create a new Jewish demographic and spatial reality in largely Arab Palestine. This process was accomplished through two interconnected processes. The first consisted of the visions and efforts of Zionist planners, while the second was the turbulence and demographic fallout of the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars. S. Ilan Troen offers a detailed history of the first process: how Zionist "colonizers" (p. xiv) employed dreams and designs to plan new, European-style rural and urban landscapes for Jewish immigrants to Palestine and, after 1948, Israel. Unfortunately, however, he avoids any meaningful analysis of the second: the disappearance of much of the Arab spatial and demographic reality that resulted from these processes. Nor does he shed much light on the intertwined relationship between the two, and thus he avoids the interconnection between Zionist planning and shrinking Palestinian demographic and geographic realities. Admittedly, the book's purpose is to study the internal workings of Jewish settlement in Palestine/Israel. It does so, however, in a strangely detached way that fails to situate this discussion adequately within the wider context of the Zionist-Palestinian Arab struggle over the land.

Troen argues that Zionist settlement planning was conditioned historically by three factors: social and political ideologies, productivity and economic self-sufficiency, and security. Of these, he argues that security has played the biggest role in shaping, or misshaping, settlement strategies and tactics. He studies Jewish settlement in Palestine/Israel chronologically from the first *aliya* (wave of Jewish immigration) of the 1880s through settlement building in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem after 1967. The book focuses on three themes, each of which is detailed in one of its three parts. In part one, Troen analyzes "The

Zionist Village," noting the pre-1948 evolution of the concept of the rural Jewish community from the individualistic moshava, to the collective kevtza and kibbutz models, and finally to the cooperative moshav farms. The kibbutz model was better suited for defense, he argues, which explains the predominance of this type of settlement after the 1929 disturbances.

Part two centers around urban planning. The author devotes an entire chapter to the development of Tel Aviv as a "Vienna on the Mediterranean," replete with Viennese models for development and Bauhaus architecture. Troen discusses the importation of European models of garden cities and urban planning and contrasts the collectivism of rural settlement designs with the individualistic, bourgeois spirit that stirred the urban Zionist imaginations of men like Theodor Herzl and Meir Dizengoff.

The third and final part of the book examines the fallout of the Jewish victory in the 1948 war. Here Troen focuses on the massive drive to settle hundreds of thousands of new Jewish immigrants in Israel after the war, which forced Zionist settlement patterns into yet another phase. Finally, part three discusses the "rurban" model of village community found in post-1967 Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and details the special case of planning in and around Jerusalem.

Troen's inattention to the full ramifications of the 1948 war for the contours of the predominantly Arab landscape in the country is most evident in section three. Despite its title ("Post-Independence Opportunities and Necessities"), he devotes precious little attention here to one of the most important keys to Zionism's success in Judaizing Palestine: the massive Palestinian refugee exodus and the abandonment of a huge amount of Palestinian land, during and after the 1948 war. The book sheds little light on the dynamics by which the new Israeli state confiscated the refugees' properties, destroyed their villages, and transformed their spatial geography. One therefore comes away with an incomplete understanding of how Zionist "imagined communities" were created out of the pre-existing Arab landscape. This is not a call for politicizing the book, or giving a "Palestinian perspective." One simply cannot discuss the long history of Zionist settlement without taking into account its encounters with a different (Arab) demographic and geographic reality. Nor can one ignore Zionism's transformative power over the landscape. Zionist policy literally was articulated as the "conquest of the land," both on a macro-level scale (*kibush ha-arets*) and micro-level scale (*kibush ha-adama*). The speed, ease, and cost of this conquest were assisted dramatically after 1948 by the confiscation of massive amounts of Palestinian refugee land and, later, the land of resident Palestinians in Israel and the West Bank.

This is nonetheless a useful book that details the ideals and practical details of a century of Zionist settlement, despite largely ignoring the historical geo-

graphical context that made much of this settlement possible.

MICHAEL R. FISCHBACH
Randolph-Macon College

MICHAEL R. FISCHBACH. *Records of Dispossession: Palestinian Refugee Property and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. (The Institute for Palestine Studies Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xxviii, 467. \$39.50.

Since Camp David II in July 2000, the claim for a right of return by Palestinian refugees has become the most visible evidence of irreconcilable differences between Israeli government positions and those of the Palestinian leadership. Michael R. Fischbach links the unresolved conflict about how to achieve a just resolution of refugee claims to the more specific question of defining and compensating for refugee property lost in the war of 1947–1948. He notes in his introduction that this “is one of the few aspects of the refugee property dilemma on which many parties have agreed over the decades since 1948: The refugees should be compensated for their abandoned property” (p. xxiii). Why, despite substantial work done over the years to develop plans for compensation, none has succeeded poses a central question for his research. How attempts to resolve the losses of refugees became immediately intrinsic to the unresolved political issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict constitutes an important dimension in the effort to explain this failure.

This book is particularly valuable for the author’s careful and detailed research, which gives us concrete evidence of the ways in which the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP) attempted to satisfy its mandate with regard to facilitating “the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation” (Article 11, UN General Assembly Resolution 194, Dec. 11, 1948). Fischbach’s study of materials and his description of various efforts to arrive at evaluations of refugee property are an important resource for anyone seeking to understand the intractability of the “refugee problem” and the ongoing complexity of negotiating solutions. Throughout the book he is keenly aware of the ways in which broader aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict undermined success. Adopting to some extent a perspective which views this history through UN documents, he sees officials working for the UNCCP as idealists, hampered by state policies and, in particular, by what he describes as a substantial identification of U.S. positions with those of the Israeli government. While it is not entirely clear what Fischbach sees as constituting possible resolution, it is clear that he believes various alternatives could not be implemented in large measure “because the United States and its allies, France and Turkey, were unwilling to pressure the parties, especially Israel” (p. 367).

From the first, as Fischbach shows, the frameworks

utilized by different actors led to competing conceptualizations of compensation schemes and their implications for Israelis and Palestinians. Thus, despite the broad agreement on the legitimacy of compensation, translating this agreement into action was impossible and has remained a source of contention. The situation was rendered additionally complicated by the interests of other parties including the U.S. and various Arab states, as well as by class and other internal divisions among Palestinian refugees. More recently, revived emphasis by some on the case for compensation due Jews who had to leave Arab countries under duress has extended the ongoing tension between efforts to separate Palestinian refugee claims from other aspects of the conflict and the position that they are inherently embedded in it, with no possibility of satisfying this aspect without a comprehensive peace.

Implicit in this analysis of Palestinian refugee property and compensation is a definition that presumes the possibility of arriving at concrete solutions, and thus failure is something to be explained by examining specific historical efforts. What is lacking, however, is any consideration of the ways in which this set of failures in itself has played and continues to play a role in structuring the conflict as one that, while undoubtedly tragic in its human dimensions, must also be recognized as formative for all the nations and states involved. Throughout we see evidence of internal contradictions historically inhibiting definitive resolutions that might put an end to that process. For example, Fischbach says that: “The increased involvement of the United States and the USSR in the conflict by virtue of their massive arms sales to the region only deepened the international focus on preventing further wars between Israel and the front-line Arab states” (p. 314). The author does not elaborate on this statement, thus failing to examine the relationship between providing the means for war and insisting on the need for prevention. Throughout his extensive consideration of projects devoted to studying property and compensation, as well as related policies, there is material suggestive of complexities that are not analyzed and of the need for a comparative framework that would put these particularities in context. This book is valuable and important in covering ground not investigated with such thoroughness before and in offering readers access to materials largely unstudied. It is to be hoped that it will contribute as well to the development of work that will elaborate on its findings and perhaps place them in broader perspective.

YLANA N. MILLER
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HERVÉ PENNEC. *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d’implantation; 1495–1633*. Paris and Lisbon: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian. 2003. Pp. 373.

This is by no means the first book on the Jesuits in Ethiopia, and one might assume that the story was well

enough known not to require a detailed monograph. After all, the Jesuits themselves, as was their custom, recorded the history of their mission in great detail. However, Hervé Pennec performs for the Jesuit mission the sort of analysis to which art historians subject great paintings. Minute and almost invisible detail is highlighted and analyzed, and a sort of X-ray process is applied to discover the underlying strategies of the Jesuit superiors and the structures of the story that are more or less invisible in the narrative. Moreover, one can detect a strong *Annaliste* influence in the profusion of explanatory tables, plans, and maps.

So what does this book tell us? The story of the mission (which lasted from 1556 to 1632) was shaped from the start by political considerations. The struggle between Rome and Goa for control was played out in the selection of personnel for the mission, which in the 1550s was seen as the most important in the East. Fascinating new light is thrown on the decision to send a mission to eastern Africa in 1560 under Gonçalo da Silveira rather than to reinforce the Jesuits in Ethiopia. Silveira was viewed by his superiors as unsuitable for a senior posting in Asia, and there were plans to recall him to Europe. The compromise of placing him in charge of a new mission to East Africa revealed the flaws in his personality, which provided the Jesuits with one of their first martyrs.

Pennec also suggests a new interpretation for the controversial conversion to Roman Catholicism of the ruler Susenyos in 1621, which has been seen as one of the greatest, if one of the most short-lived, triumphs of the Jesuit missions. Pennec suggests that the adoption of Catholicism and the founding of nine Jesuit churches during the period 1624–1628 has to be seen in light of the struggle of the Ethiopian rulers to control the church. In the fifteenth century, kings and queens frequently founded “royal” monasteries to provide ecclesiastical centers under their control, and the founding of the Jesuit churches and residences under royal patronage in the seventeenth century has to be understood as part of this process. This interpretation of the conversion of the Ethiopian ruler, of course, mirrors the most recent interpretations of the conversion of the king of the Kongo, although this comparison is not made by the author.

The detail that emerges about the missions is not the least interesting part of this book. There is detailed textual analysis to show the sources used by Ignatius Loyola to elaborate the plans for the mission. The first Jesuit mission was allocated an expert printer at a time when there was no printing press in Goa itself. Most of the early missionaries who were sent were between thirty and forty years old, but when the mission expanded rapidly after 1620 the new recruits tended to be much younger (pp. 132–33). The role played by secular Indian priests at various points is a surprising addition to the story. There is also a learned discussion about whether it was the Jesuits who introduced the use of lime mortar into Ethiopia, as they themselves claimed, or whether it was a technique already known

there (pp. 175–78). The author has not only combed the surviving texts to compile his statistical analyses, but he has conducted an important exercise in historical geography. While admitting that he has not done any true archaeological work, he describes a field expedition, undertaken in 1998, to identify the various sites of the different Jesuit residences. The text is richly illustrated with thumbnail pictures of ruins, architectural detail, ground plans, and locations, which are all carefully plotted on maps. The finances of the mission are also explored. Money received from the Ethiopian king to support the mission was at least twice that which came from the king of Spain, which was always “longue à venir [et] toujours insuffisante” (p. 170).

Is there a new view of the Jesuits? This study certainly reminds the reader that the flexible approach to conversion, which marked the missions to Japan and China, was not universal Jesuit practice. The first missionaries to arrive in 1557 placed Ethiopia in the category of “chrétientés ‘dissidentes’” (p. 307). They simply demanded the submission of the Negus to Rome and made no attempt to enter into any sort of dialogue. Not surprisingly, they failed, and they were marginalized for the next forty years.

This is a book that grows on you as you read. The scholarship is worn lightly, and intricate arguments are treated with clarity and brevity. The reader becomes grateful that what is, after all, a well-known story is being illuminated not by opinion and wordy interpretation but by clearly presented factual information that has not hitherto been available.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JOHN ILIFFE. *Honour in African History*. New York: University of Cambridge Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 404. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$28.99.

This book has a charming thesis: African behavior, relating to actions and events in the past as often as today, can best be understood through the concept of honor. “Whatever you are seeking,” says one popular Yoruba proverb, which I am quoting to endorse John Iliffe’s perceptive claim, even if it is money, “take a retreat once you obtain honor.” The proverb poses a question: “What do you do with the money you tirelessly seek if not to attain honor?” The brilliance of this book lies in turning this philosophical concept into a powerful organizing principle to explain history in the *longue durée*. Iliffe demonstrates genius in the way he shows erudition, clearly articulated logic, insightful remarks, and encyclopedic knowledge. To enjoy the book, one has to accept that honor motivates behavior and, consequently, actions and events. Many of the examples offered by Iliffe may be alien to some readers, but honor is about specific value systems and not necessarily an embodiment of a universal code.

For a concept as ambiguous and elastic as "honor," it is to be expected that Iliffe's uses and applications may generate heated arguments, more so as he sees honor as a major theme linking African history over a period of ten centuries. The book settles for a definition of honor as "a right to respect"—the expectation that an individual wants respect, the need to treat others with respect, and the ability and resources of an individual to enforce respect. Iliffe is aware that honor is a contested term, and its application has to be cultural and temporal. As the narratives show, we confront multiple manifestations of honor as prestige, virtues, moral values, rank, behavior, who a person was, what a person did, application of law, and ability to fight. In breaking down honor as a concept, Iliffe presents rich data on bravery, physical courage, prowess, ability to endure pain and suffering, strength, loyalty to a cause, and leadership. He also identifies the routes to honor: generosity, martial prowess, leadership, gifts of diplomacy, and acquisition of wealth.

Iliffe presents an extensive but disciplined historical survey. In the first part of the book, comprising nine chapters, the focus is on both heroes and ordinary citizens. Discussion of heroes covers the well-beaten tracks of wars, courage in battles, valor, and political leadership, with examples drawn from pre-Islamic West African aristocratic horsemen of the savanna, the Yoruba military systems and warriors, and the warrior ethos of the Zulu in South Africa. Far more refreshing is Iliffe's treatment of the day-to-day displays of honor exhibited by how men managed their households and demonstrated values of honesty, generosity, integrity and prudence. Similarly, the gender dimension is nuanced, as Iliffe refuses to limit himself to the male characterization of women's honor based on chastity. The argument is clear that sexual shame does not fully explain the honor that women seek, and Iliffe emphasizes the importance of fertility, support for children, endurance, and household management. As he elaborates on the lives of the ordinary, we see the importance of heroic Christianity (as in Ethiopia), and of mature and respected householders.

In the second part of the book, nine chapters explore the ideas and manifestations of honor in Africa during the twentieth century. Colonial conquest created "the crisis of honor." Iliffe reveals a clear picture of how Africans reimagined notions of honor and incorporated new ethics in response to new challenges. Massive amounts of data are presented on military codes in colonial armies, ideals of responsibility and respectability, professionalism derived from Western education, and changing gender roles. Honor was expressed in resistance to colonial conquest and the nationalism that created modern African nation-states.

This book will surely command serious and sustained attention, in part because it is the first to delineate clear historical dimensions of a subject that has been recognized but unexplored. It offers a way to bridge the disciplinary divides among historians, sociologists, and anthropologists who have examined this

concept without any chronological framework. It broadens the literature on honor beyond the existing body of ideas drawn mainly from North Africa. As Iliffe admirably explains African ideas of manhood and womanhood, he complicates the subject by establishing that honor was not limited to a class of elite and warriors but to ordinary citizens as well. The book is successful in presenting, for the first time in many instances, honor cultures in Africa. Iliffe opens various new areas for investigation, especially the linkages that he establishes between honor and contemporary political corruption, democracy, and even responses to epidemics such as AIDS. Those who have pathologized violence, authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism, and other so-called African excesses will find alternative explanations that deal with the centrality of honor in what people do and cherish. To those who condemn peoples and values they hardly understand, Iliffe responds with wise words: "Human beings seldom do things they believe to be wrong. They do wrong things because they believe them to be right." Iliffe is right to have written this outstanding book with the maturity and integrity of a venerable scholar.

TOYIN FALOLA
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Austin

TOYIN FALOLA. *The Power of African Cultures*. Rochester, N.Y. University of Rochester Press. 2003. Pp. xiii. 354. \$75.00.

Toyin Falola's newest book focuses on an increasingly important field in African history and in African studies—that of cultural history. Derived from lectures and intended partly for the general reader, his book consists of eleven chapters, beginning with Africans' encounter with the West and ending with the diaspora of African cultures in the Americas and more recently, in Europe.

Falola's goal is "to present the relevance of culture to Africans in the modern era" (p. 1). An important subtext to his argument is that although Africa is presently seen as impoverished and victimized, Africans are resiliently pursuing cultural creativity, are "active in seeking alternative solutions to . . . problems" and incorporating "imported ideas and objects" (p. 2). In this respect, Falola echoes the coda of Anthony Appiah's *In My Father's House* (1992), which delivers an often-cited paean to African cultural inventiveness in times of crisis.

In his recent works, Falola has chosen large subjects, yet that of African cultures' claim on public life is arguably even more immense. It is also complicated. In the last few years, much probing African cultural history has been published. For East Africa alone, there are the works of Laura Fair on Zanzibar, E. S. Atieno-Odhiambo and David Cohen on various modalities of western Kenyan societies, and Jean-Pierre Chrétien on the Great Lakes region. The questions raised in these new histories have to do not only with

the influence of African culture and its power but with how culture works in making its power felt.

Falola faces these issues in a straightforward fashion, and he delivers a number of impressive chapters. Particularly exceptional are the chapters on "Political Economy and the Culture of Underdevelopment," where he addresses the charged question of whether African culture is at fault for underdevelopment; "Ethnic Nationalism," in which he details the attempts at "manufacturing" the Yoruba (p. 149) into a Nigerian ethnic political force; and "Islam, Religious Identity, and Politics," where he looks at Nigerian Islam in all its heterogeneity, and places it in regional and supranational Islamic networks.

The most fascinating chapter is "English or Englishes? The Politics of Language and the Language of Politics." Here Falola goes beyond the standard proposition about "the Africanization of the English language" (p. 229). He follows the breakout of English from use by elite Nigerians into mass usage and the impact that the cross-class diffusion of English had on the desire to consolidate indigenous languages. Once diffusion occurred, he argues, Nigerians began to impose "multilingualism and pluralism on a foreign language" (p. 230). A very competitive language sphere has been the result. So-called standard English competes with local languages containing English borrowings and with a very vibrant pidgin. Rivalry among the Englishes has questioned the possibility of a Nigerian lingua franca. In addition, Falola notes that one major future issue has emerged, that of "linguistic democracy." For many, the insistence on standard English has subverted a sense of national inclusiveness, making serious discussions of national policy the province of the language elite. Falola provides what has been long needed: a succinct case study on the outcomes of colonial language.

This commodious book offers much to readers looking for an orientation to African cultures' claims. But it has drawbacks. It is mostly about West Africa, and more particularly about Nigeria. Nigeria has a lot to offer analysts in terms of culture being intertwined with public processes. Yet the book would have been enhanced by, say, presenting Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o on the decolonization of culture, the Zulu and their construction of identity in apartheid's declining years, and African governments' 1960s–1970s manipulation of cultural traditions. Chapters on popular culture and the intellectual cultures of contemporary art, music, and writing also would have been salutary. Falola is capable of any of these additions, given his eclectic knowledge.

As it is, this book will still attract a lot of readers and start many thinking about African culture as a reshaper of public affairs.

KENNELL A. JACKSON, JR.
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WILLIAM BEINART and JOANN MCGREGOR, editors.
Social History and African Environments. Oxford:

James Currey. Athens: Ohio University Press. Cape Town: David Philip. 2003. Pp. xii, 275. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$27.95.

Editors William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor have collected a set of essays whose genesis reaches back to a 1999 conference on environmental history held at St. Anthony's College, Oxford. The meeting brought together Africa specialists from multiple academic disciplines and resulted in a number of excellent presentations and invigorating discussions. Some of the conference papers have already been published, and this book brings to print more of the larger whole. Like other collections of the sort, the volume presents in microcosm both the problems inherent in academic conferences as well as the possibilities for insight that can move a field forward.

The editors' geographical bias runs toward southern Africa, although two contributions do come from the continent's eastern reaches. In terms of method and approach, the collection is far more diverse, and the editors have deftly organized their contributions into three useful rubrics: "African Environmental Ideas and Practices," "Colonial Science, the State, and African Responses" and "Settlers and Africans: Culture and Nature." These thematic threads represent the editors' vision of Africanist environmental history, which they argue must move beyond blanket critiques of colonial conservation, political economy, environmental determinism, demography, and disease and into the realm of cultural and intellectual history. This new direction includes the relationship between landscape and identity, cultural studies and literary criticism, and the critical revaluation of sources.

Tellingly, the first section's strongest essays emerge from the field's more established trajectories. Emmanuel Kreike's treatise on fruit trees in Namibia and Karen Middleton's discussion of Prickly Pear Cactus in Madagascar view landscapes as very real entities shaped by the intended and unintended consequences of interaction of natural and human forces. Middleton's contribution, perhaps the book's best, recalls Alfred Crosby's work on pioneer species in *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (1986) but reverses the direction of plant exchange to examine the expansion of an American plant, albeit one planted by Europeans, in the Old World. This well-told story of the cactus's dramatic invasion highlights the spatial differentials in the plant's developing ecological role in particular places on Madagascar, as well as the various local social responses among the Malagasy. Kreike's thesis that north central Namibia's landscapes were shaped by extensive human action, in this case the propagation of two species of fruit trees, will sound familiar to readers of *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic* (1996), James Fairhead and Melissa Leach's important work on West Africa's savanna/forest transition zone, where farmers actively propagated forest species around their homesteads in

a process that flew in the face of colonial claims about regional deforestation.

The section's other contributions from Innocent Pikirayi (the intersection of drought, political violence, and environmental degradation), Terence Ranger (women's environmental roles in Zimbabwean religious practice), and JoAnn McGregor (memory and landscape in Zambezi Valley) prove less satisfactory as environmental histories because they focus on ideas to the exclusion of ecological change. Unfortunately, Ranger's sources allow only a series of static vignettes of female cult participation. And while McGregor's focus on water demonstrates the ideological transformation from animism to pragmatism that accompanied the construction of the Kariba Dam, readers will learn little about the dam's regional ecological consequences.

Part two links environmental history to colonialism, especially the understanding and application of colonial science. The two most compelling pieces in this section belong to Grace Carswell and Helen Tilley. Both seek to rehabilitate colonial conservation from the hypercriticism of Africanist environmental history. Tilley's effort focuses on *Science in Africa: A Review of Scientific Research Relating to Tropical and Southern Africa*, E. B. Worthington's compendium of scholarly work on Africa published in the late 1930s. Tilley argues correctly that the experts who contributed to this truly multidisciplinary effort drew attention to the heterogeneity of Africa's environments, the local knowledge that created them and the failure of early colonial interventions in the realm of conservation. However, Tilley's perspective, which nonetheless emanates from the upper echelons of colonialism, fails to demonstrate the efficacious integration of research and policy on the ground. By taking the argument even further to claim that the African Survey had "liberalizing" and "progressive" effects, Tilley overgeneralizes. On a continental scale, context matters.

Carswell's local study of colonial conservation in Kigezi, Uganda, admirably fills the lacunae in Tilley's analysis. The Ugandan case demonstrates the necessity of a diachronic understanding of environmental, ecological, and social context when assessing the effects of colonial conservation. Up to the end of World War II, it seems that colonial officials managed to tailor their soil conservation program to Kigezi's tradition of innovative and stable food production. In addition to the importance of historical continuity, Carswell argues that administrative stability contributed to the success of colonial conservation initiatives; the colonial district agricultural officer remained in the area for fourteen years and, significantly, spoke Rukiga. What remains unknown is whether or not the Kigezi system simply survived colonial intrusion or benefited from it.

The final section offers a set of impressionistic studies of culture and nature. With the exception of Jane Carruthers's exploration of San ethnicity and "landscape ideology" in the Gemsbok National Park,

these essays for the most part present white perspectives. David Bunn's essay on Pump Willis's wildlife photography and Sandra Swart's discussion of Eugene Marais's Afrikaans publications on termites link settler nationalism, the South African state, and select pieces of the natural world. Bunn's and Carruthers's essays, in particular, demonstrate the myopic view of South Africa's white community, whose racism removed Africans from their vision of the nation's iconic landscapes.

Although several essays deserve careful scrutiny, as a whole, the collection, like many of this genre, is very uneven. What will disappoint environmental historians, however, is the editors' failure to include any historical perspectives from the natural scientists who attended the conference. Environmental history without an accounting of physical and biological change has limited appeal.

CHRISTOPHER CONTE
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RUTH WATSON. *Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan: Chieftaincy and Civic Culture in a Yoruba City*. (Western African Studies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. Oxford: James Currey. 2003. Pp. xii, 180. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.95.

This book is a riveting story of Ibadan, the largest city in Nigeria, which was founded as a refugee camp in 1829 following the collapse of the Yoruba Oyo Empire. Its precolonial history centered on militarism and violence. Ibadan grew into an impressive and sprawling urban center and, by the 1840s, politically and economically dominated most of the Yoruba region until the British intervention of 1893, which ended the internecine Yoruba wars and Ibadan imperialism as well. Ruth Watson explores both the precolonial and colonial history of Ibadan, starting from its founding in 1829 and ending with its hosting of the 1939 Conference of Yoruba Chiefs.

The early chapters (one through three) focus attention on the precolonial period, characterized by civil disorder—hence the book's apt title, which derives from the Yoruba *oriki* (praise-song) "No-one comes to earth without some disease; disorder is the disease of Ibadan" (p. 34). Watson recounts Ibadan's history, in which military prowess formed the basis of political power, the acquisition of wealth, and social status (chieftaincy titles). "In Ibadan," she writes, "those who held chieftaincy posts were usually affluent, deriving income from war booty, tribute, tolls and the sale of agricultural produce from their farms" (p. 47). The quest for power and status unavoidably fostered intrigues and rivalries, also characteristic features of Ibadan's social and political history. Consequently, "civil disorder" persisted even in the colonial period (p. 162).

The succeeding chapters (four through six) deal with the era of British rule and the introduction of a new political and socioeconomic culture. The relationships

between chieftaincy and city politics are discussed. But Watson calls attention to how colonial rule provided a new paradigm of social mobility, whereby "common men" with money could now buy chieftaincy titles, which hitherto privileged military warriors. "Surely," the Yoruba say, "money is the God of the world" (p. 115). The British indirect rule system, derisively dubbed the "great blot," also dealt a blow to Ibadan political and chieftaincy systems. As the author discusses in chapter five, traditional chieftaincy politics became the casualty of colonial rule. Contrary to "ancient custom," chiefs were now deposed or exiled by British fiat. Ashamed, many chiefs committed suicide.

On the economic side, too, colonial rule deprived chiefs of their precolonial sources of material wealth, resulting in unanticipated consequences. "Since the livelihood of war could no longer be depended upon, some warrior chiefs turned to brigandage in the city as an economically rewarding venture" (p. 61). Although offending chiefs were punished, "burglaries remained frequent in Ibadan" (p. 63). Chiefs' complaints and protests also remained frequent. On the whole, British intervention in city politics, superbly discussed in some detail, again engendered intrigues and competition, as chiefs vied for British recognition for purposes of enhancing chiefly honor and social status.

The two concluding chapters (seven and eight) deal largely with material culture and civic power. First, the transformation of Ibadan landscape receives attention—notably the construction of the imposing Mapo Hall, the Ibadan City Council, and Bower Memorial. According to Watson, "Mapo Hall was first used to represent a colonial Ibadan citizenship. As far as [Resident] Ward Price was concerned, the role of the building was to 'breed civic pride,' and that it certainly did. "Chieftaincy installations also came to be characterized by more openly lavish pageantry" (p. 130). Discussions of politics and pageantry (chapter six) emphasize "the importance of cloth for the assertion of political status," a longstanding Yoruba cultural tradition.

Social and political leaders used cloth (e.g. velvet, silk, damask) as a marker of social position/distinction. Thus men of wealth often "endeavoured to outdo each other in the garment they wore" (p. 152). In Ibadan, specifically, the "opening ceremonies of Mapo Hall and Bower Memorial demonstrated that material display was also part of the politics of imperial rule. This display, especially in colours, embodied colonial hierarchies" (p. 153). Interestingly, the Alaafin of Oyo appropriated the colorful damask, and protested vehemently against its being worn by any of the chiefs to the 1939 Yoruba Chiefs Conference. The British administration apparently obliged by issuing the "Restriction of the use of certain kinds of cloth Order" (p. 154).

Overall, this relatively thin book is a major contribution to the growing literature on local (urban) history. The numerous photographs enhance the quality of the book, solidly based on archival and fieldwork

research. The life histories are particularly valuable and commendable.

FELIX K. EKECHI
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DAVID ANDERSON. *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. viii, 406. \$25.95.

CAROLINE ELKINS. *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*. New York: Henry Holt. 2005. Pp. xvi, 475. \$27.50.

Mau Mau, the colloquial term for the 1950s armed uprising by poor and landless Kikuyu against the British settler regime in Kenya and its more prosperous Kikuyu allies, has captivated the imagination of Westerners and Kenyans alike for the last fifty years. The naked brutality of the Mau Mau war, known at the time as the Mau Mau emergency, and the British crackdown that followed produced a shock to Western sensibilities that still reverberates. The fratricidal nature of the conflict, which pitted Kikuyu against Kikuyu, also continues to influence contemporary Kenyan politics and culture profoundly. Although precise figures are not available, Mau Mau is almost certainly one of the most written-about events in twentieth-century African history.

These works by David Anderson and Caroline Elkins are the most recent contributions to the substantial historiography of Mau Mau. A non-Africanist, or even a non-Kenyanist, might reasonably enquire why we need more Mau Mau books. Simply put, we still do not fully understand the origins, nature, trajectory, and legacy of the Emergency. The British administration and the postcolonial Kenyan government willfully destroyed or locked away sensitive Mau Mau-related records to cover up the most brutal and embarrassing aspects of the war. Colonial officials burned pages and pages of documents on the eve of independence in 1963 and sent three hundred boxes of material (which measured over one hundred feet long when stacked end to end) covering intelligence reports, collective punishments, and detentions back to London, where they remain sealed. Files in Britain's Public Records Office show that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office pretended not to know the location of these vital documents when the Kenyan government asked for them back in 1967. Historians have therefore had to work with frustratingly limited and fragmentary evidence in trying to understand the Emergency. The slow dribble of new information over the last fifty years has necessarily required revisions in the history of Mau Mau.

Anderson's book is based on new evidence consisting of court records of the capital trials of roughly three thousand alleged Mau Mau supporters. Chillingly, 1,090 of these men went to the gallows, which was twice the number of rebels that the French

executed in Algeria. This rich legal trove, which sat largely unnoticed in the Kenya National Archives, consists of court transcripts, witness statements, confessions, and pleas for clemency. Anderson's stated goal is to use the new legal evidence as the nucleus of a new "informed and candid general history of the survey of the Mau Mau war" (p. 395). In an unflinching indictment of the colonial legal system, he documents how the Kenyan authorities perverted British standards of justice by changing the rules of evidence, coaching witnesses, rigging trials, and broadening the range of capital offenses to include mere association with the Mau Mau. Although the book is centered on the courtroom, Anderson skillfully broadens his narrative analysis to provide new and important perspectives on the entire war. His is the arresting story of a "dirty war" where the true allegiances of the combatants were fuzzy and ill defined and where people on both sides committed atrocities.

Mau Mau scholars and general readers do indeed have a great deal to learn from Anderson's book. The brilliant chapter on the infamous "Lari massacre" is its high point. This chapter masterfully complicates the conventional explanation of Mau Mau as a straightforward anticolonial struggle by illustrating how one half of the Lari community turned on the other over intensely bitter conflicts around land and authority. Anderson also provides a much-needed corrective to popular accounts of the Emergency, which focus on the numerous Mau Mau "generals" and "field marshals" who claimed leadership of the revolt. These men are largely remembered as heroes in contemporary Kenya, but our fixation on them makes the Mau Mau forces appear like a comic opera army with more colonels than corporals. Anderson uses legal records to recover the role of Mau Mau subalterns, most of whom died at the end of a rope, who were "ordinary foot soldiers," food carriers, couriers, recruiters, oathers, fundraisers, assassins, and enforcers. Conversely, he also shows that some of the men who went to the gallows were intimidated or even press-ganged into taking up arms.

Where court records underpin Anderson's study, Caroline Elkins's book is based primarily on six hundred hours of interviews with three hundred Kenyans who were detained and brutalized by the colonial government for their alleged association with Mau Mau. Faced with the impossible task of determining which Kikuyu they could trust, colonial authorities used the State of Emergency to justify the wholesale extralegal imprisonment of over one hundred thousand men, women, and children. Elkins balances her first-person accounts with a thorough reading of the available colonial archives and an impressive survey of the established literature. Although she opens with the curious statement that she intended to write a history of the "success of Britain's civilizing mission in the detention camps" (p. xii), her book charges British settlers, policemen, soldiers, and administrators with

creating a colonial gulag that was intended to punish, if not wipe out, the entire Kikuyu population.

This charge is sensational, but Elkins's book does indeed make a significant contribution to our understanding of Mau Mau. That the Kenyan security forces and prison staff were guilty of atrocities is well known, but Elkins is the first to tell the personal stories of their victims. Chillingly, she also has interviews with surviving European settlers and policemen, most of whom are not cited by name, who acknowledge, in one case cheerfully, that they tortured and murdered Mau Mau suspects. The almost unimaginable catalogue of horrors endured by Elkins's African informants included beating, burning, electric shock, rape, castration, facial disfigurement, and sexual violation. These accounts are difficult to get through, but the book commands the attention of the new generation of imperial apologists who have sought to rehabilitate imperialism by painting the British Empire in rosy colors.

Unfortunately, there are places where this book's conclusions are not as impressive as the depth and breadth of its evidence. Elkins charges that the settlers and colonial regime had a hidden agenda that inspired "a murderous campaign to eliminate Kikuyu people" (p. xvi). She tries to substantiate this in part by using 1948 and 1962 census figures to show that the Kikuyu population grew more slowly than neighboring ethnic groups. She suggests that the "missing" 130,000 to 300,000 people were either killed during Mau Mau or were not born because of the wholesale devastation of the Kikuyu heartland. Elkins explicitly equates this to the Holocaust by comparing Mau Mau supporters to Jews, Armenians, and Tutsis, a link she defends with quotes from contemporary anticolonial critics in Britain and Kenya who likened the Mau Mau detention camps to concentration camps. But the use of Nazi comparisons by British politicians, missionaries, and journalists to criticize the colonial regime does not prove that Kenyan officials and settlers were seeking to emulate the Nazis. After all, many of the rootless Kikuyu young men in Nairobi who became the backbone of the Mau Mau called themselves "young Hitler" to demonstrate their toughness. Elkins is right to try to explain how citizens of a liberal nation could behave so brutally, but if there was a British Sonderweg or peculiar path that led to the horrors of the Mau Mau detention system, surely it ran through the Boer War concentration camps (which Elkins barely mentions) and the Malaya strategic villages rather than the Nazi death camps or Stalin's gulags?

To her credit, Elkins is a passionate advocate for her informants, but her failure to fully contextualize their testimonies paints an often simplistic view of Kikuyu society that glosses over Mau Mau's intensely internecine nature. For Elkins, Mau Mau was a war between the heroic Kikuyu majority and a small clique of self-interested, chiefly collaborators known as the "loyalists." In reality, many, if not most, Kikuyu faced execution or detention if they sided with Mau Mau or intimidation and murder by the guerillas if they did

not. Some were loyalists by day and Mau Mau by night. Elkins refers to these people as “double agents” and accepts their story that they were true supporters of the rebellion all along. Yet in modern Kenya, where the Mau Mau are now largely remembered as nationalist heroes, very few survivors of the era will admit to being loyalists. Even more troubling, Elkins does not fully discuss her supporting role in the BBC documentary “White Terror” (2002), which contributed to a London law firm’s efforts to win reparations for the victims of the British security services. It is not difficult to imagine how the prospect of financial compensation which, according to the BBC, could amount to hundreds of thousands of pounds, might influence the memories of Elkins’s informants.

Both of these books broaden our understanding of the Mau Mau war significantly, and it is inevitable that they will be read together and compared. Although Anderson and Elkins clearly have different agendas, their vastly different conclusions stem primarily from the strengths and limitations of their evidence. Elkins’s open embrace of the Mau Mau cause appears to come from her genuine compassion for her informants, but this empathy has brought her perilously close to advocacy. Anderson, conversely, seems to have intentionally steered clear of oral history in favor of the more fixed legal records, despite the fact his epilogue shows that he spoke with some of the Lari survivors. His book may well replace Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham’s classic *The Myth of “Mau Mau”: Nationalism in Kenya* (1966) as the seminal history of Mau Mau.

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AMY KALER. *Running After Pills: Politics, Gender, and Contraception in Colonial Zimbabwe*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2003. Pp. x, 247. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$27.95.

Using contraception as the lens through which to study gender, power, and resistance in colonial Zimbabwe, Amy Kaler has written a compelling and insightful book that explores new terrain in African historiography. With African women’s fertility as their object, conflicts flared between African elders and juniors, men and women, women and their in-laws, and Africans and the colonial state. Based on archival research and interviews with former family planning workers as well as ordinary Zimbabweans, the book focuses on the Shona population during the period 1957–1980. African voices and views, highlighted through interview excerpts, shape the book’s contours. The radical social transformations sparked by the colonial wage economy, migratory labor, and particularly, the liberation war of the 1970s provide the highly politicized context.

Conflicts over African fertility were intrinsically political. Kaler explores the ways in which right-wing whites warned of the menace of an uncontrolled and growing African population, while “modernizing” lib-

erals decried African reproductive practices as primitive, obsolete, and in need of transformation. The collaboration of the liberal Family Planning Association of Rhodesia with the white minority government provided fuel for the agents of African cultural nationalism, who decried Western family planning techniques as government-induced genocide.

European beliefs about the meaning of African fertility—and who should control it—were vastly different from those embedded in Shona society. Kaler argues that according to Shona norms, to use or not use birth control was not a personal decision to be taken by a woman and her husband—let alone by a woman herself. The payment of bridewealth had transferred control over a woman’s fertility from her own family to that of her husband. It was her fundamental marital duty to provide children for her husband’s lineage. Since a woman’s fertility affected the physical and spiritual well-being of the whole lineage, a wide range of people claimed control over her reproductive capacity, most importantly, her husband, mother-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

The introduction of the contraceptive pill and Depo-Provera injection dramatically altered the playing field. Through secret use of these new technologies, women could take charge of their own fertility, “stealing” this power from their husbands and in-laws. While indigenous family planning methods had enhanced the power of husbands, in-laws, and traditional healers over women, pills and injections empowered women, dispensing with husbands as intermediaries between their wives and the outside world. They brought to women greater sexual freedom and increased male fears of women’s unfettered sexuality.

The new technologies also brought the colonial state into African bedrooms, promoting a population control agenda vehemently opposed by African nationalists. This new intrusion compounded losses suffered by men in other areas. Transformations brought about by colonialism had decreased the ability of male elders to regulate the movements of women and junior men. Male elders increasingly lost control over young men’s earnings and marriages. Now European interests championed technologies that threatened men’s ability to oversee their wives’ reproductive capacities, which ensured the growth and well-being of their lineages.

Despite the nationalist movement’s official condemnation of new birth control technologies, actions on the ground were far more ambivalent. Kaler shows how guerrillas promoted prevailing gender and generational hierarchies in their effort to win the hearts and minds of local elders and traditional authorities. However, because they also relied on local women for food, shelter, and intelligence, they needed to be sensitive to women’s concerns. Thus, some guerrillas criticized—and punished—men who beat their wives or abandoned them for younger women. Privately, some were more tolerant of birth control measures than publicly they could afford to be.

Independence and majority rule resulted in a dra-

matic reversal to the nationalist position. Once family planning was no longer a tool of the white minority government and its allies, the new birth control technologies were redefined. After 1980, Kaler argues, foreign birth control devices were promoted as aids to African development and welfare. Uncontrolled population growth was described as a problem to be rectified through government-supported family planning programs. Severe economic pressures in the 1990s induced some men to reassess their opposition to limiting family size. Others continued to resent their loss of control over female sexuality and their ability, as family heads, to shape their future families.

Kaler's book is a dynamic, textured account that considers complex issues of power, resistance, and gender identity in a nuanced and insightful way. Although the interviews can be a tad repetitious, and the index might be more comprehensive, the book is an excellent resource for college and university libraries, scholars, and advanced students.

ELIZABETH SCHMIDT

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ANNIE E. COOMBES. *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 366. \$27.95.

The fall of apartheid, the institution of a democratic government, and the liberalization of the media in South Africa have produced lively debates in the public sphere about the how to represent the past and what those representations mean for national belonging. It is this topic that Annie E. Coombes takes up in her nuanced, well-documented analysis of the visual and material ways of representing history in contemporary postapartheid South Africa.

Coombes argues that "visual and material forms of the new public history are both produced by and effectively inform changing definitions of 'community' and 'nation' during periods of political transition where such concepts become crucial stakes in the resolution or management of social conflict and/or renewal" (p. 1). She develops this thesis by examining the differing invocations of community in specific cases of visual, material representations of the past, including monuments, museums, and fine art displays.

The first chapter examines struggles around the Voortrekker monument, that commemorates Afrikaners' trek away from British-controlled South Africa and their founding of independent republics in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Centrally implicated in the Afrikaner nationalism that was foundational to apartheid, the debates around the monument allow Coombes to examine how it is possible to re-narrativize an image that carries such a heavy, and seemingly monolithic, semantic load. She shows how, in several different contexts—the visit to the monu-

ment by the charismatic political leader, Tokyo Sexwale, and then later a photo spread that appeared in the porn magazine *Loslyf*—new meanings have been given to the monument through a process of creative juxtaposition and reframing. In a second chapter, Coombes analyzes debates over how to commemorate Robben Island, the infamous island prison where political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, were held during apartheid. Ex-prisoners' desires to resist commodification, organizers' attempts to represent the sociality of prisoner life, and the demands of international tourism existed in tension with one another, but all were limited by the physical nature of the site and the limits of visual representation. Another chapter examines artists' efforts to engage with the apartheid past, including Pippa Skotnes's installation *Miscast*, which used experimental techniques to explore the historical constitution of knowledge about Khoisan peoples. Although the artist intended the installation as a critique of the ways Khoisan peoples had been objectified and subject to real and symbolic violence in the context of colonialism and apartheid, the exhibit failed in its objective, coming under heavy fire from Khoisan activists and the wider public. Coombes argues that the failure of the exhibit to make its point was partly due to the extensive historical knowledge required to interpret it.

Coombes's analysis is sharpest when using her art historian's eye to tease out how diverse monuments speak intertextually to each other, and when analyzing how different visual media and specific material locales associated with particular events enable or constrain the possibilities of commemoration. Her analysis of the intertextuality of different sites enables a felicitous emphasis on the elisions that take place as South Africans struggle to represent the apartheid past in publicly accessible visual terms. The book is less successful, however, in its efforts to develop an analytic vocabulary for theorizing the processes she so carefully describes. For example, the concept of "memory," which plays a central role, is never adequately theorized, beyond the trite statement that memory is simultaneously individual and shared. Similarly, Coombes's efforts to use the concept of "translation," or how people interpret monuments, to get at the notion of "agency," appear simply to imply the truism that different people see the world differently.

More generally, the book would have benefited by locating the visual practices that are the subject of analysis in the broader context of South African history making in the postapartheid period. Many of the efforts to come to terms with the apartheid past have been characterized by the commodification of history and an accompanying sanitization and privatization of the past, processes that are clearly a part of the neoliberal moment in South Africa, as elsewhere. Yet the various visual forms that Coombes discusses tend to resist any simplistic relationship to the past;

why is this so, and what might it tell us about the effects of representing the past in visual, material terms, as opposed to narrative? Is there anything specific about the use of a visual medium and how it enables viewers to relate to the past? Unfortunately,

the reader is left to speculate; addressing these questions would have made the value of the book extend well beyond the South African context.

JENNIFER COLE
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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

DOLORES JANIEWSKI and LOIS W. BANNER, editors. *Reading Benedict/Reading Mead: Feminism, Race, and Imperial Visions*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 289. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

DOLORES JANIEWSKI and LOIS W. BANNER, Being and Becoming Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. DOLORES JANIEWSKI, Woven Lives, Raveled Texts: Benedict, Mead, and Representational Doubleness. LOIS W. BANNER, "The Bo-Cu Plant": Ruth Benedict and Gender. MAUREEN MOLLOY, Margaret Mead, the Samoan Girl and the Flapper: Geographies of Selfhood in *Coming of Age in Samoa*. LOUISE M. NEWMAN, Coming of Age, but Not in Samoa: Reflections on Margaret Mead's Legacy for Western Liberal Feminism. CHRISTOPHER SHANNON, "A World Made Safe for Differences": Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. JEAN WALTON, White Maternity, Rape Dreams, and the Sexual Exile in *A Rap on Race*. GERALD SULLIVAN, Of Feys and Culture Planners: Margaret Mead and Purposive Activity as Value. NANAOKO FUKUI, The Lady of the Chrysanthemum: Ruth Benedict and the Origins of *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. DOUGLAS LUMMIS, Ruth Benedict's Obituary for Japanese Culture. MARGARET M. CAFFREY, The Parable of Manus: Utopian Change, American Influence, and the Worth of Women. SHARON TIFFANY, Imagining the South Seas: Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* and the Sexual Politics of Paradise. ANGELA GILLIAM, Symbolic Subordination and the Representation of Power in "Margaret Mead and Samoa." PAULINE KENT, Misconceived Configurations of Ruth Benedict. NANCY LUTKEHAUS, Margaret Mead: Anthropology's Liminal Figure. JUDITH MODELL, "It is besides a pleasant English word"—Ruth Benedict's Concept of Patterns Revisited. VIRGINIA YANS, On the Political Anatomy of Mead-bashing, or Rethinking Margaret Mead.

JULIA ADAMS, ELISABETH S. CLEMENS, and ANN SHOLA ORLOFF, editors. *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology*. (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 612. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$34.95.

JULIE ADAMS, ELIZABETH S. CLEMENS, and ANN SHOLA ORLOFF, Social Theory, Modernity, and the Three Waves of Historical Sociology. RICHARD BIERNACKI, The Action Turn? Comparative-Historical Inquiry beyond the Classical Models of Conduct. ZINE MAGUBANE, Overlapping Territories and Intertwined Histories: Historical Sociology's Global Imagination. GEORGE STEINMETZ, The Epistemological Unconscious of U.S. Sociology and the Transition to Post-Fordism: The Case of Historical Sociology. PHILIP S. GORSKI, The Return of the Repressed: Religion and the Political Unconscious of Historical Sociology. ANN SHOLA ORLOFF, Social Provision and Regulation: Theories of States, Social Policies, and Modernity. EDGAR KISER and JUSTIN BAER, The Bureaucratization of States: Toward an Analytical Weberianism. MEYER KESTENBAUM, Mars Revealed: The Entry of Ordinary People into War among States. ROGER V. GOULD, Historical Sociology and Collective Action. NADER SOHRABI, Revolutions as Pathways to Modernity. BRUCE G. CARRUTHERS, Historical Sociology and the Economy: Actors, Networks, and Context. REBECCA JEAN EMIGH, The Great Debates: Transitions to Capitalism. MING-CHENG M. LO, The Professions: Prodigal Daughters of Modernity. LYN SPILLMAN and RUSSELL FAEGES, Nations. MARGARET R. SOMERS, Citizenship Troubles: Genealogies of Struggle for the Soul of the Social. ROGERS BRUBAKER, Ethnicity without Groups. ELISABETH S. CLEMENS, Logics of History? Agency, Multiplicity, and Incoherence in the Explanation of Change.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DOUGLAS HAY and PAUL CRAVEN, editors. *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 592. \$65.00.

DOUGLAS HAY, England, 1562–1875: The Law and Its Uses. CHRISTOPHER TOMLINS, Early British America, 1585–1830: Freedom Bound. JERRY BANNISTER, Law and Labor in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland. PAUL CRAVEN, Canada, 1670–1935: Symbolic and Instrumental Enforcement in Loyalist North America. MICHAEL QUINLAN, Australia, 1788–1902: A Workingman's Paradise? M. K. BANTON, The Colonial Office, 1820–1955: Constantly the Subject of Small Struggles. MARY TURNER, The British Caribbean, 1823–1838: The Transition from Slave to Free Legal Status. JUANITA DE BARROS, Urban British Guiana, 1838–1924: Wharf Rats, Centipedes, and Pork Knockers. MARTIN CHANOCK, South Africa, 1841–1924: Race, Contract, and Coercion. CHRISTOPHER MUNN, Hong Kong, 1841–1870: All the Servants in Prison and Nobody to Take

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITORS:

In "The Black Death: End of a Paradigm" (*AHR*, June 2002, 703–738), Professor Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. presents an intriguing hypothesis, that the disease responsible for the Black Death is not the same as contemporary epidemic plague, caused by *Yersinia pestis*. However, his assertion that humans do not develop immunity to this pathogen is incorrect. The fact that available vaccines require frequent booster shots notwithstanding, people exposed to plague develop long-lasting immunity and are not susceptible to reinfection for many years, if ever. The multiphasic pattern of recrudescence observed by Dr. Cohn, with lower peaks with each outbreak, is actually consistent with the observed facts about plague. Since the flea vector is not an efficient means of disease transmission, many remain uninfected during the initial outbreak. Subsequent outbreaks result in lower peak incidence of infection, since, with each recurrence, fewer are susceptible, as an ever-greater portion of the population becomes immune. A century or two later, the plague can recur in full efflorescence, as subsequent generations lack immunity. These facts do not detract from Dr. Cohn's more persuasive arguments. Lack of predominance of inguinal buboes over lymphatic swellings in other locations would rule out flea-borne plague as a cause of the Black Death. Although some of the medieval descriptions of skin lesions could reflect disseminated intravascular coagula-

tion—which causes the "blackness" associated with "Black Death," if *Yersinia* is indeed the causative agent—multiple and various skin lesions also suggest the possibility of a pathogen other than *Yersinia pestis*.

RICHARD CRANE, M.D.

SAMUEL K. COHN, JR. RESPONDS:

I thank Dr. Crane for his interest in my article of 2002 and his kind remarks about my arguments in general—that the Black Death and its recurring strikes through the fifteenth century were not *Y. pestis*. Dr. Crane maintains, however, that I am "incorrect" in saying "that humans do not develop immunity to this pathogen [*Y. pestis*]," and he continues: "The multiphasic pattern of recrudescence observed by Dr. Cohn, with lower peaks with each outbreak, is actually consistent with the observed facts about plague." Unfortunately, Dr. Crane does not supply our readers with evidence or references for either point.

By contrast, the observations of plague doctors, from the Indian Plague Commissioners of the 1910s (for example, "Experimental Plague Epidemics among Rats," *Journal of Hygiene: Plague Supplement I—Sixth Report on Plague Investigations in India Issued by the Advisory Committee* [1912], 292–300) to recent work with developing a long-term vaccine for *Y. pestis*, support the conclusion that humans possess little if any natural immunity to this pathogen. In the second decade of the twentieth century, plague doctors in India discovered that rats could acquire immunity over the long term but humans could not. Plague commissioners such as Norman F. White ("Twenty Years of Plague in India, with Special Reference to the Outbreak of 1917–18," *Indian Journal of Medical Research* 6, no. 2 [1918]: 190–236, esp. 215) saw the final downturn in Indian mortality rates to successive strikes of plague by 1918 as a result not of humans acquiring immunity to the plague but of rats doing so. Later scientists and doctors reconfirmed the conclusions of the Indian plague reports. In the great work on plague published by the World Health Organization, *Plague* (1954), Robert Pollitzer concluded: "No convincing evidence is available to show that a natural immunity to insect-borne plague exists in man" (133). And for pneumonic plague: "there can be little doubt

that instances of natural resistance to pneumonic plague infections exist, [but] these are of such rare occurrence as to be of no practical importance" (511). The textbooks followed Pollitzer's conclusions. See, for instance, the most used of the manuals for tropical diseases, *Manson's Tropical Diseases*, 19th ed. (1987): "There is no known natural immunity to plague. Acquired immunity is short-lived and there is no protection against second attacks. This is borne out by the short-lived protection provided by vaccination" (591). Unfortunately, the two latest editions of this work (1996 and 2003) have no section on plague and immunity, but neither contradicts the conclusions drawn about human immunity and *Y. pestis* in 1987.

Further, my work (both in the *AHR* article and expanded in *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* [Oxford, 2002]) shows evidence from India (where 95 percent of cases of plague have occurred since A. Yersin cultured the plague bacillus in 1894) of mortality rates from 1896 to the 1950s. These illustrate anything but "multiphasic pattern of recrudescence . . . with lower peaks with each outbreak." Instead, plague cases and mortality both climbed steeply from 1896 to 1907 and then bounced up and down annually until 1917–1918, when India was stricken with its worst annual bout of plague since 1907 (see White, "Twenty Years of Plague," 190). The same pattern is also observed with the recurrence of plague in India (again which hit the Punjab most severely) from 1939 to the 1950s, even though scientists and governments by then were better prepared with antibiotics, rat-proofing, and flea control. Similar patterns are reproduced by statistics published by Pollitzer for Java, Brazil, and other places during the first half of the twentieth century.

In keeping with these epidemiological traits, scientists have found that the age incidence of victims of *Y. pestis* has not changed since Yersin cultured the bacillus in 1894. In contrast to infectious diseases for which humans possess natural immunity, children have never borne the brunt of *Y. pestis*. Rather, as with most virgin-soil diseases or ones for which humans possess little or no natural immunity, those from age nineteen to their early forties are the group most susceptible to the disease and who die most often from it (among other places, see again the statistics in Pollitzer, *Plague*, 511 and 516–517).

Dr. Crane also maintains: "A century or two later, the plague [*Y. pestis*] can recur in full efflorescence." But where is his evidence? We know nothing for certain of *Y. pestis* mortality patterns before 1894. Is he now assuming that the plagues of the fourteenth through the eighteenth centuries were *Y. pestis*?

Finally, with the threat of biological warfare, scientists have faced the problems of developing vaccines that might render long-term immunity to the plague. These seek to produce specific opsonic antibodies against *Y. pestis*'s F1 and VW antigens. I am no authority on this literature, but I find no statement among these scientists reversing what plague doctors concluded in the 1910s and reconfirmed through the twentieth century. I know of no

studies that point to any place where mortality from *Y. pestis* has fallen at a steady annual pace or where the age structure of victims has changed, revealing *Y. pestis* as a childhood disease or moving in that direction, not even in the Punjab, the region to record the highest case and mortality rates anywhere in the world and where *Y. pestis* struck annually for thirty years or more. As a historian, however, I am open to new discoveries and new evidence that overturn old or new paradigms.

SAMUEL K. COHN, JR.
University of Glasgow

TO THE EDITORS:

At a time when any significant role for the social sciences and humanities is threatened in elementary and secondary schools with facile concentration on "basic" reading, writing, and math, it is unfortunate to see the kind of division among supporters of history in the school curriculum represented by "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education" (*AHR*, June 2005, 727–751). Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro perpetuate a myth that the "social studies" and/or the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) are hostile to history's central place in school programs. History, especially at the high school level focused upon by Orrill and Shapiro, has always been the mainstay of social studies. The integration of history and the social sciences in the form of "social studies" that Orrill and Shapiro fear and deride (except when it's labeled "history," apparently—see p. 738) is all but a chimera, nevertheless a persistent one.

Mythmaking about social studies—its origins and long-standing positions—refuses to go away. No significant number of social studies educators affiliated with NCSS ever suggested that history should play any but a central role. Courses not designed to center on disciplines such as history, geography, and government have scarcely anywhere or ever enjoyed more than a fraction of the curricular space afforded history. So what is the problem? One is compelled to wonder what else is at stake here in some historians' stubborn disregard for accurate portrayals of social studies, whose position is now threatened by the emphasis on high-stakes testing resulting from the No Child Left Behind legislation.

The most obvious misrepresentation perpetuated by Orrill and Shapiro is that "social studies" supplanted "history" during the Progressive Era. Over the years, this charge has been repeated so often that it has become widely believed. Certainly neoconservatives since the 1980s have made effective use of it, contending that "reformist" social studies has nudged out a more patriotic, narrative history. The problem is, however, that this characterization is simply false.

Orrill and Shapiro uncritically accept the viewpoint that history has been squeezed out. They write that historians of social studies (Jenness and Hertzberg are the only two they cite) "take it for granted that

educational activism among historians must be conjoined with advocacy for social studies reform" (728, n. 3).

We see it differently: Jenness and Hertzberg simply note that social subjects first became part of the modern American curriculum in the 1890s, and later social studies became the collective noun for that part of the curriculum which included history. The figures (e.g., David Snedden) that Orrill and Shapiro (correctly) fear would have done away with much history in the social studies curriculum were neither social studies educators nor particularly influential concerning the content of social studies programs.

Perhaps the most successful social studies educator ever—if judged by effects on school programs—was Harold Rugg. He claimed that an effective social studies program demanded more, not less, history than was conventionally offered.

Far from hostile to history, NCSS has consistently stressed its pivotal role in any defensible social studies program. Indeed, many "social studies educators" are self-described "history" advocates. Social studies teachers and teacher educators have been central to development of state curricular frameworks and standards reflecting the importance of history, especially at the secondary level.

Orrill and Shapiro are right to underscore the need for historians to be more involved with school history—their knowledge of historical scholarship is irreplaceable. But they overlook the fact that neoconservatives' attacks on the allegedly "dark side" of American history and the perennial problem of its ineffective teaching are the real challenges confronting history in the schools.

The latter won't be improved by simply demanding more history courses for teachers, which many states have done in recent years, but rather, as the logic of Orrill and Shapiro's position suggests, courses directed to what is taught in schools. Moreover, as one of us (Thornton) has argued for years, it would also make sense if teaching methods courses were better aligned with what prospective and in-service teachers learn in their history courses. In other words, there is plenty of scope for collaboration between history departments and colleges of education. Charges and countercharges about whether content or method is more important—as if one can exist without the other—are counterproductive and, as we have noted, effectively leave decision making about history in schools to people who are experts on neither.

STEPHEN J. THORNTON

University of South Florida

MARGARET S. CROCCO

Teachers College, Columbia University

Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro do not wish to respond here. They took part in an online forum with readers who had questions and comments about this article, and that exchange can be read on the History Coop-

erative website, at <http://www.historycooperative.org/ahr/Forums.html>.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITORS:

The article by Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro on "The Discipline of History and History Education" (*AHR*, June 2005, 727–751) is a welcome indication that the AHA is focusing more attention and resources on the problems of history education in the secondary schools. Unfortunately, however, the essay gives a less than adequate account of recent developments in this area, failing to mention the two most important initiatives by academic historians since 1987: the Bradley Commission on History in Schools (1987–1990) and its successor organization, the National Council for History Education (1990–present). The trustees have always included senior historians; after my term as chair, I was succeeded by Professor Theodore K. Rabb of Princeton and then by Dr. Spencer Crew, the director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

The Bradley Commission was created to do exactly what Orrill and Shapiro suggest—that is, to address concerns about the quality and quantity of history in the classrooms of America's schools. The seventeen-member group included four presidents of the AHA and four presidents of the Organization of American Historians, and its final report, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools*, was endorsed by both the AHA Teaching Division and the OAH. Since its publication in 1988, more than 100,000 copies of the 32-page report have been distributed, and its recommendations have affected curricular reform in dozens of states and scores of independent school districts. Now a "classic" in the educational reform world, it will soon be available for free download on the NCHE website.

Meanwhile, the NCHE now has almost 6,000 members nationwide, and over the past two decades it has done more than any other group to monitor developments in history requirements and teaching at the state and local level. Its popular newsletter, *History Matters*, goes to more than 10,000 school administrators, professors, history teachers, and publishers every month, and it is now in its eighteenth year of regular publication. Its founding members included many of the AHA's most distinguished members, including Joyce Appleby, Bernard Bailyn, Robert Dallek, Natalie Zemon Davis, Carl Degler, Don Fehrenbacher, John Hope Franklin, John Lewis Gaddis, Darlene Clark Hine, Michael Kammen, William E. Leuchtenburg, Lawrence Levine, Arthur Link, William McNeill, James M. McPherson, Gary Nash, Mary Beth Norton, Arthur Schlesinger, George Tindall, Sean Wilentz, and Robin Winks, to mention only a few.

This is not to suggest that nothing remains to be done. The fight for history is constant, and it is continuing. However, it is important to recognize that,

through NCHE and its allied organizations, many members of the historical profession have made progress since the late 1980s. And if the American Historical Association strengthens its commitment to the cause, perhaps more young people will come to share the passion of professional historians for studying and learning from the past.

KENNETH T. JACKSON
Columbia University

Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro do not wish to respond here. They took part in an online forum with readers who had questions and comments about this article, and that exchange can be read on the History Cooperative website, at <http://www.historycooperative.org/ahr/Forums.html>.

THE EDITORS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITORS:

Bryan D. Palmer is the author of *Descent into Discourse* (1990), which upbraids my work along with that of others who stress the role of language and multiple forms of sociocultural difference as a diversion from a certain type of Marxist-oriented social history. Sections of Palmer's rather predictable review of my *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory* (*AHR*, April 2005, 437–438) replicate the template he employed in his book. That template facilitates misreadings that prevent him from seeing ways in which my recent work is in fact undertaking a critique of tendencies in certain variants of poststructuralism, such as radical discursive constructivism, which I have never in fact affirmed. (I provide a more extensive discussion of historiographical issues relevant to Palmer's review in "Tropisms of Intellectual History," *Rethinking History* 8 [2004]: 499–529.)

Palmer's approach inhibits him from at least mentioning aspects of my book that complement the features he finds worthwhile in it, including what he formulates as its concern with "history, memory, and trauma, most especially the experience of the Holocaust." Among these complementary aspects are critical inquiries into violence, sacrificialism, posttraumatic symptoms, and specific vicissitudes and uses of the concept of trauma, including an attempt to provide a critique of certain orientations within an aesthetic of the sublime that has played a role in historiography as well as in other fields (*vide* the recent work of Frank Ankersmit). I also explore the role of affect and, especially, empathy in historical understanding and further elaborate a concept of working through the past that involves both differential, responsive understanding and sociopolitical practice as aspects of a broader dialogic exchange. (Palmer's account might be contrasted with the more comprehensive approach

taken in Beverly Southgate's review in *Rethinking History* 9 [2005]: 375–380.)

Space limitations force me to forgo commentary on Palmer's sharpest barbs, which displace the major concerns of my book onto but one page of the epilogue—page 250. I would simply note that it is not I but Palmer who rashly generalizes to all of Russell Jacoby's work a comment I make about Jacoby's recently republished essay "A New Intellectual History," which first appeared in the *AHR*. In my original response to that essay, I explicitly stated that "there is much in Russell Jacoby's work that I respect and admire, especially his attempt to keep alive the tradition of critical theory and the role of the public intellectual. But there are aspects of 'A New Intellectual History' that I find questionable both in relation to my own work and to broader issues in the field" (*AHR*, April 1992, 425–439, 425). I still find the essay questionable and think it warrants mention as one of a series of works marking a "turn away from or even against theory."

Perhaps Palmer's most significant misreading occurs when he asserts that I "unthinkingly articulate . . . a binary opposition" by believing that "the historical profession is . . . separated into two camps: those who seek illumination by 'grubbing' in the archives, the dust of facticity a badge of honor; and others who instead, however attuned to evidence, interrogate the archive and 'turn erudition into learning' by rising above the boundaries of 'information.'" He refers to page 270, and asserts that "this [I assume he means the putative binary] is LaCapra's achilles [*sic*] heel." Neither on that page nor elsewhere do I affirm the binary Palmer attributes to me. (I note in passing that "grubbing" is a term I borrow from Robert Darnton and employ only in scare quotes.) On page 270 of *History in Transit*, after criticizing excessively abstract, self-referential theory (or theoreticism) and listing what I take to be the contributions of historically relevant critical theory, I conclude: "Theory is an attempt to understand better what one knows or thinks one knows. It must be informed but cannot be reduced to information or simply found by 'grubbing' in the archives. It is an attempt, however nontotalizing and self-critical, to turn erudition into learning." I do not think one may see these statements as confirming Palmer's projective binary opposition or as denigrating archival research and advocating a wayward attempt to rise "above the boundaries of information."

Debate, argument, and, when needed, polemic are signs of health and openness in a discipline as well as an indication of willingness to engage criticism coming from both within and without the profession. But even if one bemoans a putative descent into discourse, one has to take discourse seriously enough to read it carefully and accurately as a premise of critical response. Only in this way can one hope to determine actual points of agreement or disagreement.

DOMINICK LACAPRA
Cornell University

BRYAN D. PALMER RESPONDS:

My review of Dominick LaCapra's *History in Transit* identified "a prolific writer who has seldom met a critic, however innocuous, that did not goad him to reply" (438). LaCapra seems to confirm this observation, lashing out at a review that was, by any reasonable standard of assessment, balanced and fair-minded. In the 700 words allocated by the *AHR*, I wrote three paragraphs of unambiguous praise, two of critical engagement, and a concluding passage that was mixed, but not without reference to the positive contribution of LaCapra's text.

LaCapra commences his rejoinder with a subtle red-baiting reference to a book I published fifteen years ago, *Descent into Discourse*. Content that he has pigeonholed me, he finds my review predictable. Yet my commentary actually moved well past any template of opposition that might be construed from a skewed reading of *Descent*, contained no barbs, and was anything but polemical. The larger misreading is certainly LaCapra's.

In responding to my review, LaCapra repeatedly calls on other authorities, rather than accepting responsibility for what he wrote in the book under review. He asks readers to consult the pages of another journal, *Rethinking History*, directing them to an essay he has written on intellectual history (which, incidentally, is largely about himself, fifteen of the approximately fifty references cited being his own works) and a sympathetic review of *History in Transit* that he hails as more comprehensive (given almost three times the space the *AHR* allows for all standard reviews).

I am accused of misreadings. This is always possible, especially when authors are not themselves as clear as they might be. LaCapra ends his book referring to theory not being reduced to "grubbing" in the archives (270). Upon reflection and rereading, I may indeed have overstated an opposition in LaCapra's text, and for this I offer my regrets.

But LaCapra himself is not blameless. The use of the term "grubbing," in relation to archival work, was an oddly provocative metaphor to employ in closing his book. Placing a term within single quotation marks can signify a variety of things, and in this case, with no reference of any kind offered, the meaning was certainly ambiguous. Noting now that he has borrowed the term "grubbing" from Robert Darnton is, surely, a rather odd admission from an intellectual historian concerned with language who has failed to acknowledge how he has used a particular term. Finally, if borrowing was indeed from Darnton's *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, 1982), where intellectual historians are urged to undertake "digging downward . . . grubbing in the archives instead of contemplating philosophical treatises" (1), this seems to call out for engagement/clarification (and, again, explicit citation) from LaCapra, whose text contains nothing like the archival work characterizing Darnton's historical practice. In any case, I was reviewing what was on the page of *History in Transit*,

not what LaCapra decides, upon prodding, to tell us should have been there.

In LaCapra's refusal to acknowledge what he wrote about Russell Jacoby, there is again an insistence that reviewers should read texts other than the book under review. We are directed to past essays and quotes in the *AHR*, but this is, yet again, beside the point. LaCapra claims that I "rashly generalize" concerning his *History in Transit* views of Jacoby. This is not true. The words are LaCapra's: "Russell Jacoby has been lambasting academic intellectuals and excoriating theoretical orientations in a manner that at times runs together neoconservatism and seeming leftism—a strange intellectual phantasmagoria in which Theodor Adorno becomes the specular image of Leo Strauss. The antitheoretical, left-right convergence is especially evident in the collection (including an essay by Jacoby) edited by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn" (250). This statement is indeed rash in its generalization, extreme in its rhetoric, and unsupported, as I pointed out in my review, by adequate citation. It was not misread. I merely called LaCapra on his indiscriminate and ideological typecasting of another scholar. He wants to wiggle off a hook of his own making by further typecasting me.

Authors, fortunately, do not write their own reviews. LaCapra should have been content with my praise, pondered my criticism. A thin skin is unbecoming in such a productively combative scholar.

BRYAN D. PALMER
Trent University

TO THE EDITORS:

I want to thank Andrew Zimmerman for acknowledging in his review (*AHR*, April 2005, 566–567) that my book *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* contains "very good historical research," even though he criticizes some aspects of my work. When he accuses me of "sleight of hand" and distortion, however, Zimmermann indulges in his own distortion, especially in the climax of the review, where he states: "In Weikart's account, however, Bryan emerges only as an opponent of German militarism. In this distortion of the 1925 Scopes 'monkey' trial, repeated twice in the book (1, 163), Weikart's political sleight of hand appears most clearly. The text seeks to lead readers from opposing Hitler to supporting the theocratic agenda of Bryan and more recent figures in the United States. There are thus good political reasons for setting up the book as a contest between Hitler and Bryan, although these do not make for very persuasive history."

Here Zimmerman is practicing his own "sleight of hand." It should be obvious why I discuss Bryan only in the context of *German* militarism. My book is about Darwinian thought *in Germany*, as the title indicates, and therefore Bryan is a peripheral figure. He is mentioned in only eleven sentences of my book, mostly in the

chapter on Darwinian militarism. In two of these sentences I criticize Bryan's position on the Darwinian roots of World War I. Thus it escapes me what the "good political reasons" are for seeing my book as a contest between Hitler and Bryan. Also, how could I have distorted the Scopes trial when I don't even mention it anywhere in my book? Even more bizarre is Zimmerman's absurd claim that my book supports a "theocratic agenda," when he knows nothing about my political views. He would undoubtedly be astonished if he only knew.

Again, I thank Zimmerman, whom I respect as a fine scholar, for admitting that "Weikart admirably demonstrates the influence of Darwinism on Nazi racism and genocide," and for acknowledging the value of my research. However, the credibility of his criticisms of my book is undermined by his wildly wrong claim that I support a "theocratic agenda."

RICHARD WEIKART
California State University,
Stanislaus

ANDREW ZIMMERMAN RESPONDS:

In my review I argued that Richard Weikart's book, for all its fine research, distorts the history of Darwinism and anti-Darwinism in Germany in ways that reflect theocratic agendas in present-day American politics. By theocratic agendas I mean attempts to trump considerations of individual liberty with religious dogma in areas including reproduction, sexuality, and end-of-life decisions. These areas are among those mentioned by Weikart in his own text, even though they were at most peripheral to debates about Darwinism in Imperial Germany. *From Darwin to Hitler* is structured around a contest between Darwinism and Christian ethics, which Weikart characterizes as a contest between proponents of death and life, respectively. This representation is anachronistic, projecting present-day theocratic agendas onto the history of science in Imperial Germany. It also tendentially simplifies both Darwinism and Christianity. I pointed to Professor Weikart's failure to mention the Scopes monkey trial in his prominent and approving citations of William Jennings Bryan not as a "climax" to my review, but rather as a dog that did not bark in the night: it signaled, but did not in itself constitute, significant and systematic weaknesses in the book, weaknesses that I discussed and documented in my review.

ANDREW ZIMMERMAN
George Washington University

TO THE EDITORS:

In his review of my book *Closer to the Masses: Stalinist Culture, Social Revolution, and Soviet Newspapers* (AHR, April 2005, 588–589), Jeffrey Brooks suggests that I appropriated his work (the book *Thank You,*

Comrade Stalin and earlier articles) without attribution. This suggestion is baseless, as anyone who reads through his and my published work on the Soviet press can discover for themselves.

In specific references I cite Professor Brooks's influence on my definition of the "voices" of the Soviet press (23, 25), his production of culture approach to the study of prerevolutionary Russian literature (3), his demonstration that activists used the press to learn official Soviet language (72), his work on the disappearance of Soviet studies of the reader around 1930 (2, 34), his exploration of the negative attitudes of prerevolutionary Russian intellectuals to commercial culture (35, 213), his article on the decline in the circulation of books and newspapers in the USSR in the Civil War and NEP years (16, 46), and his discussion of the creation of a Stalinist "hyperreality" in the Soviet press and literature post-1929 (166). In addition, I cite most of Brooks's published work on the Soviet press in an early footnote, as he notes in his review.

In his review, Brooks focuses on the fact that both of our books discuss a narrowing of the target audience(s) of Soviet newspapers to party activists/"insiders" during the First Five Year Plan. Brooks appears to indicate that I took this idea from him. First, I formulated this thesis in a seminar paper written for Professor Sheila Fitzpatrick in the winter of 1992–1993, before Professor Brooks had published it anywhere, as far as I know. I expanded on the thesis in my dissertation, which was complete and available to the public as of December 1997. I presented the thesis on the retargeting of the Soviet press (as well as the other core arguments of *Closer to the Masses*) in my short 1998 monograph *Agitation, Propaganda, and the "Stalinization" of the Soviet Press, 1922–1930*, published in the University of Pittsburgh's Carl Beck Papers series two years before Brooks's book appeared. Yet Brooks's book does not cite either my monograph or my dissertation.

Second, Brooks mentions the narrowing of the newspaper audience in passing, and in general terms. In contrast, this phenomenon is at the center of my book. The book demonstrates that by 1930 the formerly "highbrow" *Pravda* and *Izvestiia* had come to resemble closely the "mass newspapers" *Peasant Gazette* and *Worker Gazette*, not just in language and layout, but in distribution methods and journalistic work procedures. I link this change to specific decisions of party leaders, to chronic production problems faced by early Soviet journalists, and to difficulties in distributing the newspapers. Professor Brooks does not do any of this, which is fine. His is a different book, focused more on newspaper content than on newspaper production.

I also note that our books differ greatly in source bases and use of theoretical literature. At the core of Brooks's book is his comprehensive reading of several Soviet newspapers from the 1920s through the end of the Stalin era. My *Closer to the Masses* is based in part, of course, on the newspapers themselves, but also on Soviet archives, literary journals, and the trade publi-

cations produced by Soviet journalists, such as *Journalist*. Brooks makes a wide variety of theoretical references, but arguably Erving Goffman's work on public performance is at the center of his book. In contrast, I make use of the work of the functional linguistics of Roger Fowler and M. A. K. Halliday as well as the work of neo-Weberian political scientists such as Ken Jowitt. My use of functional linguistics, my analysis of Soviet use of the terms "agitation" and "propaganda," and my statistical analysis of the newspaper space devoted specifically to ongoing Central Committee propaganda campaigns in 1925 and 1933 all differentiate my investigation of newspaper language from Brooks's content analysis, presented in his book and in earlier articles.

During the 1990s, a number of North American scholars were working in parallel on the early history of the Soviet press, including Julie Kay Mueller, Steven Coe, and Michael Gorham, as well as Brooks and myself. In addition, Russian scholars such as Evgenii Dobrenko were working on closely related topics. There was both cross-fertilization and coincidence of conclusions. My sense is that all of us were making a good-faith effort to acknowledge intellectual debts. I am sorry that Professor Brooks does not share that sense.

MATTHEW LENOE
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Jeffrey Brooks does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITORS:

I wish to respond to Praveen Swami's review of my book *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights and the History of Kashmir* (AHR, June 2005, 778-780).

Let me at the outset clarify that neither is my book about the conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir nor was it occasioned by the "near war of 2001-2002." It grew out of my doctoral dissertation, defended at Columbia University in May 1999. It deals with state-making processes in colonial India, their problems of establishing legitimate authority, and the place of rights and religion in popular resistance. Examining the strategies of the British imperial government and the Dogra rulers of Kashmir, evolved reciprocally, my work explains why and how legitimacy for the latter was derived from arenas such as the patronage of Hindu rituals and "tradition," how the concept of subjects' rights came to be circulated in Kashmir, why demands for rights were made in the religious mode, and what imprint this left on Hindu-Muslim relations and on expressions of regional solidarity.

I neither suggest a static set of relations between the imperial government, Dogra rulers, and their subjects, Hindu and Muslim, nor do I treat these latter groups or their experiences of the state as homogeneous.

Identifying shifts in the paramount power's terms for legitimacy, I explain their implications for the Dogras' Hindu sovereignty. Chapters four and five highlight not only the debates and political rivalries within Hindu and Muslim communities, but also how erstwhile allies of the Dogras, Muslim and Hindu, later opposed the state in defense of endangered privileges and rights.

In paragraph seven, the reviewer draws on a final chapter kept deliberately free of footnotes (barring three) to criticize assertions in it for being unsubstantiated by footnotes. Both of his quotations come from my brief conclusion, where the aim was to summarize my arguments and to indicate some lines of continuity from the colonial past, which I spend five long chapters examining, into the post-1947 period, which is not the book's focus.

The first passage, truncated in quotation, is: "Without conceding an inch in their own adherence to Islam, at the moment of the partition of India most Kashmiri Muslims voted clearly (and the vast majority continue to do so today) against the Pakistan option." I use "vote" here in the general sense of an expression of opinion rather than the mechanical act of casting a ballot. My point is that the political articulation of religious identity notwithstanding, most Kashmiri Muslims did not embrace a vision of separate statehood founded on religious commonality alone—the "Pakistan option." This assessment derives from the rhetoric of Sheikh Abdullah, widely considered the most popular politician in Kashmir at the time of partition, in which being Kashmiri was emphasized as much as being Muslim.

As for how I determine that "today the vast majority of Kashmir's Muslims largely believe that they are scarcely better off than they were through 101 years of Dogra rule," I would have thought a popularly based and long-lasting insurgency ample indication of widespread discontentment against the state. The problem of political legitimacy in Kashmir clearly remains.

In pointing to the "tenuous nature" of India's secularism, specifically secularism as state ideology, I refer precisely to its "intertwining" with "communalism" in the nationalist project that the reviewer mentions. This interlocking has allowed even the Hindu right-wing BJP to call itself secular. It is the politics of religious bigotry that the reviewer seems to mean when describing "communalism" as a "brutal, experienced reality." Without denying this, I contend that, as the history of Kashmir shows, not all politics in the religious idiom is necessarily "communal" in this pejorative sense. I do argue that religion is an important "language of both power and resistance" in Kashmir. Nowhere do I suggest that it is "primordial." I delineate the particular historical contexts in which religious identities were politically articulated by rulers and subjects.

Finally, since no specific instances of "invective" have been cited, I am unable to explain myself. As for "secession from scholarship" in the book, I leave it to

the judgment of my peers engaged in the field of history and historiography.

MRIDU RAI
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PRAVEEN SWAMI RESPONDS:

Much of the first half of Mridu Rai's response to my review of her book very ably demolishes arguments I did not make.

I did not, for example, dispute the irrefutable fact that her book deals with state-making in colonial India and with the role of rights and religion in popular resistance. In fact, the bulk of my review of Rai's book dealt with her treatment of these issues, not the last chapter. The principal criticism I leveled at Rai's work was that her notion of religious identity was reductive, among other reasons because of its failure to examine the workings of class and caste. On these points of contention she responds with flat denial; I shall not continue the debate here because of limitations of space.

Rai's response to the two specific points I did raise about her concluding chapter, however, seem to me to underline my claim that this portion of her work secedes from scholarship. Both points were chosen to illustrate a certain sloppiness of method and language; her book is replete with similar examples. I learn with some bemusement, for example, that the words "to vote" can be used to describe a "general sense of an expression of opinion rather than the mechanical act of casting a ballot." Despots around the world shall, without doubt, be delighted to learn this.

Leaving aside questions of language, however, Rai's response raises more questions than it answers. How, for example, does she know for a fact that "most Kashmiri Muslims did not embrace a vision of separate statehood founded on religious commonality alone"? Rai says she based this assertion on the rhetoric of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the leader of the National Conference. Whether such conclusions about popular will can be arrived at from the rhetoric of a single leader I shall leave for readers to decide. Furthermore, there is a large body of work that disputes the contention that Sheikh Abdullah was, as Indian nationalists have claimed, the sole spokesper-

son for opinion in Jammu and Kashmir. Substantial parts of Jammu and Kashmir—Gilgit, Poonch, and Mirpur, for example—rebelled in *favor* of Pakistan at the time of the partition of India.

A similar lack of care characterizes Rai's assertions on the current political violence in Jammu and Kashmir. Her claim that "a popularly based and long-lasting insurgency [is] ample indication of widespread discontentment against the state" might indeed be true. However, Rai makes no reference to the vibrant debate, scholarly and popular, on the extent of the popular base of political violence in Jammu and Kashmir. The truth is that insufficient evidence exists to make a categorical determination of how much support there in fact is for anti-India violence in Jammu and Kashmir. It takes a considerable leap of logic, moreover, to conclude, as Rai does, that the very existence of a popular insurgency (if that is what it indeed is) proves that "the vast majority of Kashmir's Muslims largely believe that they are scarcely better off than they were through 101 years of Dogra rule."

What evidence we do have—evidence, that is, as opposed to the kinds of polemic that Rai seems to prefer—suggests that residents of Jammu and Kashmir, Muslim or otherwise, are indeed better off than they were under monarchical rule. Elections, however flawed, are held regularly, and recent polls to municipal bodies attracted high voter turnout, in the face of terrorist threats, in areas traditionally considered hostile to Indian rule. Economically, the evidence of change is unequivocal. Residents of urban Jammu and Kashmir, along with their counterparts in neighboring Himachal Pradesh, live in one of the only two food-secure regions of the country. Poverty contracted dramatically in the 1990s, and Jammu and Kashmir now has the lowest percentage of its population living in poverty of any state in India, a far cry from the famines and deprivation its people faced in the pre-independence period.

Rai need not have looked far to find this data. It is available in a book authored by Parvez Dewan, a bureaucrat she thanks in her introduction for, among other things, "holding interminably probing conversations." They were not, evidently, probing enough.

PRAVEEN SWAMI
Frontline Magazine

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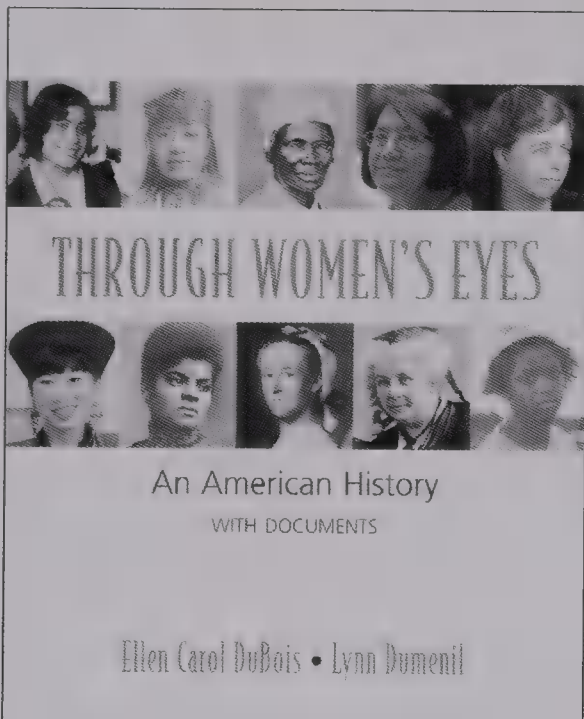
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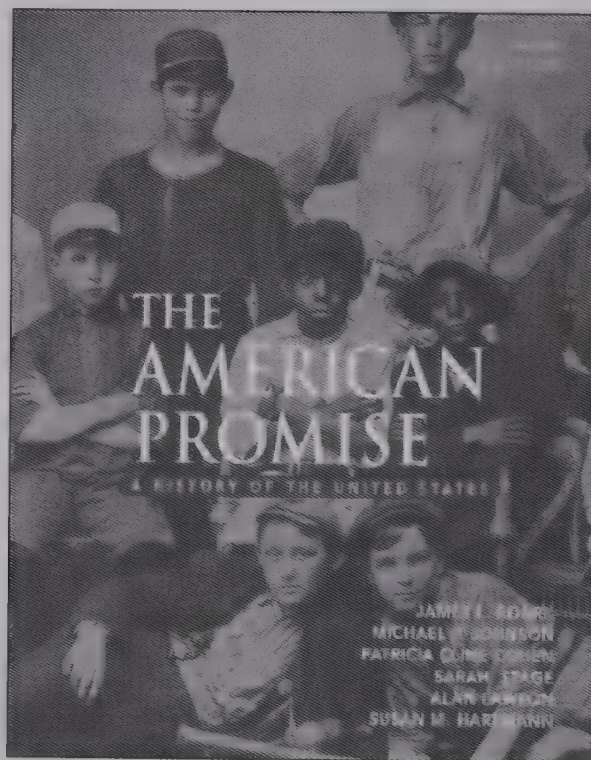
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In This Issue

This issue opens with a provocative article on historians' traditional understanding of time, followed by essays on German-American colonial collaboration in Africa, battlefield tourism during the Spanish Civil War, the Stalinist Terror, and nationalism in late colonial India. In addition, the issue includes our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Dan Smail's article, "In the Grip of Sacred History," argues that historians have long failed to acknowledge a revolution in our understanding of time that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was then that the bottom dropped out of historical time, as the accumulating geological and biological evidence for the old age of the earth and the evolution of species gradually persuaded the scientific community to accept a long chronology. In the wake of this time revolution, historians abandoned sacred history as a factual account of human history and began to offer suitably secularized alternatives. Yet the standard narrative found in textbooks and other general histories in the early to mid-twentieth century never fully abandoned the geographical and chronological grip of sacred history, for history still "begins" in these texts around six thousand years ago in Mesopotamia, the secular equivalent of the Garden of Eden. Reluctant to accept the implications of the long chronology, historians instead developed narrative devices and factual justifications for retaining a Near Eastern origin for history in the relatively recent past. History, Smail argues, has never fully escaped the grip of sacred history. By exploring the ways in which the short chronology continues to frame our general histories and textbooks, his article seeks to create a space for writing a deep history of humankind that incorporates the Paleolithic into the general framework of historical understanding.

In "A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee Expedition to German Togo and the Transnational Origins of West African Cotton Growers," **Andrew Zimmerman** provides an account of an expedition sent by Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute to German Togo in the first decade of the twentieth century. The expedition introduced American cotton varieties, which were in high demand in Europe, to Togo. But it also had an ideological mission: to impose the American New South image of the "Negro" on the Togolese. German colonial policymakers and social

scientists, including Max Weber, Gustav Schmoller, and Georg Friedrich Knapp, found this ideology recognizable because they saw in the New South an analogue for the ethnic and class relations in Germany's own eastern territories, where the bound labor of serfs had been replaced by the free labor of migrant Poles. The resulting synthesis of German and American programs for regulating race and class ultimately failed to transform Togolese identity or Togo's political economy, but Togo succeeded in producing large quantities of industrial-grade cotton nevertheless. To compensate for the failure of Togolese to become "Negroes" on the model of the New South ideology, German and Tuskegee officials turned to violent methods that forced the Togolese to produce the cotton that it was imagined they produced freely. Combining psychoanalytic and Marxist approaches to transnational history, Zimmerman studies the production of commodities, identities, and social scientific knowledge in terms of practice and class conflict, rather than culture and agency. He highlights the interplay of intention, misunderstanding, bungled policies, and violence that has long been part of the history of imperialism.

Sandi Holguín explores a little-known chapter in the history of the Spanish Civil War in "National Spain Invites You': Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War." Known as the *Rutas Nacionales de Guerra*, these tours differed from other examples of battlefield tourism in other countries, for they were conducted by the Francoists when their claim to legitimacy remained very much contested and while the civil war was still raging. Holguín argues that by sponsoring tours during wartime, the Nationalists gained a crucial sense of legitimacy from the international community. These tours also were instrumental in creating and consecrating a series of narratives that the Franco regime would evoke repeatedly until its demise in 1975, helping to fashion a Francoist national identity that, so claimed the Nationalists, had been usurped by the architects of the Second Republic. The Franco regime's experiment with battlefield tourism provides a case study for how tourism that takes human suffering as its focus can be used to redefine national identity. It also has broad implications for the study of memory and for scholars analyzing the consolidation of regimes after wars, during wartime occupation, or even during transitions to democratic government.

In "Stalinist Terror and Democracy: The 1937 Union Campaign," **Wendy Goldman** explores the question of mass participation in the "Great Terror" in the Soviet Union. By tracing Party directives from the Central Committee down to union members, she analyzes the spread of repressive measures both in and through unions, a hierarchical network almost 22 million strong. She argues that repression was a mass phenomenon, not only in the number of victims it claimed but also in the extent of perpetrators it entailed. In the unions, repression was closely linked in 1937 with a campaign for union democracy, a mass movement for secret ballots, multi-candidate elections, official accountability, and worker participation. Subsequent elections opened a Pandora's box of charges and grievances, as Party leaders, union officials, and workers all sought to use the campaign to pursue their own interests. In the end, the campaign for union democracy not only paralleled the mass repression of 1937–1938, it became the very means by which various groups were transformed into will-

ing proponents of purge and repression. Goldman's article sheds light on several subjects: Stalinism, social movements, and comparative genocide. More particularly, it suggests the historical complexity of the Soviet Terror, which entailed mass participation as well as the brutal exercise of state power.

Kumkum Chatterjee uses a public controversy among intellectuals in colonial India to draw out the important role of historical understanding in nationalist discourses. In "The King of Controversy: History and Nation-Making in Late Colonial India," she challenges the idea that modern history writing was essentially state-centered and grounded in rational-positivistic methodology, demonstrating rather the continuing power of romantic, nativist, and ethnographic accounts. The discussion extends to an examination of the relationship of rational-positivist history with romantic, popular history and suggests that the commemoration of the past should be more appropriately conceptualized as including all of these. Chatterjee's article integrates intellectual history with the history of nationalism and its culture, paying particular attention to colonial and emergent nations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the Grip of Sacred History

DAN SMAIL

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF EDEN lies a vast stretch of human history punctuated by compelling stories and events.¹ The ancestral Eve, the Out-of-Africa hypothesis, the Great Leap Forward, the settling of the Americas, the debates that rage around megafaunal extinction and the demise of the Neanderthals: all these and more have gripped the imaginations of academics and amateurs alike. If humanity is the proper subject of history, then surely the Paleolithic is part of our history. Yet despite enormous strides in the field of paleoanthropology over the last several decades, the deep past of humanity still plays a marginal role in the grand historical narrative that is taught in secondary schools and colleges in the United States. Most textbooks used in Western Civilization courses include very little on the Neolithic era, and even less on the Paleolithic. Some books in world history extend human history back to the outset of the agricultural revolutions, breaching the date of six thousand years ago that dominates some Western Civilization textbooks. Yet even world history surveys currently do not deal significantly with the Paleolithic.²

If history is biography—if the study of history, to be satisfying, requires us to make contact with the thoughts and psyches of people with names—then there is little point in advocating a deep history of humankind. But if history is also the study of the structures and patterns that shape the human experience, if acts such as handling a flint arrowhead or tracing one's mitochondrial family tree back to a small African valley can fulfill our desire for wonder, then the exclusion of humanity's deep history cannot be so easily explained. Puzzling over this exclusion, the archaeologist Glyn

My thanks to Doris Goldstein, Lynn Hunt, the members of the Fordham history faculty seminar, and the undergraduates who have taken my course "A Natural History," especially Edward Djordjevic and Maria Dembrowsky, for reading and commenting on preliminary versions of these arguments. I would also like to thank David Nirenberg, Gabrielle Spiegel, and the high school teachers involved in the Big History project at Chatham High School (N.Y.), especially Mike Wallace, for sharing ideas.

¹ I borrow the expression from Hugh Brody, *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers, and the Shaping of the World* (New York, 2000).

² The first edition of William H. McNeill's *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, 1963), especially important because of its subsequent influence, devoted eight pages to the Paleolithic in a book of some eight hundred pages. William J. Duiker and Jackson J. Spielvogel cover prehistory in two pages of their *Essential World History: Comprehensive Volume*, 3rd ed. (Belmont, Calif., 2001). A more trade-oriented title, J. R. McNeill and William McNeill's *The Human Web: A Bird's-Eye View of World History* (New York, 2003), covers the Paleolithic in sixteen pages, although their "web" model offers an intriguing device for joining the Paleolithic to the later periods. Michael Cook's general history, *A Brief History of the Human Race* (New York, 2003), suggests that the Paleolithic does not count as history in part because there are no documents from the period that allow us to "study past humans on the basis of what they had to say for themselves" (5). An important exception to this neglect of early human history can be found in David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004).

Daniel once wrote: "Why do historians in a general way pay so little attention to this fourth division of the study of the human past; while recognizing ancient history do they not give more recognition to prehistory? . . . Historians are taking a long time to integrate prehistory into their general view of man."³ That was in 1962. Since then, the call for interdisciplinarity has encouraged historians to approach the past through tools provided by other disciplines. However, this interdisciplinarity has not yet been extended to the fields that constitute the realm of paleoanthropology. Deep history, for all intents and purposes, is still prehistory—a term, as Mott Greene has noted, that modern historians have been reluctant to let drop. "To abandon prehistory," he says, "would be to postulate continuity between the biological descent of hominids and the 'ascent of civilization' of the abstract 'mankind' of humanistic historical writing. Prehistory is a buffer zone."⁴

The purpose of this article is to explore some of the historiographical reasons for the continuing exclusion of deep history. I do not intend to offer suggestions for how we can go about actually emplotting the Paleolithic in textbooks, general histories, and lectures. That is the subject for future work.⁵ Instead, what I will argue here is that the narrative of Western Civilization as it is currently understood by historians in the United States has not fully escaped the chronological and geographical grip of sacred history. Sacred history, as promulgated by early modern European historians and their predecessors in the Judeo-Christian tradition, was a view of history that located the origins of man in the Garden of Eden in 4004 B.C. In the eighteenth century, the chronology proper to history shrank significantly, as the new fad for catastrophism brought historical attention to bear on the Universal Deluge. Since human societies were rebuilt from scratch after the Deluge—so the thinking went—it was the Deluge that marked mankind's true beginning. And in the philosophy of the Neapolitan historian Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), the Deluge made all prior history unknowable anyway, because it destroyed all traces from which we could write such a history. As an event that set the civilizational clock back to zero, the Deluge marked an epistemological break between humanity's origin and the present stream of history. Although the flood itself has long since receded in historical consciousness, the sense of rupture remains.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, with the discovery of geological time, Western Europe's chronological certainties came crashing down. Stephen Jay Gould has called the discovery of deep time a cosmological revolution of Galilean proportions, and the new chronology came to shape all the historical sciences.⁶ But how did historians respond to the long chronology? Like all educated people, the general historians of the later nineteenth century were aware of deep time. A few continued to affirm the truths of Judeo-Christian chronology in the face of the mounting evidence. Motivated by the professionalizing wave of the last decades of the nineteenth century, however, most historians in the United States were comfortable letting go

³ Glyn E. Daniel, *The Idea of Prehistory* (London, 1962), 134.

⁴ Mott T. Greene, *Natural Knowledge in Preclassical Antiquity* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 3.

⁵ But see David Christian, "The Case for Big History," *Journal of World History* 2 (1991): 223–238; Fred Spier, *The Structure of Big History: From the Big Bang until Today* (Amsterdam, 1996).

⁶ Stephen Jay Gould, *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 1; see also Stephen Toulmin and June Goodfield, *The Discovery of Time* (New York, 1965).

of the short chronology. Yet the historical narrative that emerged in the United States between the late nineteenth century and the 1940s did not fully abandon the narrow chronological space into which the diluvial paradigm had consigned secular history. Instead, the sacred was deftly translated into a secular key, as Sumeria and the invention of writing replaced the Garden of Eden as the point of origin for Western Civilization. Prehistory came to be an essential part of the story, but the era was cantilevered outside the narrational buttresses that sustain the edifice of Western Civilization. It was there only to illustrate what we are no longer.

Although the general histories published before World War II discarded the sacred, in other words, they nonetheless preserved the short chronology and the Mesopotamian geography of sacred history. The trend persisted in the postwar era. As the authors of *The Columbia History of the World* (1972) put it, "History begins in the Near East."⁷ Acknowledging the abyss of time, however, the authors of textbooks and general histories published between the 1860s and 1930s felt an obligation to justify their adherence to the short chronology. They noted the absence of written documents. They proposed the idea that history concerns nations, not rootless bands. They developed the myth of Paleolithic stasis, the idea of a timeless dystopia whose unchangingness was broken only, *deus ex machina*, by some ill-defined catalytic event. In these and other ways, they justified the absence of any narrational continuity between prehistory and history.

The continuing significance of these arguments derives from the fact that however toothless they have become, they continue to influence the ways in which we imagine history and frame curricula. What do we gain by exposing them? One might just as well ask why historians of women thought it necessary to explore the historiographical grip of patriarchy even as they undertook the task of writing a women's history. Historiographical revisions have to proceed both materially and historiographically. The big history proposed by David Christian and others cannot make headway unless we expose the chronogeographic grip of sacred history and reexamine the trends that have prevented deep history from taking its place in the curriculum of history.

In the pages that follow, I make no claim to completeness. Apart from Daniel Segal's important study of the use of social evolutionary theory in Western Civilization courses and Doris Goldstein's work on the Oxford School, very little work has been done on historians' reception of deep time.⁸ The project, moreover, is large, and I can claim only to have brushed the surface of the relevant sources. This is a prolegomenon. It hopes to inspire debate and suggest lines of research.

ALL HISTORIANS MUST GRAPPLE WITH THE QUESTION of where to begin the story. For historians of the particular, the problem of origins is not especially acute: choose some reasonably datable event, and have that mark the beginning of your particular history. General historians face a slightly different problem. General history, as de-

⁷ John A. Garraty and Peter Gay, eds., *The Columbia History of the World* (New York, 1972), 49.

⁸ Daniel A. Segal, "'Western Civ' and the Staging of History in American Higher Education," *AHR* 105, no. 3 (June 2000): 770–805; Doris Goldstein, "Confronting Time: The Oxford School of History and the Non-Darwinian Revolution," *Storia della Storiografia* 45 (2004): 3–27.

fined by Herbert Butterfield, is a rational account of man on earth that explains “how mankind had come from primitive conditions to its existing state.”⁹ I use the term to embrace the universal histories of the ancient world and medieval Europe, the general world histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the histories found in modern history textbooks, syllabuses, and lectures. Whatever their differences, all purport to begin at the beginning. But if one’s object is the whole history of humanity, where, exactly, is the beginning?

Musing on the point of origins, the Greek poet Hesiod invented a Golden Age and proposed decay as the dominant historical trajectory. For ancient and medieval historians writing in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the trajectory was similar, although sacred history and the story of Eden supplanted the Golden Age. Universal histories became less fashionable in early modern Europe, but the impulse to begin at the beginning did not wholly wane. Sir Walter Raleigh’s *History of the World in Five Books*, first published in the early seventeenth century, began in Eden and worked its way down to the Roman period. Jacques Bénigne Bossuet’s famed *An Universal History* (1681) also began the story with Genesis.¹⁰

The practice of writing mainstream professional histories rooted in Eden would persist well into the nineteenth century. But even in Raleigh’s day, historians and commentators such as Jean Bodin (1529–1596) were trying to bring a progressive element into the writing of history. Influenced by the natural or conjectural histories of the ancient world that had identified the aboriginal state of humankind as primitive, Bodin denied the existence of a Golden Age and made much of the lawlessness and violence of the early phases of society.¹¹ These ideas were shared by other sixteenth-century anthropologists, who proposed the idea of a progression from pastoral to agricultural society.¹² The schemes subsequently developed by philosophers, economists, and ethnographers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also influenced by the growing number of reports concerning the savage peoples of the Caribbean, North America, Tierra del Fuego, and elsewhere. By the eighteenth century, there was a common understanding that humans had progressed through several economic stages—savagery, pastoralism, agriculture, and commerce were the usual suspects—and that each stage was associated with a particular set of political, social, legal, and intellectual institutions.

But how could the progressive fashion be squared with the chronological facts and the descending trajectory of sacred history? Peter Bowler has remarked that the idea that man acquired civilization in gradual stages required more time than was allowed by biblical chronology.¹³ Yet the authors of conjectural histories did not necessarily offend a biblical time frame. Writing in the eighteenth century, Condorcet and Adam Smith dodged the issue by refusing to assign any dates to their

⁹ Herbert Butterfield, *Man on His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1955), 103.

¹⁰ Sir Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World in Five Books* (London, 1687); Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *An Universal History: From the Beginning of the World to the Empire of Charlemagne*, trans. James Elphinston, 13th ed. (Dublin, 1785).

¹¹ Jean Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, trans. Beatrice Reynolds (New York, 1966), 298; see also Robert Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress* (New York, 1980).

¹² In general, see Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1964).

¹³ Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford, 1989), 76.

armchair speculations. Others, notably the French physiocrat Turgot, were quite willing to squeeze the stages of progress into the short span of time made available by Holy Writ.¹⁴ Adam Ferguson similarly framed the history of mankind in the limited time period allowed for by sacred chronology.¹⁵ Few saw an essential contradiction with sacred history, because no one knew how long it took societies to evolve.

The chronological conundrums were easy to square. Sacred and conjectural histories, however, were profoundly incompatible in another way, for they disagreed on history's direction. Is it from Eden downward? Or from the primitive upward? Yet there was a solution to this problem. Embedded in the famous historical scheme promulgated by Turgot in *A Philosophical Review of the Successive Advances of the Human Mind* (1750) was a kind of biblical catastrophism, the idea that an event or events described in sacred history had wiped the slate clean and reset the clock of civilization to zero:

Holy Writ, after having enlightened us about the creation of the universe, the origin of man, and the birth of the first arts, before long puts before us a picture of the human race concentrated again in a single family as the result of a universal flood. Scarcely had it begun to make good its losses when the miraculous confusion of tongues forced men to separate from one another. The urgent need to procure subsistence for themselves in barren deserts, which provided nothing but wild beasts, obliged them to move apart from one another in all directions and hastened their diffusion through the whole world. Soon the original traditions were forgotten; and the nations, separated as they were by vast distances and still more by the diversity of languages, strangers to one another, were almost all plunged into the same barbarism in which we still see the Americans.¹⁶

This, the crucial compromise, allowed conjectural history and economic stage theory to be reconciled with sacred history. Sacred history provided historians with at least three catastrophes—the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, the Universal Deluge, and the destruction of the Tower of Babel—that could be said to have returned humankind to a primitive condition. The ascent of man, as predicted by theories of progress, could begin from any of the three points.

Of these, the Deluge easily loomed the largest. An event of monstrous significance, it has seldom failed to grip the European imagination.¹⁷ The Deluge was a prominent feature in the geological treatises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and figures significantly in other writings. Its implications were not lost on historians and economists. In his *On the Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences* (1758), Antoine-Yves Goguet argued that the Deluge caused humans to forget the use of iron and other metals and return to the use of tools based on stone.¹⁸ Ferguson also made an allusion to the Deluge.¹⁹ And it was not just conjectural historians who played with the idea. Bossuet's great *Universal History* suggested how mankind was

¹⁴ Ronald L. Meek, ed. and trans., *Turgot on Progress, Sociology and Economics* (Cambridge, 1973), 42, 65.

¹⁵ Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, ed. Fania Oz-Salzberger (Cambridge, 1995), 74.

¹⁶ Meek, *Turgot on Progress*, 42.

¹⁷ See most recently Norman Cohn, *Noah's Flood: The Genesis Story in Western Thought* (New Haven, Conn., 1996).

¹⁸ See Donald K. Grayson, *The Establishment of Human Antiquity* (New York, 1983), 12–13, for similar arguments made by Goguet's contemporaries.

¹⁹ Ferguson, *An Essay*, 74.

reduced to nearly nothing after the Deluge and then, by degrees, slowly emerged from ignorance, transforming woods and forests into fields, pastures, hamlets, and towns, and learning how to domesticate animals.²⁰ This use of the Deluge as a re-setting event in both sacred history and geology would persist into the nineteenth century.²¹

Conjectural historians, it is true, were not much interested in origins. Sacred historians such as Raleigh and Bossuet, in turn, wrote much about the Deluge but were correspondingly less interested in outlining the stages of postdiluvial progress. It was the Neapolitan historian Giambattista Vico who, in his *New Science* (1725), most persuasively reconciled the Deluge with the theory of human progress.²² Vico was not widely known in his own day, but his *New Science* was rediscovered in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and his reputation was resurrected to the point where he, with Leopold von Ranke, has often been called the father of modern history. His emphasis on the Deluge was the key element of a philosophy designed to orient history around the proper interpretation of myths and legends, thereby avoiding idle speculation and armchair philosophizing. A consequence of this approach was to exclude sacred history from the terrain of the secular historian, on the theory that no documents apart from the sacred writings carried by Noah had survived the flood.²³

Vico was clearly attracted to the idea of progress. But whereas Bodin was disinterested in the Deluge, preferring instead to describe ante- and postdiluvial societies as identical in their primitiveness, Vico molded it into a powerful punctuating event.²⁴ The singular importance of the Deluge in Vico's history is reflected in the chronological table printed in *New Science*, which begins in the year 1656 A.M. (*anno mundi*), the year of the Deluge. In a telling phrase, Vico actually describes his work as "a new natural history of the universal flood."²⁵ By the light of this natural history, the Deluge was seen as a catastrophic event that forced humans into the most primitive of conditions, far more abject than anything experienced in the preceding 1,656 years of sacred history. His enthusiasm reflected in his redundancy, Vico writes in many places of a period of brutish wandering during which the three tribes of men were scattered throughout the world's forests and copulated promiscuously with mothers and daughters, unmindful of kinship. Much that Vico wrote was compatible, and designed to be compatible, with the anthropology of his day.

Far more than Turgot, Vico's concept of historical chronology was thoroughly permeated by a philosophy of catastrophism. Catastrophism, the dominant paradigm in eighteenth-century geology, was not antithetical to conjectural history. Concerned

²⁰ Bossuet, *Universal History*, 8–10.

²¹ For example, Sharon Turner, *The History of the Anglo-Saxons from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest* (1799–1805; repr., Philadelphia, Pa., 1841), 1: 27–28; David Ramsay, *Universal History Americanised; or, An Historical View of the World, from the Earliest Records to the Year 1808* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1819), 9–22. See also Charles Coulston Gillespie, *Genesis and Geology: A Study in the Relations of Scientific Thought, Natural Theology and Social Opinion in Great Britain, 1790–1850* (New York, 1951); George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York, 1987), 33–34, 43.

²² Giambattista Vico, *New Science*, 3rd ed., trans. David Marsh (London, 1999).

²³ A trend under way since the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries; see Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1994), 171–185.

²⁴ For the single bland reference to the flood in the pages where Bodin dismantles the myth of a Golden Age, see *Method*, 298.

²⁵ Vico, *New Science*, 33, 143.

with process, conjectural historians did not trouble themselves with origins. To make their schemes work, all they needed was a set of primitive or presocial conditions. They could make their peace with the idea that a catastrophe such as the Deluge had reset the clock to zero. In this view, history did not have to begin with human origins, where Eusebius, Otto of Freising, Raleigh, and other general historians had chosen to begin. Instead, the catastrophic paradigm authorized a history that began in the middle, on the heels of a catastrophe. The philosophy promoted so vividly by Vico, in other words, authorized the compression of historical time. This compression would persist long after the Deluge vanished from the historical imagination.

THE COMPRESSION OF HISTORICAL TIME made little practical difference as long as historical time itself was of short duration. Until the discovery and acceptance of deep time in the middle of the nineteenth century, human history as imagined in the Judeo-Christian tradition was coterminous with the history of the earth itself.²⁶ It is true that Aristotle and others had proposed the idea of an eternal earth, and speculations on the age of the world greatly engaged ancient and medieval philosophers. Historians writing in the Judeo-Christian tradition could hardly resist the temptation to assign a date, and assiduously combed the book of Genesis for clues. Genesis, alas, speaks of generations, not dates, and historians were forced to count generations in the manner of previous Greek, Syrian, and Jewish historians. In the fourth century, Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, had Adam created in the year 5198 B.C., and this was the date used by Jerome, Paulus Orosius, and many other Christian historians. In the seventeenth century, the busy recalculations of a number of scholars resulted in a diversity of dates, ranging from 3700 to 7000 B.C., although the date favored by James Ussher, 4004 B.C., soon emerged as the consensus.²⁷ A chronology beginning at this date was then added to the margins of English editions of the Old Testament so that readers could, at a glance, locate themselves in time. Bossuet's *Universal History* likewise provided chronologies in the margins that served to date events both by counting up, from Creation and by counting down to the birth of Jesus. (See Figures 1 and 2.)

The chronological scaffolding generated by this computational industry was an important intellectual step, because it provided a ready means for making instant comparisons between the chronologies of different civilizations. The idea was central to the work of some ancient historians and had a significant influence on early modern historians.²⁸ In the sixteenth century, Joseph Scaliger and Jean Bodin massaged the existing schemes into a grand system of universal time. The concordances promoted by this work suggested problems with conventional Judeo-Christian dating, for growing contact with Chinese, Indian, and Aztec civilizations was exposing Europeans to time scales that were not counted in the mere thousands of years. Scaliger, for example, pointed out that Chinese cosmology went back more than 880,000 years, and in 1658 the Jesuit Father Martini found that Chinese annals, suitably transposed

²⁶ What follows relies on Paolo Rossi, *The Dark Abyss of Time: The History of the Earth and the History of Nations from Hooke to Vico*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago, 1984).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

²⁸ Breisach, *Historiography*, 10, 69–70, 81–82.

Wickedness of the world.		GENESIS.		Form of the ark.	
Before CHRIST 3317.	21 ¶ And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah:	22 And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters:	23 And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years:	24 And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.	25 And Methuselah lived a hundred eighty and seven years, and begat Lamech:
† Gr. Mathusalem.	26 And Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters:	27 And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died.	28 ¶ And Lamech lived a hundred eighty and two years, and begat a son:	29 And he called his name ¶ Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the LORD hath cursed.	30 And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and daughters:
k ch. 6. 9. & 17. 1. & 24. 30. 2 Kings 20. 3. Pa. 16. 8. & 116. 9. & 123. 1. Mic. 6. 8. Mal. 2. 6. 12 Kings 2. 11. Heb. 11. 5. 3180.	31 And all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died.	32 And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.	CHAPTER VI.		
† Heb. Lamech.	1 The wickedness of the world, which provoked God's wrath, and caused the flood.	8 Noah findeth grace.	14 The order, form, and end of the ark.	AND it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them,	
2948.	2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.	3 And the LORD said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.	4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.	5 ¶ And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.	6 And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.
† Gr. Noe. Luke 3. 30. Heb. 11. 7. 1 Pet. 3. 20. † That is, Rest, or, Comfort. m ch. 3. 17. & 4. 11. 2363.	7 And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and	beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.	8 But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.	9 ¶ These are the generations of Noah: Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.	10 And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.
2448.	11 The earth also was corrupt before God; and the earth was filled with violence.	12 And God looked upon the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.	13 And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.	14 ¶ Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.	15 And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of: The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits.
n ch. 6. 10. o ch. 10. 21.	16 A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it.	17 And, behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die.	18 But with thee will I establish my covenant; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee.	19 And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female.	20 Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind; two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive.
n ch. 1. 1. b Deut. 7. 3. & 4. c Gal. 5. 16. 17. 1 Pet. 3. 19. 20. d Pa. 78. 39. 2460.	21 And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them.	22 ¶ Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.	CHAPTER VII.		
† Or, the whole imagination: The Hebrew word signifieth not only the imagination, but also the purpose and desire.	1 Noah, with his family, and the living creatures, enter into the ark.	17 The beginning, increase, and continuance of the flood.	AND the LORD said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house		
e ch. 8. 21. Deut. 29. 19. Prov. 13. 13. Matt. 15. 10. † Heb. every day. 2448.	2349.	a ver. 13. Matt. 24. 39. Luke 17. 20. Heb. 11. 7. 1 Pet. 3. 20. 2 Pet. 2. 5.	9		

FIGURE 1: Page from an 1868 edition of the Bible, illustrating marginal dates. Author's collection.

P A R T I.

I Epoch.
Adam, or
the creation.
The first
age of the
world.

THE first epoch immediately presents to you a grand and awful spectacle; God creating the heavens and earth by his word, and making man after his own image. With this begins Moses, the most antient of historians, most sublime of philosophers, and wisest of legislators.

Thus he lays the foundation as well of his history, as of his doctrine and laws. Next he shews us all men contained in one man, and his wife herself extracted from him; matrimonial union, and the society of mankind established upon this foundation; the perfection and power of man, so far as he bears the image of God in his first estate; his dominion over animals; his innocence, together with his felicity in paradise, the memory whereof is preserved in the golden age of the poets; the divine command given to our first parents; the malice of the tempting spirit, and his appearance under the form of a serpent; the fall of Adam and Eve, fatal to all their posterity; the first man justly punished in all his children, and mankind cursed by God; the first promise of redemption, and the future victory of men over the devil who had undone them.

The

A. C.
Genel. v.
3. 4.
3875.

The earth begins to be filled, and wickedness increases. Cain, the first son of Adam and Eve, shews the infant world the first tragical action; and from that time virtue dates her persecution from vice. There we see the contrary manners of the two brothers; the innocence of Abel, his pastoral life, and his offerings accepted; those of Cain rejected, his avarice, his impiety, his fratricide, and jealousy the parent of murders; the punishment of that crime, the conscience of the parricide racked with continual terrors; the first city built by this milcreant, now a vagabond upon the face of the earth, seeking an asylum from the hatred and horror of mankind; the invention of some arts by his children; the tyranny of passions, and the prodigious malignity of man's heart, ever prone to evil; the posterity of Seth, faithful to God, notwithstanding that depravation; the pious Enoch, miraculously snatched out of the world, which was not worthy of him; the distinction of the children of God from the children of men; that is, of those who lived after the spirit, from those who lived after the flesh; their intermixture, and the universal corruption of the world; the destruction of men decreed by a just judgment of God; his wrath denounced against sinners by his servant Noah; their impenitence and hardness of heart punished at last by the deluge; Noah and his family reserved for the restoration of mankind.

This is the sum of what passed in 1656 years. Such is the beginning of all histories, wherein are displayed the omnipotence, wisdom and goodness of God; innocence happy under his protection; his justice in avenging crimes, and at the same time his long-suffering patience in waiting the conversion of sinners; the greatness and dignity of man in his

A. M.
129.

987.

3017.

2468.

2348.

1536.

1656.

FIGURE 2: Page from Jacques Bénigne Bossuet's *An Universal History* (1785), illustrating marginal dates. Reproduced courtesy of Fordham University Library.

onto a Christian dating scheme, were reliably recording events that took place more than six hundred years before the Deluge.²⁹ Growing awareness of the great antiquity of Sumerian, Chaldean, and Egyptian civilization was equally problematic. Work on Egyptian chronology suggested that Egyptian civilization dated back nearly to the Deluge itself, perhaps even before. How could so sophisticated a civilization have arisen in so short a time? Bodin was much troubled by these problems. The answer that he and others proposed was that all non-Mosaic chronologies either were fabulous or were written in the spirit of envy.³⁰ A second solution was to prefer the Greek Septuagint over the Hebrew Bible, since the Septuagint allowed an additional 1,440 years. In such ways, the intellectual challenge posed by lengthy Egyptian, Indian, and Chinese chronologies was, at least temporarily, absorbed and overcome.

But challenges to the grip of sacred chronology were not coming from historians alone, for geology, paleontology, ethnology, and natural history also found Ussher's date too constricting. That marine fossils such as shells and sharks' teeth were found on mountaintops had always been something of a problem. One could suppose that they were just odd-looking rocks or freaks of nature laid down by a playful God.

²⁹ Rossi, *Dark Abyss*, 136, 140.

³⁰ Bodin, *Method*, 303–333.

Alternatively, they were carried aloft by the waters of the universal Deluge. Fossils embedded in rock were also a conundrum. By what process could a solid object enter another solid object? For those who admitted the natural origin of such fossils, the solution lay in the proposal that rocks formed in layers through a gradual process of sedimentation.³¹ The resulting realization that layered strata represented geological time did not immediately subvert biblical chronology, since no one knew how long it had taken the layers to form. Imaginative solutions were also devised for other emerging problems, including the tilting of the bedding planes, the discovery of strange creatures such as ammonites, and the presence of humans in the New World. Even so, by the 1750s, the loosening of the grip of sacred chronology had proceeded to a point where some were postulating an earth that was millions of years old, although such opinions were decidedly in the minority.³²

The idea of a very old earth was easily dismissed by orthodox Christian theologians and by distinguished scientists alike, for it created as many problems as it solved. Critics seldom failed to notice that mountains had not eroded away in all the time supposedly available. This particular obstacle was solved by the Scottish geologist James Hutton, who argued in the late eighteenth century that mountains were being continually uplifted and continents remade in a process that “has no vestige of a beginning, no prospect of an end.” Hutton did not insist on an eternal, uncreated earth. All he claimed was that no trace of the primeval earth could have survived the endless recycling of materials. Eschewing the search for origins, he focused instead on geological mechanisms, in much the same way that conjectural historians typically avoided questions of human origins and instead focused attention on law-like processes.³³

Evidence for the antiquity of the earth continued to mount in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and the field of geology developed apace. By the 1840s, geology’s basic chronology, based on the succession of strata, had been worked out by the British geologist Charles Lyell, who published his *Principles of Geology* in the 1830s and remained a powerful advocate of uniformitarian geology for the next forty years. Lyell’s ideas were contested in his own day, and in 1868 the estimate made by the future Lord Kelvin that a molten earth first consolidated a hundred million years ago—a figure later reduced to twenty to forty million years—put an end to any ideas of an eternal earth.³⁴ Yet the Aristotelian idea of an eternal earth has been vindicated in a sense by the current estimate that the earth is around four and a half billion years old, easily old enough to accommodate the gradual geological and biological processes on which people such as Lyell and Charles Darwin were most insistent.

Even as the field of geology was emerging as a science in the first half of the nineteenth century, antiquarians in Denmark, England, and France were excavating

³¹ The leading figure here was Nicholas Steno, discussed in Alan Cutler, *The Seashell on the Mountaintop: A Story of Science, Sainthood, and the Humble Genius Who Discovered a New History of the Earth* (New York, 2003).

³² See Rossi, *Dark Abyss*, 109; Claude Albritton, *The Abyss of Time: Changing Conceptions of the Earth’s Antiquity after the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, Calif., 1980), 73, 85; Grayson, *Establishment*, 31–35.

³³ Mott T. Greene, *Geology in the Nineteenth Century: Changing Views of a Changing World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 19–45; Rossi, *Dark Abyss*, 113–118.

³⁴ Joe D. Burchfield, *Lord Kelvin and the Age of the Earth* (London, 1975).

strata in which eoliths (early human stone tools) lay alongside extinct animals such as cave bears and mammoths.³⁵ The implications were obvious and had been noted since the very last decade of the eighteenth century. Yet Lyell originally resisted the attempt to associate geological time with human antiquity. A British chauvinist, he dismissed the evidence for man's antiquity compiled by French archaeologists. A sensational archaeological discovery in 1859, this time on English soil, finally convinced the geologists to support the idea of Pleistocene humans. Paleontology and prehistoric anthropology sprang up as legitimate scientific disciplines in the 1860s, and the proposition that humans had moved through Stone, Bronze, and Iron ages emerged as the fundamental chronological scheme of archaeology. John Lubbock later subdivided the Stone Age into old and new, Paleolithic and Neolithic, the latter associated with the agricultural revolution. Ethnologists such as Lewis Henry Morgan found the long chronology wonderfully liberating and took to it with great enthusiasm.³⁶ A crucial element of the time revolution was Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, published in 1859, which offered a way to link the history of life and the descent of humanity to the emerging geological time scale, thereby unifying biological time.³⁷ *The Origin of Species* was soon followed by Lyell's *Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man* (1863) and Lubbock's *Pre-Historic Times* (1865), constituting the three works that lie at the heart of the time revolution of the 1860s.

THE STAGES OF THE DISCOVERY OF DEEP TIME are well known to historians of science, and figure in the standard disciplinary narratives of the great historical sciences. But what were historians doing as the understanding of time was transformed in the second half of the nineteenth century? Looking back from the early twentieth century, James Harvey Robinson could still reflect on the event with wonder: "Half a century ago, man's past was supposed to include less than six thousand years; now the story is seen to stretch back hundreds of thousands of years."³⁸ Other historians were at best indifferent. Yet despite the magnitude and implications of the revolution, the question of how historians accommodated deep time had not been seriously addressed until recently.

The later nineteenth and early twentieth century was the great age for patriotic histories of particular nations. In this climate, the urge to write universal histories was partially eclipsed. Even so, a good many works of general history circulated in the United States in the decades following the time revolution of the 1860s, including works imported from Europe as well as home-grown products.³⁹ Some of these were written for the general market. Others—a growing number—were explicitly designed for use in the classroom. Out of this pool of ideas and threads eventually

³⁵ In addition to works already cited, see A. Bowdoin van Riper, *Men among the Mammoths: Victorian Science and the Discovery of Human Prehistory* (Chicago, 1993).

³⁶ Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), esp. 32–35 and 205–230.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

³⁸ James Harvey Robinson, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York, 1912), 26. On Robinson, see Segal, "Western Civ," esp. 771–779.

³⁹ For a useful survey of the important general histories of this period, see Charles Kendall Adams, *A Manual of Historical Literature* (New York, 1882), 31–41.

emerged the narrative forms that would take shape as Western Civ textbooks, first published in the early decades of the twentieth century. In all these sources we can find clues revealing how some historians reacted to the challenge of deep time.

In an age when so eminent a figure as the geologist Louis Agassiz could persist in his adherence to the idea of divine creation, it would be surprising if all historians accepted the long chronology without demur. The last edition of Royal Robbins's *Outlines of Ancient and Modern History on a New Plan* (1875), first published in 1830, was uncompromisingly sacred and treated Darwin as an infidel.⁴⁰ Reuben Parsons's *Universal History* (1902), written for an American Catholic audience, included an unapologetic defense of sacred history.⁴¹ An especially significant source of resistance came from the great German historian Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), who continued to affirm the truth of sacred history in his unfinished *Universal History*. On the other hand, the Oxford historians Edward Freeman and J. R. Green were remarkable for their cautious but sincere and early acceptance of the long chronology.⁴² Amos Dean, in his seven-volume *History of Civilization* (1868), acknowledged the probability “that human life has existed on the planet during a much longer period than has been generally supposed,” even though he perceived no investigative need to breach the barrier created by the Deluge.⁴³

Rather than assessing nineteenth-century historians according to the litmus test of belief, however, it behooves us to ask whether the long chronology made any difference to the framing of history. Daniel Segal has argued that few late-nineteenth-century historians made a serious effort to build a meaningful historical continuum bottomed in the deep past.⁴⁴ In the general histories published before 1900, prehistory was simply tacked on at the beginning, or even reduced to a footnote.⁴⁵ What they offered, moreover, was little enough. In his important *Outlines of Universal History* (1885), the American historian George Fisher gave just a few paragraphs summarizing recent archaeological discoveries. In a general history first published in 1883, the French historian Victor Duruy, one of Fisher's sources, offered a little more. Even so, his contribution, in the 1925 English edition, amounted to no more than 7 pages in a text 892 pages in length.⁴⁶ One of the most sustained efforts by a historian to summarize the discoveries of archaeology can be found in the tenth edition of the *Storia Universale*, published in 1884 by the Italian novelist and general historian Cesare Cantù. Cantù was deeply engaged with biological, archaeological, and geological discoveries; the prefatory material is studded with references to scholarship on geological and prehistorical time, and Cantù devoted four chapters to the primitive world and theories about early human society.⁴⁷ But this incorporation of the paleoanthropological evidence was a curiously ironic gesture, because Cantù

⁴⁰ Royal Robbins, *Outlines of Ancient and Modern History on a New Plan* (Hartford, Conn., 1875).

⁴¹ Reuben Parsons, *Universal History: An Explanatory Narrative*, vol. 1: *Ancient History from the Creation of Man until the Fall of the Roman Empire* (Yonkers, N.Y., 1902).

⁴² See Goldstein, “Confronting Time.”

⁴³ Amos Dean, *The History of Civilization*, 7 vols. (Albany, 1868), 1: 47, 51.

⁴⁴ Segal, “‘Western Civ,’” 774–775.

⁴⁵ E.g., Richard Green Parker, *Outlines of General History* (New York, 1848), 9.

⁴⁶ Victor Duruy, *General History of the World* (New York, 1925). First published in France in 1883, Duruy's *Histoire Générale* was translated for the U.S. market in 1898 and went through several editions until 1929.

⁴⁷ Cesare Cantù, *Storia Universale*, 10th ed. (Turin, 1884).

professed an adherence to the truths of sacred history and discussed the paleoanthropological evidence only so as to disprove it.

Cantù's skepticism aside, the problem of incorporating prehistory into the narrative was not just one of belief. It was also one of imagination. One could be open to the idea of deep history without knowing quite what to do with it. A remarkable solution to this narrational difficulty was to reimagine the European Middle Ages as a period of darkness so profound as to duplicate the social state of primitive savagery. In this new schema, ancient history stood in for the golden era of antediluvial sacred history, and medieval Europe was transformed into the primitive world of the immediate postdiluvial age. In an echo of a Huttonian geology that eschewed the search for origins and focused instead on process, general historians of the nineteenth century found that they had no need for genesis and could focus instead on the progress that mankind had made since the most recent catastrophe.

The very idea of a pseudo-primitive Dark Age influenced the ways in which nineteenth-century historians framed the history of civilization. The Enlightenment denigration of the European Middle Ages had made it easy to view the original inhabitants of Europe and the invaders of Rome as crude barbarians, little different from the primitive peoples that figured in conjectural histories and anthropological prehistories. Adam Ferguson made the parallel explicit, describing the Gauls, Germans, and Britons as resembling the natives of North America in their ignorance of agriculture and their tendency to paint themselves and wear the skins of animals.⁴⁸ Edward Gibbon himself wrote of a "deluge of Barbarians."⁴⁹ These barbarians gradually came to stand in for Paleolithic man in the developmental schemes of Western history. Medieval historians in the United States, deeply influenced by the idea of biological evolution and geological time, routinely referred to the early Germanic tribes using words such as "primitive."⁵⁰ Doris Goldstein, writing about Freeman and Green, has suggested that "their forays into what they described as the 'primeval' or the 'primitive' were closely related to their interest in the early history of the Teutonic tribes."⁵¹ Historians used the word in a positive developmental sense, as this 1899 paean to the era makes clear: "in the middle ages we are to see the beginnings of ourselves. We are the perfectly legitimate descendants of mediaeval men, and we have no ideas, no institutions, no manners that are not shot through and through with thread of mediaeval spinning."⁵² Nineteenth-century historians were deeply attracted to the idea that progress followed on the heels of a resetting event. All that changed was the event itself, as the aqueous Deluge was transformed into a deluge of barbarians.

This is not the place to explore in detail the refashioning of the European Middle Ages in nineteenth-century historiography. Here it is enough to suggest that medieval Europe's capacity to serve as a doppelganger for the primitive past helps

⁴⁸ Ferguson, *An Essay*, 75.

⁴⁹ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, abridged by D. M. Low (New York, 1962), 524–525.

⁵⁰ In general, see Gabrielle Spiegel, "L'histoire scientifique et les utilisations antimodernistes du passé dans le médiévisme américain," *Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques, Réflexions Historiographiques* 22 (1999): 87–108.

⁵¹ Goldstein, "Confronting Time," 25.

⁵² Arthur Richmond Marsh, "Special Introduction," in Henry Hallam, *History of Europe during the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (New York, 1899), 1: iv–v.

explain why some historians failed to engage more seriously with the Paleolithic. Another problem with the Paleolithic lay in the inability of prehistorians to date their findings with confidence, since the lack of a chronological scaffolding made it impossible to attach prehistory to the grid of historical time, as J. L. Myres noted in 1911.⁵³ Yet the most prominent obstacle to the incorporation of prehistory centered on how nineteenth-century historians imagined the evidence appropriate for the study of history.⁵⁴ Since the seventeenth century, when schemes for lengthening the age of the earth first began to circulate, the “time beyond history” has been dismissed as unknowable. “All of that time was unknown and concealed,” remarked Philippe Le Prieur in 1656.⁵⁵ Turgot said much the same. Vico denied the possibility of approaching the time before the Deluge via the products of vernacular language, since all such languages postdated the Deluge. Nineteenth-century archaeologists spoke of the fog that obscured their vision of the pre-Christian era. Lubbock summed up the philosophy of those opposed to prehistoric archaeology in the opening paragraph of *Pre-Historic Times*:

The first appearance of man in Europe dates from a period so remote, that neither history, nor even tradition, can throw any light on his origin, or mode of life. Under these circumstances, some have supposed that the past is hidden from the present by a veil, which time will probably thicken, but never can remove . . . Some writers have assured us that, in the words of Palgrave, “We must give it up, that speechless past.”⁵⁶

That speechless past: no other phrase could capture so well the skeptical attitude toward the possibility of studying time beyond the veil.

Lubbock’s comment on the prejudices that hampered the acceptance of prehistoric archaeology aptly describe the epistemological stance taken by Leopold von Ranke. In the remarkable opening paragraph of his *Universal History*, published in the 1880s, Ranke deliberately refused to breach the veil of prehistory:

History cannot discuss the origin of society, for the art of writing, which is the basis of historical knowledge, is a comparatively late invention. The earth had become habitable and was inhabited, nations had arisen and international connections had been formed, and the elements of civilization had appeared, while that art was still unknown. The province of History is limited by the means at her command, and the historian would be over-bold who should venture to unveil the mystery of the primeval world, the relation of mankind to God and nature. The solution of such problems must be intrusted to the joint efforts of Theology and Science.⁵⁷

Or in the words of the French historians Charles Langlois and Charles Seignobos: “The historian works with documents. Documents are the traces which have been left by the thoughts and actions of men of former times . . . For want of documents

⁵³ J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History* (New York, 1911), 8–10.

⁵⁴ Segal, “‘Western Civ,’” 774–775.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Rossi, *Dark Abyss*, 159.

⁵⁶ John Lubbock, *Pre-Historic Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1872), 1.

⁵⁷ Leopold von Ranke, *Universal History: The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks*, ed. G. W. Prothero, trans. D. C. Tovey and G. W. Prothero (New York, 1885), ix.

the history of immense periods in the past of humanity is destined to remain for ever unknown. For there is no substitute for documents: no documents, no history.”⁵⁸

No documents, no history. A feature of Vico’s *New Science*, this epistemological stance was repackaged by Ranke and others in the nineteenth century and promulgated as a basis for scientific history. Admittedly, not all of Ranke’s contemporaries shared this point of view.⁵⁹ So how did Ranke and others arrive at this stance? One can, with Herbert Butterfield, point out that Ranke was trying to preserve the realm of history from the speculations of philosophers.⁶⁰ But it is important not to lose sight of the fact that Ranke, like Vico, accepted the truths of sacred history. Early chapters of *Universal History* echo the sacred histories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ranke’s firm belief that “the course of history revealed God’s work,” in Peter Novick’s phrase, is well known.⁶¹ In other words, Ranke arguably promoted writing as the sole reliable basis of historical knowledge, not just because he sought to place history on a scientific footing, but also because this was the only way he knew how to exclude prehistorical artifacts from historical reckoning and thereby dodge the vexed theological questions created by biology and archaeology.

IN ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD EVIDENCE, an important strand of late-nineteenth-century scientific history embedded a resistance to deep time under the guise of a neutral professionalizing agenda. By the turn of the century, however, some of the intellectual obstacles to prehistory were fading. The discovery of cave paintings in the 1870s and 1880s was a jolt to those who doubted the humanity of Paleolithic humans, because the capacity to create art was seen as a symbol of a higher world view—evidence for the thinking, feeling human so difficult to detect in the eoliths and bones that had hitherto dominated the archaeological world.⁶² Lord Kelvin’s thermodynamic principles had done away with the idea of an ageless earth, and although his dates proved wrong, it was nonetheless clear that the earth had a datable point of origin that was immensely old. Prehistorical dates were circulating widely in the works of acknowledged authorities such as Sir Arthur Keith, and although these, too, were inaccurate, they nonetheless provided a chronological scaffolding on which historians could begin to build.⁶³ (See Figure 3.) The tendency to focus exclusively on the political or constitutional history of nations was being challenged by the rise of social and economic history, fields that focused on how people lived in the past, not just on how they were governed.

In the wake of these changes, the New History of the 1910s and 1920s saw some remarkable attempts to bridge the gap between prehistory and history. In 1913, the

⁵⁸ Charles V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, trans. G. G. Berry (New York, 1898), 17. See also 145: “A document only contains the ideas of the man who wrote it . . . We thus arrive at this general rule of method: the study of every document should begin with an analysis of its contents, made with the sole aim of determining the real meaning of the author.”

⁵⁹ Goldstein, “Confronting Time,” 13, 18.

⁶⁰ Butterfield, *Man on His Past*, 103–104.

⁶¹ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 27; see also Breisach, *Historiography*, 233.

⁶² John Pfeiffer, *The Creative Explosion: An Inquiry into the Origins of Art and Religion* (New York, 1982), 19–39; Grahame Clark, *World Prehistory in New Perspective* (Cambridge, 1977), 3–4.

⁶³ Sir Arthur Keith, *New Discoveries Relating to the Antiquity of Man* (1915; repr., New York, 1931).

English historian James Bryce spoke enthusiastically about the possibility of a chronological expansion of the historians' terrain.⁶⁴ In 1916, the Berkeley historian Frederick Teggart suggested that "the historian has come to see that there is no hard and fast boundary between 'historic' and 'prehistoric' times, between 'historical' and 'unhistorical' peoples; the history of Man includes man everywhere and at all times . . . Anthropology and History differ only in so far as each represents the use of a special investigative technique."⁶⁵ At the same time, in his *New History*, Robinson was arguing forcefully for a historical understanding that would embrace the Paleolithic, and castigated his peers for their failure to make the mental switch:

There may still be historians who would argue that all this has nothing to do with history,—that it is "prehistoric." But "prehistoric" is a word that must go the way of "preadamite," which we used to hear. They both indicate a suspicion that we are in some way gaining illicit information about what happened before the footlights were turned on and the curtain rose on the great human drama. Of the so-called "prehistoric" period we, of course, know as yet very little indeed, but the bare fact that there was such a period constitutes in itself the most momentous of historical discoveries.⁶⁶

If the time revolution of the 1860s had caused the bottom to drop out of history, "prehistory and its living representatives were a means of 're-bottoming' history." This is how Daniel Segal has characterized the result of Robinson's engagement with the long chronology.⁶⁷ In this schema, the primitive conditions of the Paleolithic are an essential element of the story of Western Civilization, because they serve as a convenient measure for our subsequent progress.

There is much truth to the argument that the New History was thoroughly permeated by a rejection of the short chronology. Certainly, the paragraph or two devoted to prehistory in nineteenth-century works such as Fisher's *Outlines of Universal History* generally grew to a short chapter or more in the textbooks and professional histories published in the United States after the 1920s.⁶⁸ Yet when Robinson actually applied this idea in his own textbook, *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, first published in 1903, the results proved to be quite otherwise. Consider the question posed at the very outset:

One of the most difficult questions that a historical writer has to settle is the point at which he is to begin his tale . . . How far back shall we go to get a start? Modern research seems to show that man was a wandering, hunting animal for hundreds of thousands of years before he learned to settle down and domesticate animals, cultivate the soil, and plant and reap crops.⁶⁹

So where did Robinson begin? The answer is perhaps inevitable: the European Middle Ages. Eschewing the need to return to the Paleolithic bottom, Robinson argued that because our civilization has descended directly from the fusion of Roman civ-

⁶⁴ Goldstein, "Confronting Time," 21–24.

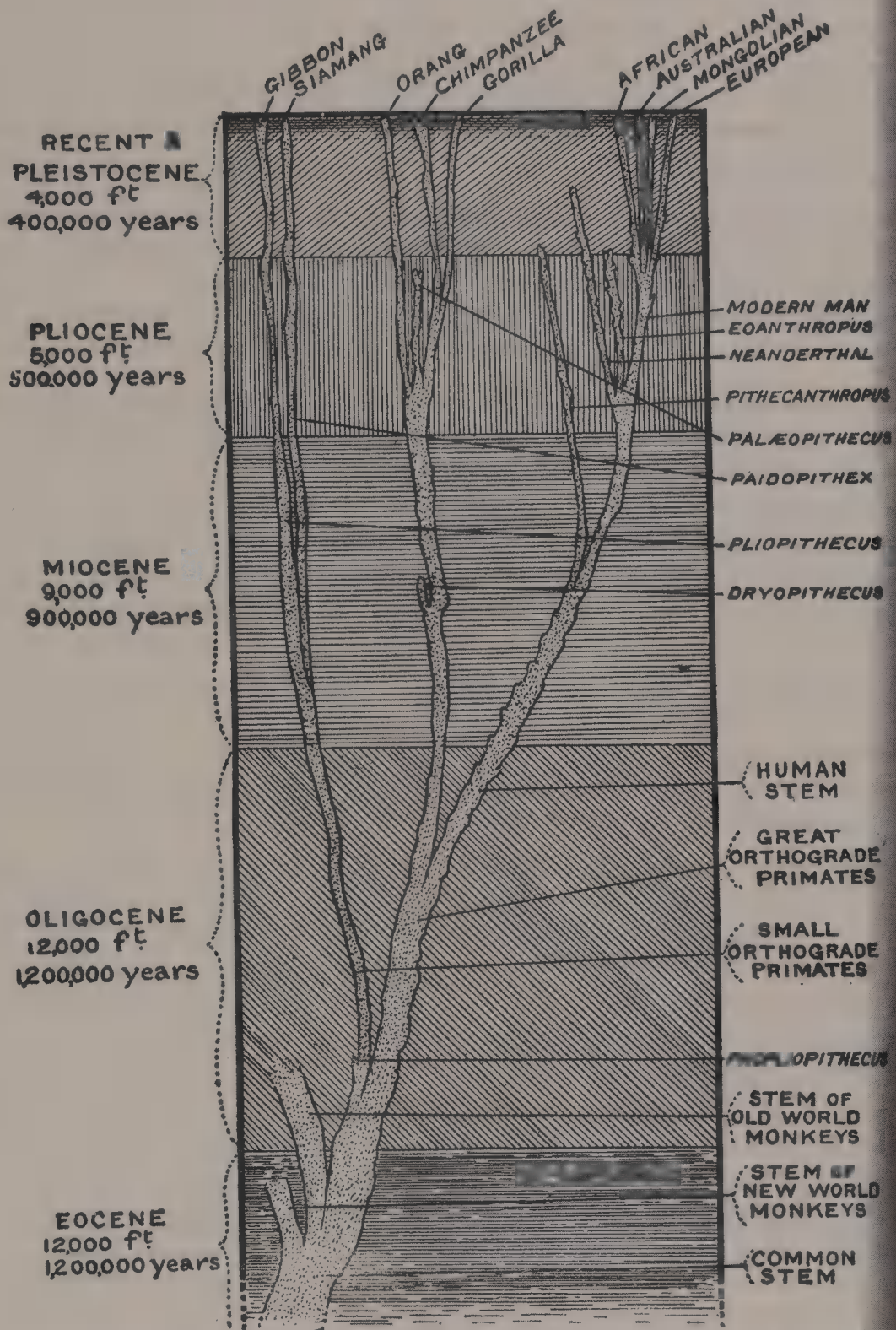
⁶⁵ Frederick J. Teggart, *Prolegomena to History: The Relation of History to Literature, Philosophy, and Science* (Berkeley, Calif., 1916), 276.

⁶⁶ Robinson, *New History*, 56.

⁶⁷ See Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan*, 221; Segal, "'Western Civ.," 772, 775, 779.

⁶⁸ In general, see Segal, "'Western Civ.'" Robinson himself cited favorably the 250 pages devoted to anthropology in Eduard Meyer's *History of Antiquity*; see Segal, "'Western Civ.," 89.

⁶⁹ I consulted the 1924 revised and enlarged edition of *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe* (Boston, 1924).



Genealogical tree, showing the ancestral stems and probable lines of descent of the higher primates.

FIGURE 3: The family tree of hominins, from the 1920 edition of Sir Arthur Keith's *The Antiquity of Man*. Reproduced courtesy of Fordham University Library.

ilization and medieval Europe, there is no particular need to go any earlier.⁷⁰ Recapitulating this argument in *The Ordeal of Civilization* (1926), he noted that “the development of our present civilization began with the first inventions and findings-out of mankind, of which no records remain.” This is the great Rankean conundrum. “Fortunately,” Robinson went on to say, “we can take up the story with the decline and break-up of the Roman Empire.”⁷¹ Subsequent passages reveal Robinson’s assessment of where medieval Europe belongs on the scale of civilization:

It seemed for a few years as if the new German kings . . . would succeed in keeping order and in preventing the loss of such civilization as remained. But no such good fortune was in store for western Europe, which was now only at the beginning of the turmoil which was to leave it almost completely barbarized, for there was little to encourage the reading or writing of books, the study of science, or attention to art, in a time of constant warfare and danger.⁷²

Much like earlier historians who had chosen to begin history with the Deluge, Robinson sought to find the primitive in medieval Europe so as to have a more recent bottom on which to build history’s narrative of progress.

Robinson, in other words, never really overcame the idea of rupture, the idea that some gulf separates us from the Paleolithic. With rare exceptions, textbooks and general histories published over the twentieth century followed more or less in his footsteps.⁷³ The gulf between prehistory and history was justified in a variety of ways. Robinson himself, thinking in a Rankean mode, made an epistemological distinction between remains and written documents.⁷⁴ Other historians claimed that documentary archives are more authoritative because their contents were *explicitly* designed to record information about the past. In the words of the authors of *The Illustrated World History* (1935), these constitute “conscious records.”⁷⁵ Some have even claimed that the archive itself must be official, the product of intention. In a letter to a fellow historian written in 1927, J. Franklin Jameson rejected social history on the grounds that “you do not have definitely limited bodies of materials, handed down by authority, like statutes or other manageable series, but a vast blot of miscellaneous material from which the historian picks out what he wants.”⁷⁶

Another reason justifying the gulf between history and prehistory was lucidly expressed in Robert H. Labberton’s *Universal History*, first published in 1871 and reprinted over the next few decades. Aware of the true depth of the human race, Labberton nonetheless held that a society can be subject to the gaze of history only when the society itself has a historical consciousness.⁷⁷ In *The Columbia History of*

⁷⁰ Ibid., 8–9. On Robinson’s fusion of medieval with primitive, see also the brief remarks of Gilbert Allardyce, “The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course,” *AHR* 87, no. 3 (June 1982): 704–705.

⁷¹ James Harvey Robinson, *The Ordeal of Civilization* (New York, 1926), 7.

⁷² Ibid., 35. See also 47 and 90.

⁷³ The most noteworthy exception among Western Civ textbooks is Harry Elmer Barnes, *The History of Western Civilization*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), which was quite serious in its incorporation of the Paleolithic.

⁷⁴ Segal, “‘Western Civ,’” 779. One can still find variants on the Rankean argument; most recently, see Duiker and Spielvogel, *Essential World History*, 3.

⁷⁵ John Hammerton and Harry Elmer Barnes, eds., *The Illustrated World History: A Record of World Events from Earliest Historical Times to the Present Day* (New York, 1935), 7.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 89–90.

⁷⁷ Robert H. Labberton, *Labberton’s Universal History, from the Earliest Times to the Present* (New York, 1902), xxi. See also François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *A Popular History of France, from the Earliest Times*, trans. Robert Black (Boston, 1869), 1: 15.

the World, published a century later, the argument appears in this form: "History exists only in a persisting society which needs history to persist."⁷⁸ The consciousness of history, according to this argument, was itself a catalytic device that propelled humans across the gulf.

Still other historians echoed an argument that Fisher made in 1885 in his *Outlines of Universal History*, designed explicitly for use as a textbook in American secondary schools:

History is concerned with the successive actions and fortunes of a community; in its broadest extent, with the experiences of the human family. It is only when men are connected by the social bond, and remain so united for a greater or lesser period, that there is room for history. It is, therefore, with *nations*, in their internal progress and in their mutual relations, that history especially deals. Of mere clans, or loosely organized tribes, it can have little to say.⁷⁹

In 1909, John Bagnall Bury elevated this to a more systematic philosophy, arguing that anthropology dealt with presocial humans, whereas history "deals only with the development of man in societies."⁸⁰ Bury argued that the characteristic feature of society was the "differentiation of function" or division of labor, evidently assuming that primitive societies made no such distinctions. Still another argument held that early humans were not fully human, and that some event transformed them suddenly into civilized man. Consider Hermann Schneider's general history of world civilization, first published in German in 1927 and translated into English in 1931:

There have been man-like creatures of the human breed (pre-humans, ape-men) for tens of thousands of years, nay, hundreds of thousands of years, before the Ice Age. Human beings proper have existed only since the end of the Ice Age; only then did ape-man develop into man on the road to civilization . . . Herein man surpasses the brutes; no animal before him ever took that step: here is the dividing-line between brutes and men.⁸¹

Schneider's views are an extreme version of a bias built into many world histories of the early twentieth century, namely, that humans were not quite human before civilization. It was civilization that made humanity, not humanity that made civilization.

This account embeds another perspective that was and remains common in a variety of twentieth-century general histories. In the nineteenth century, "prehistoric" meant "undocumented." A new shade of meaning was added in the twentieth, for "prehistoric" also came to mean a time before history, as if history had not moved in the eons before civilization. Current in some anthropological circles around the turn of the century was the belief that progress itself was highly unusual—authors such as Henry Sumner Maine and Walter Bagehot spoke instead of stationary societies and "fixity." Several decades later, Oswald Spengler wrote of a culture in stasis as being caught within a "historyless" period.⁸² Ideas such as these, when applied to the deep past, constitute the myth of Paleolithic stasis.

⁷⁸ Garraty and Gay, *The Columbia History of the World*, 49.

⁷⁹ George Park Fisher, *Outlines of Universal History, Designed as a Text-Book and for Private Reading* (New York, 1885), 1.

⁸⁰ John Bagnall Bury, "Darwinism and History," in Bury, *Selected Essays of J.B. Bury*, ed. Harold W. V. Temperley (Cambridge, 1930), 32 n. 1. Similar ideas can be found in Max Savelle, ed., *A History of World Civilization* (New York, 1957), 1: 28.

⁸¹ Hermann Schneider, *The History of World Civilization from Prehistoric Times to the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, trans. Margaret M. Green (New York, 1931), 3.

⁸² Breisach, *Historiography*, 398.

The myth of Paleolithic stasis configured humanity's deep past as a grim and changeless era. The authors of a world history textbook for use in Catholic secondary schools, published in 1958, conveyed the idea nicely:

Our imagination fails us when we try to see in the mind's eye the uncounted generations of Paleolithic people. We know what men have proved capable of accomplishing—their sciences and arts and great civilizations. Why, then, did they live for so long in the wilderness? It appears as if some great calamity had fallen upon human nature itself, as if some sentence of banishment and damnation had been laid on man by his Creator.⁸³

Paleolithic stasis, in this view, was a result of the Fall. But what broke the stasis and set man on the move? Rather than catastrophe, some general histories of the twentieth century proposed the idea of a catalyzing event that introduced progress or direction into a society hitherto without history. Mott Greene characterizes the argument in this way: “at some point a leap took place, a mutation, an explosion of creative power—the ‘discovery of mind,’ or the ‘birth of self-consciousness’—interposing a barrier between us and our previous brute, merely biological existence.”⁸⁴ For the author of *A Brief History of Civilization* (1925), the events that brought mankind out of the “darkness” included the arrival of the Aryan race on the scene.⁸⁵ Schneider waffled between environmental changes and the fortuitous blending of human stocks.⁸⁶ In the more recent *Penguin History of the World*, J. M. Roberts postulates a new capacity for making conscious choices, a transformation that broke through what hitherto had been the dominating influence of genes and environment.⁸⁷

An especially important catalyzing event was the invention of writing.⁸⁸ Eighteenth-century general historians were not particularly sensitive to the invention of writing as a historical event. By the nineteenth century, however, the invention of writing was beginning to figure prominently in historical accounts.⁸⁹ In 1928, Geoffrey Parsons introduced his chapter on the dawn of civilization in this way: “After 100,000 years of savagery and 10,000 years of barbarism the beginnings of writing and of civilization appeared at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.”⁹⁰ Schneider identified the art of working in metal and writing as crucial events in Near Eastern history.⁹¹ In later accounts, writing was thought to have allowed humankind to preserve valuable learning for posterity, and thus, for the first time, to have permitted human civilization to build upon itself in rapid Lamarckian fashion.⁹² Historians such as Ranke had long argued that writing alone made the past knowable.

⁸³ Ross J. S. Hoffman, ed., *Man and His History: World History and Western Civilization* (Garden City, N.Y., 1958), 28.

⁸⁴ Greene, *Natural Knowledge*, 3.

⁸⁵ John S. Hoyland, *A Brief History of Civilization* (London, 1925), 24, 48, 49.

⁸⁶ Schneider, *The History of World Civilization*, 7.

⁸⁷ J. M. Roberts, *The Penguin History of the World*, 3rd ed. (London, 1995), 4. This argument, common to many general histories, may have been influenced by Julian Jaynes's *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicommental Mind* (Boston, 1976).

⁸⁸ Sumeria was the earliest region to develop writing, a little more than five thousand years ago. Writing was independently invented elsewhere.

⁸⁹ E.g., Henry Thomas Buckle, *History of Civilization in England* (New York, 1860), 1: 214–218.

⁹⁰ Geoffrey Parsons, *The Stream of History* (New York, 1928), 142.

⁹¹ Schneider, *The History of World Civilization*, 37–38.

⁹² See, among others, Crane Brinton et al., eds., *A History of Civilization*, vol. 1: *Prehistory to 1715* (New York, 1955), 18; Shepard Bancroft Clough et al., eds., *A History of the Western World* (Boston, 1964), 14.

The belief in writing as a catalyzing event, however, was a much more profound concept. Writing, in this view, actually put civilization on the move and created history out of the historyless Paleolithic. Few historians, it seems, were troubled by the incongruities of this argument: that agriculture, villages, towns, even cities and empires arose before the invention of writing; that the earliest forms of writing consisted of such things as market transactions and tax records, with no moral, political, or legal lessons for future generations; that the great religious texts and myths circulated in oral form long before they were written down.

The emphasis given to the invention of writing in historical accounts was linked to another trend, a key element of the persisting chronogeography of sacred history. This was the growing inclination to locate the Garden of Eden in Mesopotamia. (See Figure 4.) In medieval Europe, virtually all observers had associated the Garden of Eden with the Far East. Over time, it shifted westward in popular geography, toward the Near East, where both Bodin and Vico were inclined to place it. Armenia was the location preferred by the church historian George Smith in his *The Patriarchal Age* (1847).⁹³ In Smith's case, the reasons for this shift are especially interesting. Armenia, he noted, is where Noah and his sons settled after the Deluge. In this vision, the Ark, scarcely drifting at all in the floodwaters, settled on Mount Ararat after the waters subsided. Smith was insistent on Armenia because it was close to the geographic roots of the Indo-European peoples—and hence better suited to his purpose, which was to argue that the historical splitting of the Indo-European linguistic family was identical to the Confusion of Tongues.⁹⁴ Twentieth-century history and archaeology would soon arrive at a consensus that Mesopotamia was the birthplace of writing. The Sumerian origins of writing joined with the relatively new myth of a Mesopotamian Eden in confirming the Near East as the cradle of humanity. The rise of Mesopotamia in twentieth-century historiography is palpable. General histories and textbooks published in the later nineteenth century typically had history begin in Egypt, then considered the oldest civilization.⁹⁵ In most postwar textbooks, however, Mesopotamia supplanted Egypt as the point of origins.⁹⁶

The deep gulf separating the Stone Age from civilization, a backward nowhere from a progressive Mesopotamia, was humanity's Rubicon. Crossing it at some point late in the Neolithic era, humanity entered on the road to civilization, creating history in the process. The Neolithic Rubicon performs a narrative function eerily similar to the Deluge. There are some obvious differences. The Deluge was a resetting

⁹³ George Smith, *The Patriarchal Age; or, The History and Religion of Mankind, from the Creation to the Death of Isaac* (London, 1847), 165–167.

⁹⁴ See *ibid.*, 384–415, esp. the discussion of Sir William Jones from 401 onward.

⁹⁵ Among the many exemplars of textbooks or pedagogies that begin the course of study with Egypt, see W. C. Taylor, *A Manual of Ancient and Modern History* (New York, 1852); John MacCarthy, *History of the World from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (New York, 1882); Philip Van Ness Myers, *Ancient History* (Boston, 1904); Labberton, *Labberton's Universal History*; and Herbert Darling Foster et al., eds., *A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools* (Boston, 1904). Lynn Thorndike includes two chapters on the prehistoric era in his *A Short History of Civilization* (New York, 1930) but then proceeds to Egypt. Some early texts, including Fisher, *Outlines of Universal History*, begin with China and India, then move to Egypt.

⁹⁶ Among the many examples, see Clough et al., *A History of the Western World* (1964), and Garraty and Gay, *The Columbia History of the World* (1972). The fourth and most recent edition of William H. McNeill, *A World History* (Oxford, 1999), begins with Mesopotamia, in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, as does Duiker and Spielvogel, *Essential World History*.

event, plunging humanity into the primitive conditions demanded by conjectural history. The Neolithic Rubicon was a passage from stasis to progress. But both sit astride the buffer zone between nonhistory and history. Both act as a rupture, generating a discontinuous narrative.

By this analysis, the Paleolithic “bottom” to the narrative of Western Civ has always been a false bottom. Robinson was earnest in his desire to integrate the Paleolithic into the stream of history, but in his own textbooks he was perfectly content to use the European Middle Ages as the Western world’s point of origin. Even as Robinson was perfecting his textbooks, however, others were having a go at rebuilding the narrative of history, and coming up with very different results. In the 1920s, the reading public was fascinated by the vertiginous prospects of deep history. Some measure of this fascination can be found in the phenomenal success of H. G. Wells’s *The Outline of History*, whose first edition was published in 1919. From his opening chapter, Wells rooted history in deep geological, even astronomical, time; he devoted far more attention to the Paleolithic and Neolithic than did other histories of his day. Moving continuously from geological and biological time to historical time, the narrative does not postulate a rupture. Several books and series published in the wake of *Outline* were equally ambitious and equally seamless. A remarkable exemplar is “The Corridors of Time,” a series of ten books published between 1927 and 1956 by Yale University Press. Beginning with a volume entitled *Apes and Men*, the series develops a natural history of humanity that runs down to the agricultural revolution and beyond. In *The Stream of History*, a general history published by Scribner’s in 1928, Geoffrey Parsons devoted 142 pages, a quarter of the total, to prehistory. These and other works entered the space first opened by Wells.⁹⁷ The modern-day descendants of this narrative include best-selling trade histories written by Jared Diamond and other authors without a disciplinary affiliation with history.⁹⁸

As William T. Ross has pointed out, *Outline*, with its frank Darwinian message, was aimed at a middlebrow audience “obstinately unwilling to subordinate itself to any older ‘blue-blood’ elite.”⁹⁹ The response was immense: the work sold 150,000 copies in its initial English edition and 500,000 copies in the subsequent U.S. edition. The work’s appeal lay in the message that biology, not genius, was responsible for getting us where we are today.¹⁰⁰ This was an explicit attack on the university-educated political elite, who were inclined to explain history’s progressive direction as a function of six thousand years of careful political stewardship. Political elites were not necessarily anti-Darwinian. They favored the older narrative, suitably shorn of its sacred underpinnings, for the political myth it conveyed. Leaderless, man is doomed to live in an unchanging Paleolithic world. Properly submissive to the benevolent rule of far-seeing college-educated elites, mankind ascends the ladder of civilization.

The captivating possibility of Ross’s argument is that the historians responsible for writing and teaching the first generation of Western Civ textbooks had political

⁹⁷ See also G. Elliot Smith, *Human History* (New York, 1929).

⁹⁸ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 1997). See also John Reader, *Africa: A Biography of the Continent* (New York, 1998); Tim Flannery, *The Eternal Frontier: An Ecological History of North America and Its Peoples* (New York, 2001).

⁹⁹ William T. Ross, *H.G. Wells’s World Reborn: The Outline of History and Its Companions* (Selinsgrove, Pa., 2002), 16.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.



FIGURE 4: The Garden of Eden in Mesopotamia. From Athanasius Kircher, *Arca Noë*. Reproduced courtesy of Fordham University Library Special Collections.

motivations for placing the Paleolithic on the other side of a gulf. Adopting the long chronology, after all, might invite the dangerous idea that political hierarchies emerged as the result of natural or Darwinian processes. To believe this would be to doubt the civilizing function of education, the blessing that is writing—even the beneficent role of academia itself.

BY THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY, most professional historians had abandoned sacred history. Yet the chronogeography of sacred history and its attendant narrative of rupture has proven to be remarkably resilient. History still cleaves to its short chronology. The otherwise meaningless date of 4000 B.C. continues to echo in our histories.¹⁰¹ Authors still use the narrative device of rupture to create an artificial point of origin, reducing the Paleolithic to the status of a prologue to history, humanity's "apprenticeship." And history's point of origin is still a Mesopotamian origin. Although we may have abandoned the sacred, we have not yet escaped the grip of sacred history.

The obstacles that once prevented the absorption of deep time have, for the most part, disappeared. New research in the genetic and archaeological archives has transformed a once undifferentiated past of several million years into a past punctuated by extraordinary events and adventures, making it difficult for anyone to maintain a belief in a changeless Paleolithic. The mid- to late Paleolithic has now been dated with considerable precision, making available the scaffolding that nineteenth-century historians never had. Recent archaeological research has demonstrated the existence of late Paleolithic villages and towns numbering in the hundreds, even thousands, of people, proving that complex political organization owes nothing to agriculture, still less to the invention of writing. More recent civilizations and societies, equally undocumented but nonetheless knowable through archaeological research and oral history, figure prominently in the many branches of world history, illustrating how historians no longer consider documents essential to the framing of history. Ancient history is unimaginable without the archaeological evidence; medieval history is very nearly so; and the effort to reconstitute the histories of the peoples without writing is one of the signal achievements of twentieth-century history. An appreciation for oral composition and social memory suggests just how little the technology of writing has actually added to our ability to recall and duplicate the lessons of the past. One could go on. Even with the minimal evidence at his disposal in 1919, Wells showed how it was possible to build a history that seamlessly links the deep past to the recent past. Rather than Ranke's epistemological rupture, demarcating the unknowable from the knowable, one should imagine a cone of increasing evidence, swollen but not fundamentally transformed in recent millennia by the addition of writing. To learn to think with this cone, all one need do is acknowledge that writing is not superior to the other historical traces that our colleagues in the other historical disciplines use to approach the past.

What do we gain from incorporating the deep history of humanity more firmly into history texts and syllabuses? To do so is to foster a new interdisciplinarity, one that will not only reframe our narratives of the deep past but also contribute to the histories of Postlithic societies. Important features of modern political and social behavior—gossip and communication, altruism and cooperation, dominance hierarchies, women and sex, disease, even religion—are illuminated when set into relief

¹⁰¹ For a few examples, see Harry Elmer Barnes, *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World*, 3rd rev. ed., vol. 1: *From Earliest Times through the Middle Ages* (New York, 1965), 39; C. Harold King, *A History of Civilization: Earliest Times to the Mid-Seventeenth Century—The Story of Our Heritage* (New York, 1956), 4–5. The first unit of New York State's Global History and Geography curriculum for ninth and tenth grade begins in 4000 B.C. (see <http://www.emsc.nysed.gov/ciai/socst/pub/sscore2.pdf>, p. 94, accessed June 10, 2005).

on the canvas of the Paleolithic.¹⁰² Authors working from the perspectives of paleoanthropology, geography, climatology, population genetics, and evolutionary psychology have begun to plot the early history of humankind in astonishingly vivid detail, and in the process have developed powerful new arguments tying the deep past to the present. Postlithic history will be enriched by these perspectives.

Aside from the benefits of building a genuine interdisciplinary history of humanity, we are left with the political or moral implications of failing to break the grip of a history that roots humanity's origins in Mesopotamia some six thousand years ago. We now know that our deep past is an African past, because that is where our species evolved. Around fifty thousand years ago, small groups of fully modern humans left that continent and subsequently colonized the world in a breathtaking expansion that began in South Asia and Australia, extended to East Asia and Europe, and finally reached the Americas at the end of the last ice age. Out-of-Africa populations soared as humans escaped African pathogens and learned how to exploit new ecological niches. Those who went north gradually lost their darker skin, and other groups experienced equally minor morphological changes as they adapted to new environments. In the last several hundred years, some of us were dragged violently off the ancestral continent. But we are all African.¹⁰³ That is where any genealogical tree will eventually take you. Every history curriculum in secondary schools and colleges that tacitly accepts a Near Eastern origin around six thousand years ago contains the unintended echo of the Judeo-Christian mythology of the special creation of man in the Garden of Eden. The full incorporation of humanity's African past in the grand historical narrative, in other words, is not just part of an idiosyncratic attempt to colonize the discipline of paleoanthropology. It is an intellectual and moral imperative.

¹⁰² In order, see Robin Dunbar, *Grooming, Gossip, and the Evolution of Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Elliot Sober and David Sloan Wilson, *Unto Others: The Evolution and Psychology of Unselfish Behavior* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Christopher Boehm, *Hierarchy in the Forest: The Evolution of Egalitarian Behavior* (Cambridge, 1999); Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, *Mother Nature: A History of Mothers, Infants, and Natural Selection* (New York, 1999); and David Sloan Wilson, *Darwin's Cathedral: Evolution, Religion, and the Nature of Society* (Chicago, 2002).

¹⁰³ For this formula, see Reader, *Africa*.

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A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee Expedition to German Togo and the Transnational Origins of West African Cotton Growers

ANDREW ZIMMERMAN

IN 1900, BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, the founder and principal of Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama, sent three Tuskegee graduates under the leadership of a faculty member to establish an experimental cotton farm in German Togo. One of those graduates, John W. Robinson, founded a cotton school in the German colony in 1904 that trained hundreds of students, recruited from every region of the country, to grow cotton for the European market. German colonial officials required graduates of this school to return to their home districts and continue growing cotton using the methods they had learned, in expectation that their countrymen would choose to imitate them. Between 1901 and 1909, the cotton exported to Europe from Togo improved in quality and increased in quantity by almost sixty-fold. European and American observers praised the German government for employing African American experts to bring the techniques and equipment used by black cotton growers in the post-Reconstruction U.S. South to black peasants in West Africa.

This praise for the mobility of technology presupposes an unspoken acceptance of the immobility of the racial category *black*, the economic category *peasant*, and the botanical category *cotton*. The claim by the expedition's admirers that American techniques were brought to Togo, under the auspices of German authority, to transform Togolese farming also tacitly assumes the stability and independence of nations. Such reified concepts and nationalist categories have long been the stock-in-trade of professional historians. From the perspective of the history of any one nation, the Tuskegee expedition to Togo looks like a minor, if widely imitated, program of technical assistance. Such a perspective, however, renders the true dimen-

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sions of the expedition virtually invisible, hidden in plain view, like the purloined letter in Edgar Allen Poe's story, for lack of a "set of principles of search" appropriate to "the principle of its concealment."¹ If transnational history rejects the assumption that national subjects exist outside and apart from their transnational interactions—that is, if it clearly distinguishes itself from mere international relations—then the Tuskegee expedition appears as a quilting point, stitching together and thus permanently transforming three powerful networks: German social science, New South race politics, and African cash cropping. At their points of intersection, these three networks produced objects whose apparent stability both conceals and results from a dynamic and transnational history: blackness, peasants, and cotton.

The importance of the Tuskegee expedition to German Togo has been further concealed by the unhappy coincidence that the major areas it involved—Germany, the United States, and Africa—have until recently been cut off from transnational history by claustrophobic exceptionalisms. While German exceptionalism, the so-called German *Sonderweg*, has been widely and usefully criticized,² the study of German imperialism has been hobbled by the view that overseas expansion had more to do with the domestic politics and culture of Germany than with the societies it ruled or with its contributions to a political and economic hegemony far greater and longer-lived than its own brief colonial history.³ The exceptional treatment of sub-Saharan African history has long consisted in excepting it from history altogether. In rejecting this racist and imperialist position, many Africanists have also rejected Marxist political economy, because it makes individual agency problematic and highlights the transnational origins of apparently local phenomena.⁴ This new, postim-

¹ Edgar Allen Poe, "The Purloined Letter" (1844), in *Tales of Terror and Detection* (New York, 1995), 76–91, 85. Poe's story was the focus of a seminar by Jacques Lacan that is an important source for this article: Lacan, "Seminar on 'The Purloined Letter,'" trans. Jeffrey Mehlman, *Yale French Studies* 48 (1972): 38–72.

² Most importantly in David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, 1984).

³ Recently, historians in Germany have called for a more thoroughly transnational account of German history. See Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats: Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich* (Göttingen, 2001), and Sebastian Conrad, "Doppelte Marginalisierung: Plädoyer für eine transnationale Perspektive auf die deutsche Geschichte," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002): 145–169.

⁴ The classic statement of this Africanist position is T. O. Ranger, "Introduction," in Ranger, ed., *Emerging Themes of African History* (Nairobi, 1968), ix–xxii. For a recent statement of the Africanist position, see Allen Isaacman, "Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa," *African Studies Review* 33 (1990): 1–120. For examples of Africanist approaches that attack Marxism for denying African agency, see Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995), and Alan Isaacman, *Cotton Is the Mother of Poverty: Peasants, Work, and Rural Struggle in Colonial Mozambique, 1938–1961* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1996). Steven Feierman has warned against allowing world history to swallow up African history in "Africa in History: The End of Universal Narratives," in Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Post-colonial Displacements* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 40–65. For surveys of the controversy between Africanist and political-economic approaches, see Ralph A. Austen, "Africanist Historiography and Its Critics: Can There Be an Autonomous African History?" in Toyin Falola, ed., *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi* (Ikeja, Nigeria, 1993), 203–217, and Bill Freund, "Africanist History and the History of Africa," chap. 1 in *The Making of Contemporary Africa* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981), 1–15. For important critiques of the anti-Marxist Africanist position, see E. A. Alpers, "Re-Thinking African Economic History," *Kenya Historical Review* 2 (1973): 163–188; Henry Bernstein and Jacques Depelchin, "The Object of African History: A Materialist Perspective," 2 pts., *History in Africa* 5 (1978): 1–19 and 6 (1979): 17–43; Frederick Cooper, "Africa and the World Economy," *African Studies Review* 24 (1981): 1–86; Bridget O'Laughlin, "Proletarianisation, Agency and Changing Rural Livelihoods: Forced Labour

perialist African exceptionalism thus reproduces some of the isolationism that marked the earlier historiography that it had originally displaced.⁵ While U.S. history has also suffered from national exceptionalism, African American history has long been in the vanguard of transnational history.⁶ It is therefore not surprising that most accounts of the Tuskegee expedition to Togo have focused on the African American side of the story, centering on the fraught relationship between, as Louis R. Harlan phrased it, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden."⁷ There has been little interest, however, in the interactions of the expedition with economies, societies, and households in Togo, Germany, and the United States.⁸ I hope that the

and Resistance in Colonial Mozambique," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28 (2002): 511–530; and Arnold Temu and Bonaventure Swai, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique* (London, 1981). There has been excellent work refusing the false opposition between African agency and political economy, including Megan Vaughan, *The Story of an African Famine: Gender and Famine in Twentieth-Century Malawi* (Cambridge, 1987), and Sara Berry, *No Condition Is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1993).

⁵ Historians focusing on Togo have thus given little attention to the expedition as an external influence on internal African history. See C. Adick, *Bildung und Kolonialismus in Togo* (Weinheim, 1981), 192–193; Arthur J. Knoll, *Togo under Imperial Germany, 1884–1914: A Case Study in Colonial Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1970), 144–147; Donna J. E. Maier, "Persistence of Precolonial Patterns of Production: Cotton in German Togoland, 1800–1914," in Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts, eds., *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995), 71–95, 82; and Edward Graham Norris, *Die Umerziehung des Afrikaners: Togo, 1895–1938* (Munich, 1993), 141–149.

⁶ See Robin D. G. Kelley, "How the West Was One: The African Diaspora and the Re-Mapping of U.S. History," in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 123–147. For a brilliant account of modernization in the United States and the Atlantic world in the transnational context of the African diaspora, see David McBride, *Missions for Science: U.S. Technology and Medicine in America's African World* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2002).

⁷ Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden," *AHR* 71, no. 2 (January 1966): 441–467. See also Harlan's excellent two-volume biography of Washington, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856–1901* (London, 1972) and *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901–1915* (London, 1983).

⁸ The most recent scholarship on the expedition, by the Togolese historian Pierre Ali Napo, has focused on its African American participants, applauding this first Tuskegee involvement in African development projects. Professor Napo's monograph marked the centenary of the expedition, for which Tuskegee University signed a Convention of Cooperation with the University of Lomé and unveiled a plaque dedicated to the members of the expedition at the University's École Supérieure d'Agronomie. Pierre Ali Napo, *Togo, Land of Tuskegee Institute's International Technical Assistance Experimentation: 1900–1909* (Accra, 2002), translation of *Le Togo, Terre d'Expérimentation de l'Assistance Technique Internationale de Tuskegee University en Alabama, USA 1900–1909* (Lomé, 2001). Like Napo, Kendahl L. Radcliffe treats the expedition as a case of African American assistance to Africa in "The Tuskegee-Togo Cotton Scheme, 1900–1909" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998). Booker T. Washington enjoys a better reputation in Africa, where he has long been regarded as an advocate of black self-help, than he does in the United States, where he is often blamed for accommodating white racism. See W. Manning Marable, "Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism," *Phylon* 35 (1974): 398–406; Donald Spivey, "The African Crusade for Black Industrial Schooling," *Journal of Negro History* 63 (1978): 1–17; and Michael O. West, "The Tuskegee Model of Development in Africa: Another Dimension of the Africa/African-American Connection," *Diplomatic History* 16 (1992): 371–387. For a recent collection of generally laudatory accounts of Washington, see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, ed., *Booker T. Washington and Black Progress: Up from Slavery 100 Years Later* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003). For more negative appraisals of Washington, see James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988); Brian Kelly, "Sentinels for New South Industry: Booker T. Washington, Industrial Accommodation and Black Workers in the Jim Crow South," *Labor History* 44 (2003): 337–357; and Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868–1915* (Westport, Conn., 1978). On Tuskegee in Africa after the Togo expedition, see Kenneth James King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa* (Oxford, 1971), and Donald Spivey, *The Politics of Miseducation: The Booker T. Washington Institute of Liberia, 1929–1945* (Lexington, Ky., 1986). For the influence of Tuskegee in South Africa, see James Campbell, "Models and Metaphors: Industrial Education in the United States and South Africa,"

psychoanalytic and Marxist approach I take to archival material from these three nations will allow the Tuskegee expedition to appear in its full, transnational importance, beyond national or regional particularisms.

Including multiple subjects in a single analysis not only rectifies earlier empirical oversights, but also challenges the notion that history proceeds from any subject, whether identified as an individual, a nation, a class, or any other grouping reckoned as homogeneous. Joan Wallach Scott has taught that employing gender as a category of historical analysis does not merely set the history of women alongside the history of men, but rather fragments the unified subject that anchors, as a vanishing point, the linear perspective of realist historical representation.⁹ Transnational history pushes the discipline to abandon the subject as ultimate historical cause, whether this subject takes the form of the individual of biography, the trucking and bartering *homo economicus* of liberal approaches, the collective class subject of populism, or the collective national subject of area studies.

Class essentialism, though often mistakenly associated with Marxism, in fact appears most prominently in the populist approach to peasants that has dominated much agrarian history in recent decades. James C. Scott has taught students of agriculture to treat *peasant* as an essential characteristic of small producers, so that peasant resistance consists in peasants' defending their conditions as peasants.¹⁰ Marxist scholars, by contrast, have shown how colonial states encouraged the formation of apparently autonomous peasantries as a basis for political oppression and economic exploitation. These scholars study the dynamics of class conflict rather than the stasis of classes; they have therefore encouraged analysts to speak of peasantization rather than of peasants.¹¹ Neoclassical economics shares the economic

in Ran Greenstein, ed., *Comparative Perspectives on South Africa* (New York, 1998), 90–134. For Booker T. Washington in the larger context of African American interest in Africa, see Tunde Adeleke, *Un-African Americans: Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission* (Lexington, Ky., 1998), and Elliot P. Skinner, *African Americans and U.S. Foreign Policy toward Africa, 1850–1924: In Defense of Black Nationality* (Washington, D.C., 1992).

⁹ See Joan Wallach Scott, "Women's History," "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," and "Some More Reflections on Gender and Politics," in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. ed. (New York, 1999), 15–50, 199–222. For Scott's most recent treatment of Lacanian psychoanalysis for history, see "Fantasy Echo: History and the Construction of Identity," *Critical Inquiry* 27 (2001): 284–304.

¹⁰ See especially James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn., 1985). "Peasants," Christine Pelzer White has observed, "do not necessarily want to remain peasants, and do not necessarily place highest priority on preserving their status as poor petty commodity producers in a richer world." White, "Everyday Resistance, Socialist Revolution and Rural Development: The Vietnamese Case," *Journal of Peasant Studies* (hereafter *JPS*) 13 (1986): 49–63, 62.

¹¹ The *JPS* has generally been so critical of peasant essentialism that one of its editors, Henry Bernstein, eventually bade "farewell to the peasantry," leaving the journal to locate the "economic form agricultural petty commodity production" (formerly known as peasant production) in "the shifting places of agriculture in the international divisions of labour of imperialism." Henry Bernstein, "Farewells to the Peasantry," *Transformation* 52 (2003): 1–19, 14, and Bernstein and Terence J. Byres, "From Peasant Studies to Agrarian Change," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 1 (2001): 1–56. Bernstein had long maintained that there was no peasant mode of production, and that peasants in Africa were, in fact, "wage labor equivalents." See Bernstein, "African Peasantries: A Theoretical Framework," *JPS* 6 (1979): 421–443. Under the editorship of Tom Brass, the *JPS* has turned even more fiercely against peasant essentialism. See collected *JPS* articles by Tom Brass in *Towards a Comparative Political Economy of Unfree Labour: Case Studies and Debates* (London, 1999) and *Peasants, Populism and Postmodernism: The Return of the Agrarian Myth* (London, 2000). Other excellent work on the political economy of peasants in Africa includes Victor L. Allen, "The Meaning of the Working Class in Africa," *Journal of Modern African*

essentialism of populist peasant studies but replaces the stable, collective subject called *peasant* with a stable, ratiocinating, and profit-maximizing individual. Many of these liberal and neoliberal historians have followed Anthony G. Hopkins in explaining West African cash cropping with a so-called “vent-for-surplus” theory, maintaining that Africans possessed reserves of land and labor that remained untapped until European colonialism supplied a “vent” through which their surplus products could be exported to international markets.¹² By assuming a transhistorical political-economic status quo, both peasant essentialism and neoclassical political economy make impossible the study of the historical formation and dissolution of classes and subjects.¹³ They are, finally, ahistorical because they both, to borrow a phrase from Marx, assume “as a fact . . . what has to be explained.”¹⁴

Studies 10 (1972): 169–189; Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979); Frederick Cooper, “Back to Work: Categories, Boundaries and Connections in the Study of Labour,” in Peter Alexander and Rick Halpern, eds., *Racializing Class, Classifying Race: Labour and Difference in Britain, the USA and Africa* (New York, 2000), 213–235; Bill Freund, *The African Worker* (Cambridge, 1988); O’Laughlin, “Proletarianisation, Agency and Changing Rural Livelihoods”; and Anne Phillips, *The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa* (London, 1989). There has also been some movement in the development community to reject both modernization theory and the “farmer first” populism meant to challenge it. See Ian Scoones and John Thompson, “Knowledge, Power, and Development: Towards a Theoretical Understanding,” in Scoones and Thompson, eds., *Beyond Farmer First: Rural People’s Knowledge, Agricultural Research and Extension Practice* (London, 1994), 16–32.

¹² Anthony G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York, 1973). For an account sharing affinities with vent-for-surplus but addressing the limitations of an imperialist “vent,” see Ralph Austen, “The Colonial Economies I: Éstatist-Peasant Regimes,” chap. 6 in Austen, *African Economic History* (London, 1987), 122–154.

¹³ The vent-for-surplus approach informs the best account of the development of the Togolese cotton industry, Maier, “Persistence of Precolonial Patterns of Production.” Maier does not sanitize labor conditions in Togo under German rule, and elsewhere discusses the extensive use made of slave and forced labor in the colony. See Maier, “Slave Labor and Wage Labor in German Togo, 1885–1914,” in Arthur J. Knoll and Lewis H. Gann, eds., *Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History* (New York, 1987), 73–91. The essays in Isaacman and Roberts, *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa*, are an excellent introduction to the marvelous work on imperialist cotton projects in Africa. Few of the other authors in that volume endorse the vent-for-surplus theory, which does not work well for the case of cotton, whose labor requirements often interfered with the growing of essential food crops, as John Tosh shows in “The Cash Crop Revolution in Tropical Africa: An Agricultural Reappraisal,” *African Affairs* 79 (1980): 79–94. Isaacman is perhaps the most important importer of the approaches of James Scott to African studies, while Roberts takes a more political-economic approach. See Roberts, *Two Worlds of Cotton: Colonialism and the Regional Economy in the French Soudan, 1800–1946* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1996). For excellent political-economic accounts of colonial cotton, which by no means ignore the perspective of African cotton growers, see also Thomas J. Bassett, “The Development of Cotton in Northern Ivory Coast, 1910–1965,” *Journal of African History* 29 (1988): 267–284; Bassett, *The Peasant Cotton Revolution in West Africa: Côte d’Ivoire, 1880–1995* (Cambridge, 2001); Osumaka Likaka, *Rural Society and Cotton in Colonial Zaire* (Madison, Wis., 1997); and Elias C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchi Valley in Malawi, 1859–1960* (Madison, Wis., 1990). All three also have essays in the Isaacman and Richards volume.

¹⁴ Karl Marx, “Estranged Labour,” in *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, available online at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/labour.htm>. For the importance of historicizing the economic category *peasant*, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “Discourses of Rule and the Acknowledgment of the Peasantry in Dominica, W. I., 1838–1928,” *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 704–718. The study of African political economy, as well as the political economy of imperialism and neo-imperialism, has had a dramatic history since World War II, from underdevelopment and world systems theory, to the study of articulated modes of production, to accounts stressing the flexibility of capitalist relations of production. Important texts for the present essay include, in addition to literature already cited, the critiques of world system theory by Ernesto Laclau, “Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America,” *New Left Review* (hereafter *NLR*) I/67 (May–June 1971): 19–38, and Robert Brenner, “The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism,” *NLR* I/104 (July–August

In contrast to populist and liberal approaches, Marxism and psychoanalysis allow historians to deal with agency and identity without presupposing the agency of ahistorical subjects. Sigmund Freud's division of the self into a conscious and an unconscious and Marx's postulate that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles"¹⁵ place a split, a rift, in the place where others have posited such privileged agents of historical causation as the nation, society, the working class, the peasantry, culture, or the great man.¹⁶ Psychoanalytic Marxism takes subjectivities, knowledge, and ideologies seriously in terms of their parapraxes (or "Freudian slips") and their apparent failures and shortcomings—that is, their actual participation in history. These failures, it will always turn out, are in fact successes—successes not in the sense that outcomes conform to intentions, but rather in the sense that the repressed always returns, the truth always emerges in spite of a speaker's intentions.

Rather than rejecting the study of culture and identity, psychoanalytic Marxism can follow psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan in regarding them across the registers of the symbolic, the imaginary, and the real. Roughly, the *symbolic* is the world of ideology and culture; the *imaginary* is the self with which the individual identifies in relation to that culture; and the *real* is the stumbling block that trips up both the symbolic and the imaginary. The real is not a biological or physical outside to culture and identity, but rather an internal limit created through the impossibility of a failsafe symbolic or imaginary. Psychoanalysis pushes understandings of subjectivity beyond the almost functionalist theories of Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault, both of whom taught that society reproduces itself through the formation of subjects whose very condition of possibility is subjugation to society.¹⁷ The real is what makes the world of surprises, mistakes, and misunderstandings that we inhabit on a day-to-day basis so unlike the flattened world of an all-determining "culture," the matrix in

1977): 25–92; the literature surveyed in Aidan Foster-Carter, "The Modes of Production Controversy," *NLR* I/107 (January–February 1978): 47–77; David Seddon, ed., *Relations of Production: Marxist Approaches to Economic Anthropology*, trans. Helen Lackner (London, 1978); Harold Wolpe, ed., *The Articulation of Modes of Production: Essays from Economy and Society* (London, 1980); and the special issue "Mode of Production: The Challenge of Africa," ed. Bogumil Jewsiewicki and Jocelyn Letourneau, *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 19 (1985).

¹⁵ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, chap. 1, "Bourgeois and Proletarians," available online at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm>.

¹⁶ Jacques Lacan followed Freud in describing psychoanalysis as a "Copernican revolution" because of its decentering of the ego in psychic life analogous to Copernicus's decentering of Earth in astronomy. See Jacques Lacan, *The Ego in Freud's Theory and in the Technique of Psychoanalysis, 1954–1955*, trans. Sylvana Tomaselli, notes by John Forrester (New York, 1991), 3. On the connections between Marxism and psychoanalysis, see especially Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (New York, 1989); Frederick Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981); and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, 2nd ed. (London, 2001). Judith Butler has derived an antisubstantivist account of the subject from Friedrich Nietzsche rather than Marx and Freud. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990).

¹⁷ Especially helpful for this article has been Joan Copjec's Lacanian critique of Foucault and all models in which "the psychical and the social are conceived as a reallight unit ruled by a principle of pleasure." See *Read My Desire: Lacan against the Historicists* (Cambridge, 1994), 29. For a clear and powerful presentation of the advantages of incorporating Lacanian psychoanalysis into the questions asked by Althusser and Foucault, see Marshall W. Alcorn, Jr., "The Subject of Discourse: Reading Lacan through (and beyond) Poststructuralist Contexts," in Mark Bracher et al., eds., *Lacanian Theory of Discourse: Subject, Structure, and Society* (New York, 1994), 19–45.

which historians and other social scientists have found themselves since the linguistic or cultural turn.

Mistakes (parapraxis) and class conflict are the main explanatory principles in this article. I begin in the register of the symbolic with a discussion of the New South ideology of the “Negro” globalized through an international misunderstanding of Booker T. Washington’s famous address at the 1895 Atlanta Exposition. An axiom of psychoanalysis, formulated by Lacan, is that “the sender . . . receives from the receiver his own message in reverse form,” and that this “reverse form” reveals the truth of the message, separated from the obfuscations designed to make that message acceptable to the speaker him- or herself.¹⁸ This is a situation common in analytic practice, when analysands come to understand their own words as analysts hear them, full of meanings that the analysands insist (correctly) that they never intended.¹⁹ Thus, for Lacan, the unconscious is in the field of the other: it is not some interior part of the mind, but something that appears from without, for example, in misunderstood messages or in bungled actions. Such parapractical causality, in which history operates through the failure of intention, occurred repeatedly in the Tuskegee expedition to German Togo, from development schemes that yoked Africans like oxen, to programs of free labor that incorporated flogging, to, even today, free markets that force African cotton growers into poverty. These failures do not merely give the lie to liberal ideology: they reveal its truth.

I connect parapraxes to class conflict in my discussion of how the Tuskegee expedition and the German government identified Togolese as “Negroes” who would be subjected to labor-coercive regimes analogous to those imposed upon African American cotton growers. Lacan famously theorized identity formation as the result of a “mirror stage,” in which infants misrecognize their own fragmented, polymorphously perverse bodies as the images of whole persons shown to them in a mirror.²⁰ This origin of identity in the image is part of why Lacan classifies identity in the register of the imaginary. German and Tuskegee personnel were faced with imposing an identity on individuals who already possessed self-images (themselves based on prior misrecognitions), who no longer experienced themselves as fragmented bodies without identities. The imperialist effort to transform Togolese into “Negroes” thus involved not only holding up an image, but also fragmenting the political power, the modes of production, and even the bodies of the individuals whom they would then invite to identify with this image. This process indicates the violence and instability at the heart of colonial identities, violence that in this case took the form of class conflict.²¹ Class conflict stands in for the real as an unmasterable, unassimilable kernel that simultaneously drives and undermines the symbolic register of ideology

¹⁸ Lacan, “Seminar on ‘The Purloined Letter,’” 72.

¹⁹ Bruce Fink: *A Clinical Introduction to Lacanian Psychoanalysis: Theory and Technique* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 22–25.

²⁰ Jacques Lacan, “The Mirror Stage as Formative of the *I* Function, as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience” (1949), in *Écrits: A Selection*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York, 2002), 3–9.

²¹ Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks, *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race* (London, 2000), has made the brilliant and provocative argument that race works because the symbolic (racial ideology) illegitimately links itself to the real, connecting race to the body as if race were like sex rather than a purely symbolic or ideological category. Homi K. Bhabha has drawn attention to the role of the imaginary in colonial identity and the possibilities this foundational misrecognition presents for anti-imperialist resistance. See Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), esp. “Sly Civility,” 93–101.

and the imaginary register of identity.²² In this case, class conflict explains why intentions failed, why practices became parapraxes, and thus why the Tuskegee expedition succeeded in creating a cotton-growing peasantry in Togo as a result of its real failures to do so.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S FAMOUS SPEECH at the 1895 Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition helped inspire German interest in the southern United States as a model for race and labor relations in African colonies. The exposition presented the "New South," the South that would replace the Old South of slavery and secession, as "cotton states" uniquely blessed with hard-working African Americans.²³ Almost certainly in the audience that day was Baron Beno von Herman auf Wein, the agricultural attaché to the German embassy in Washington, D.C. Baron von Herman became an early advocate of developing cotton growing in the German colonies and would be the major intermediary between Washington and the German government.²⁴

Washington's "Atlanta compromise" speech became famous, and later infamous, for an image that seemed to accept racial segregation while maintaining African Americans as subordinate laborers in a white-dominated economy: "In all things that are purely social," he declared, "we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."²⁵ Less than a month after his Atlanta speech, Washington privately disavowed a segregationist interpretation of his message: "If anybody understood me as meaning that riding in the same railroad car or sitting in the same room at a railroad station is social intercourse they certainly got a wrong idea of my position."²⁶ Indeed, at Atlanta, Washington did not emphasize segregation so much as African American immobility, admonishing African Americans to "cast down your bucket where you are." African Americans, he maintained,

²² In this I follow Slavoj Žižek and Frederick Jameson. See Žižek, "Repeating Lenin" (2001), available online at <http://www.lacan.com/replenin.htm>. "History," writes Jameson, "is what hurts, it is what refuses desire and sets inexorable limits to individual as well as collective praxis, which its 'ruses' turn into grisly and ironic reversals of their overt intentions." Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 102.

²³ Referring to the region as "cotton states" would have disappointed those who agreed with the late Pennsylvania Radical Republican William D. Kelley that the South should abandon cotton to become "New." William D. Kelley, "Cotton Growing and Agriculture Contrasted," in Kelley, *The Old South and the New: A Series of Letters* (New York, 1888), 112–162. The classic work on the New South is C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge, La., 1972). On New South ideology, see Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York, 1970); James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (New York, 1971), 198–227, 283–319; and Ronald T. Takaki, "Civilization in the New South," chap. 9 in *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, rev. ed. (New York, 2000), 194–214. For an excellent account of how the postemancipation historiography of slavery supported New South free-labor racism, see John David Smith, *An Old Creed for the New South: Proslavery Ideology and Historiography, 1865–1918* (1985; repr., Athens, Ga., 1991).

²⁴ Baron von Herman, Washington, D.C., to Chancellor [Reichskanzler] Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, October 25, 1895, Bundesarchiv, Berlin (hereafter BArch) R901/14543. For Herman's later advocacy of colonial cotton modeled on U.S. cotton, see his letters to Chancellor Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, September 28, 1899, BArch R901/350, and April 28, 1900, BArch R901/14552.

²⁵ Washington's speech is quoted in Walter G. Cooper, *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South* (Atlanta, Ga., 1896), 98–99.

²⁶ Booker T. Washington to Edna Dow Littlehale Cheney, October 15, 1895, in Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers* (Urbana, Ill., 1972–1989), 4: 56–57.

should remain in the South and accept in the short term, at least, the menial positions accorded them, beginning, as he put it, “at the bottom of life . . . and not the top.” This was a profoundly conservative view of class hierarchy that, although no endorsement of racism, did nothing to challenge already existing racist hierarchies.²⁷ It was this conservatism, combined with what Washington termed the “wrong idea of my position,” that made him attractive to white elites around the world employing the racist politics of imperialism to develop capitalist modes of production in Africa and elsewhere.²⁸

At Atlanta, Washington endorsed a paradoxical image of African Americans that was already common in the “redeemed” U.S. South, namely that “Negroes” should be subjected to extraordinary political and economic control in order that they might be free. This image was given its classic formulation at two conferences on the “Negro question” held in 1890 and 1891 in Mohonk, in upstate New York.²⁹ General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder of the Hampton Institute and mentor to Washington, opened the first conference with a lecture that illustrates how the contradictory identity “Negro” placed those to whom it was ascribed in a kind of permanent state of exception that allowed racist labor repression to persist in a capitalist economy based on free labor:

The Negroes are a laboring people. They do not like work, however, because they have had it forced on them . . . They work under pressure. The great thing is to give them an idea of the dignity of labor; that is, to change their standpoint.³⁰

To resolve this logical mess into a coherent idea supposedly lurking behind it would be to miss the pincers movement with which Armstrong, like many white elites, sought to capture African Americans. “Negroes,” according to Armstrong, had an inherent tendency to work that was perverted by being forced to work under sla-

²⁷ For the ways in which class divisions shaped African American politics, see especially Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge, La., 1986). See also Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880–1920* (Fayetteville, Ark., 2000); Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); and Fon Louise Gordon, *Caste and Class: The Black Experience in Arkansas, 1880–1920* (Athens, Ga., 1995). The classic work on this topic is E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (1955; repr., New York, 1997).

²⁸ Germans were among the earliest foreign enthusiasts for Washington. Representative is the preface to the German translation of *Up from Slavery* by Ernst Vohsen, a member of the Colonial Council [Kolonialrat] of the German Foreign Office and later a founding editor of the journal *Koloniale Rundschau*. Quoting the famous hand image from Washington’s 1895 speech, Vohsen proclaimed: “The author’s words are also valid for us in Africa.” Ernst Vohsen, “Vorwort,” in Booker T. Washington, *Vom Sklaven Empor: Eine Selbstbiographie*, trans. Estelle Du Bois-Reymond (Berlin, 1902), v–vii, vii. For later European colonial interest in Washington, see King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, and Spivey, *The Politics of Miseducation*.

²⁹ On the Mohonk conferences, see Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., “The ‘Negro Question’ at Mohonk: Microcosm, Mirage, and Message,” *New York History* 74, no. 3 (July 1993): 277–314. On the “Negro” in “New South” ideology, see the classic works by C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1974); August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (1963; repr., Ann Arbor, 1988); and Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*. See more recently Grace E. Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940* (New York, 1998), and Leon Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York, 1998).

³⁰ Samuel Chapman Armstrong, “Industrial Training,” in Isabel C. Barrows, ed., *First Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question* (1890; repr., New York, 1969), 12–15, 13. The Second Mohonk conference made points similar to the first. See Isabel C. Barrows, ed., *Second Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question* (1891; repr., New York, 1969).

very.³¹ Negro freedom, therefore, demanded that Negroes remain compelled to work (“under pressure”) so that they could recover from having been forced to work under slavery. The end of slavery thus required, paradoxically, continued extra-economic coercion of African Americans. In this sense, the “Negro” was no exception to, but rather a particularly clear illustration of, the position of ostensibly free labor in capitalism. Even in the early twentieth century, the legal framework of free labor in many parts of the world included not only contracts and wages, but also master-servant codes, vagrancy laws, and other elements that were gradually eliminated, not by any supposed “logic of capitalism,” but rather by the political struggles of organized labor.³²

Baron von Herman accepted, perhaps without fully understanding, a connection between black people and cotton growing endorsed at the Atlanta Exposition.³³ The belief that cotton required black labor, although empirically false—significant numbers of whites also grew cotton as tenant farmers³⁴—contained a grain of truth: the production of cotton for the mechanized textile industry did require the levels of control exercised over black cotton growers in both slavery and freedom. Spinning and weaving after the industrial revolution required precisely standardized fibers, since even slight variations in staple length required costly recalibration of machinery. Yet the substance commonly referred to as “cotton” could consist of any number of varieties of the four species of the genus *Gossypium* that had been cultivated from Asia to the Americas since antiquity.³⁵ Because cotton is a perennial that hybridizes easily, growers had to be compelled to destroy their plants and resow their fields each year with carefully selected seeds.³⁶ The two most important factors in determining the price of a bale of a given variety of cotton, color and trash content, depended on control of the time, pace, and process of cotton picking. Cotton bolls lost their uniform white color if growers left them on the stalk to be stained by sun, rain,

³¹ Armstrong had learned this model of education from his father, Richard Armstrong, the minister of public instruction in Hawaii from 1848 to 1860. On colonial industrial education in Hawaii, see Carl Kalani Beyer, “Manual and Industrial Education for Hawaiians during the Nineteenth Century,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 38 (2004): 1–34.

³² For excellent accounts of free labor as it was practiced rather than simply imagined, see Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, “The Criminalization of ‘Free’ Labour: Master and Servant in Comparative Perspective,” *Slavery & Abolition* 15 (1994): 71–101; Hay and Craven, “Master and Servant in England and the Empire: A Comparative Study,” *Labour* 31 (1993): 175–184; Robert J. Steinfeld, *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350–1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991); and Steinfeld, *Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2001).

³³ Baron von Herman, Washington, D.C., to Chancellor Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, June 24, 1897, BArch R901/349.

³⁴ See Charles W. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy: Summary of Field Studies and Statistical Surveys, 1933–35* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935), 11.

³⁵ On the biology and cultivation of cotton, see C. Wayne Smith and J. Tom Cothren, eds., *Cotton: Origin, History, Technology, and Production* (New York, 1999). On the importance of botanical factors in African economic history, see Tosh, “The Cash Crop Revolution in Tropical Africa”; Paul Richards, “Ecological Change and the Politics of African Land Use,” *African Studies Review* 26 (1983): 1–72; and Richards, *Indigenous Agricultural Revolution: Ecology and Food Production in West Africa* (Boulder, Colo., 1985).

³⁶ On seed control and the dangers of hybridization of cotton, see J. F. Duggar, *Descriptions and Classification of Varieties of American Upland Cotton*, Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Bulletin no. 140 (Opelika, Ala., 1907), and W. Lawrence Balls, *Studies of Quality in Cotton* (London, 1928). For discussions of cotton planting and picking, see James Thomas Broadbent, *Cotton Manual for Manufacturers and Students* (Boston, 1905).

mildew, frost, or soil. Before the widespread mechanization of cotton picking after World War II, careless hand picking resulted in excessive amounts of trash—leaves, stems, and dirt—mixed in with the fiber. American cotton was prized for a strong, medium staple that could withstand punishing processing in mechanized mills. As important as these inherent properties, however, was the fact that American cotton growers were subject to greater levels of discipline than growers in any other colonial economy before the turn of the century. The industrial cotton demanded by European industry was not a fruit of sun and soil alone, but also an artifact of discipline supported by American racism.³⁷

THE RACIALIZED LABOR RELATIONS of the New South drew international attention from German social scientists, who hoped that they would provide models for the control of ethnic minorities and free agricultural labor in Germany. Economists and sociologists founded the Verein für Sozialpolitik (Social Policy Association) in 1872 to guide the state in managing the transition from feudalism to free labor in a way that would limit proletarianization and the growth of socialism.³⁸ In the 1880s, the organization turned its attention to the question of free agricultural labor in eastern Germany. Although serfdom had been officially abolished in Prussia by the liberal reforms of 1807, eastern landlords had preserved much of their political and economic authority until their employees, many of them former serfs, began moving in large numbers to industrial areas of western Germany and to the United States. Migration to the United States from eastern areas of Germany was especially intense in the period 1880–1893, and landlords in these regions became increasingly dependent on migrant laborers from Russian and Austrian Poland.³⁹ In the 1880s, the Prussian state began persecuting its Polish residents, starting with mass expulsions

³⁷ The role of coercion in cotton production would only be more pronounced in Africa, for, as Philip W. Porter demonstrates, cotton has lower yields in tropical climates than in mid-latitudes. This deficit was made up, he suggests, by lower labor compensation and increased labor coercion. See Porter, "A Note on Cotton and Climate: A Colonial Conundrum," in Isaacman and Roberts, *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 43–49.

³⁸ See Gustav Schmoller, "Eröffnungsrede," *Verhandlungen der Eisenacher Versammlung zur Besprechung der sozialen Frage am 6. und 7. October 1872* (Leipzig, 1873), 1–6. On the Verein für Sozialpolitik, see James J. Sheehan, *The Career of Lujo Brentano: A Study of Liberalism and Social Reform in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 1966); Erik Grimmer-Solem, *The Rise of Historical Economics and Social Reform in Germany, 1864–1894* (Oxford, 2003); and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, "The Verein für Sozialpolitik and the Fabian Society: A Study in the Sociology of Policy-Relevant Knowledge," in Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *States, Social Knowledge, and the Origins of Modern Social Policies* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 117–162. On German social policy and social reform, see Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), and George Steinmetz, *Regulating the Social: The Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

³⁹ On German emigration and population movements within Germany, see Klaus J. Bade, "German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Central European History* 13 (1980): 348–377, and Bade, "'Preussengänger' und 'Abwehrpolitik': Ausländerbeschäftigung, Ausländerpolitik und Ausländerkontrolle auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in Preussen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 24 (1984): 91–162. On Polish migrant labor, see Ulrich Herbert, "The Manpower Shortage and *Ueberfremdung*: The Danger of Foreign Infiltration, 1880–1914," chap. 1 in *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880–1980: Seasonal Workers/Forced Laborers, Guest Workers*, trans. William Templer (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990), 9–86. On the broader debate about industrial and agricultural labor, see Kenneth D. Barkin, *The Controversy over German Industrialization, 1890–1902* (Chicago, 1970).

of those without Prussian citizenship. In 1886 it began a program of "internal colonization," settling German tenant farmers in West Prussia and Posen, regions with large populations of Prussian citizens of Polish origin.⁴⁰

In this period, Georg Friedrich Knapp, a Strassburg economist and one of the founders of the Verein, began drawing policy lessons from parallels between the Prussian situation and the history of African American slavery and emancipation.⁴¹ For Knapp, agrarian labor always involved domination and submission, whether in slavery or after emancipation. In the United States, the transition from slave to free labor had not done away with the real or perceived inferiority of African American agricultural workers, so that the problem of slavery had become the problem of a "racially alien proletariat."⁴² "The Negro question" in the New World and in Germany's own African colonies was, for Knapp, "the labor question for the agricultural-industrial large enterprise of the plantation." Even though formally free labor existed in Germany, Knapp held that it was still necessary for the state "gradually to lift up the rural proletarians of the eastern provinces, so that we might recognize them as equal compatriots."⁴³ Knapp and other members of the Verein were especially interested in developing tenancy arrangements that would keep small farmers attached to the land in a postfeudal era of free movement and free labor.⁴⁴

To an extent greater than any other Verein member, Max Weber placed ques-

⁴⁰ On Prussian anti-Polish efforts, see Richard Blanke, *Prussian Poland in the German Empire (1871–1900)* (New York, 1981), and William W. Hagen, *Germans, Poles, and Jews: The Nationality Conflict in the Prussian East, 1772–1914* (Chicago, 1980).

⁴¹ The comparative study of free labor thus goes back to the nineteenth-century emergence of free labor itself, and the "Prussian road" has long served comparative history of slavery and emancipation in the U.S. South. See Jonathan M. Wiener, "Class Structure and Economic Development in the American South, 1865–1955," *AHR* 84, no. 4 (October 1979): 970–992, and Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860–1885* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978). Wiener's argument is shaped by Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966), and V. I. Lenin, "The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the Russian Revolution, Autoabstract" (1908), available online at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1908/jul/18.htm>. See also Steven Hahn, "Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective," *AHR* 95, no. 1 (February 1990): 75–98, and Anthony Winson, "The 'Prussian Road' of Agrarian Development: A Reconsideration," *Economy and Society* 11 (1982): 381–408. For comparative histories of unfree land- and laborlords in the United States and Prussia and Russia, respectively, see Shearer Davis Bowman, *Masters and Lords: Mid-Nineteenth-Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers* (New York, 1993), and Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987). One reason that German and American conditions have seemed so eminently comparable may be the great influence of German social science on American social science. See especially Jürgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Axel R. Schäfer, "W.E.B. Du Bois, German Social Thought, and the Racial Divide in American Progressivism, 1892–1909," *Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 925–949; and Schäfer, *American Progressives and German Social Reform, 1875–1920: Social Ethics, Moral Control, and the Regulatory State in a Transatlantic Context* (Stuttgart, 2000).

⁴² Georg Friedrich Knapp, "Notes on U.S. History and Slavery," July 30, 1900, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (hereafter GStA) VI. HA Nachlass Knapp, K. II, Bl. 41–43. On Knapp, see Kerstin Schmidt, "Georg Friedrich Knapp: Ein Pionier der Agrarhistoriker," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 37 (1989): 228–242, and Hartmut Harnisch, "Georg Friedrich Knapp: Agrargeschichtsforschung und Sozialpolitisches Engagement im Deutschen Kaiserreich," 1993 *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 95–132.

⁴³ Georg Friedrich Knapp, *Die Landarbeiter in Knechtschaft und Freiheit: Vier Vorträge* (Leipzig, 1891), 16–20, 86. See also Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preußens*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Munich, 1927).

⁴⁴ See Knapp's 1893 address to the Verein, "Landarbeiter und innere Kolonisation," in *Einführung in einige Hauptgebiete der Nationalökonomie* (Munich, 1925), 124–142.

tions of race at the center of agrarian policy. Weber feared that, especially in eastern Prussia, Polish migrant labor would always be more economically attractive than the labor of settled German farmers, because Poles had lower standards of living and a “lower cultural level,” and thus demanded lower wages. This meant, Weber warned, a lowering of the “cultural level” of the entire German East, and it also endangered the integrity, and even military defensibility, of Germany’s border with Russia.⁴⁵ Like other Verein members, Weber applauded the Prussian program of settling German tenants in the East as a way to prevent proletarianization on the land and thus check the spread of social democracy, but he also placed peculiar emphasis on the anti-Polish aspects of this policy.⁴⁶ While Weber was not the first Verein member to take race and ethnicity as categories of economic analysis, he did foreground these topics in his political and social scientific work.

These interests in ethnicity and labor led Weber to visit Tuskegee, and also to seek out W. E. B. Du Bois at Atlanta University during his 1904 visit to the United States.⁴⁷ Weber especially valued his visit to Tuskegee for the insight it gave him into “the great national problem of all American life, the showdown between the white race and the former slaves.”⁴⁸ Weber persuaded Du Bois to contribute an article on “The Negro Question in the United States” to the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, the journal of the Verein.⁴⁹ Ten years earlier, Du Bois had begun a dissertation in Berlin under a colleague of Weber’s in the Verein, Gustav Schmoller, comparing African American farmers in the United States with peasants in Germany. Although he never completed this dissertation, returning to the United States to receive a doctorate in history from Harvard in 1895, Du Bois did conduct study trips to observe German peasants and wrote a seminar paper on “the labor question in the southern United States.”⁵⁰ In his 1906 article for the *Archiv*, Du Bois enu-

⁴⁵ I discuss the centrality of racism to Max Weber’s social thought in “Decolonizing Weber,” in the special issue “Decolonizing German Theory,” ed. George Steinmetz, *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 1 (2006), forthcoming. Weber’s major publications on East Elbian agricultural laborers include *Die Verhältnisse der Landarbeiter im ostelbischen Deutschland*, *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, vol. 58 (Leipzig, 1893), and “Die ländliche Arbeitsverfassung” (1893) and “Entwicklungstendenz in der Lage der ostelbischen Landarbeiter (1894),” both in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1924), 444–469, 470–507. See also Weber’s 1895 inaugural address at Freiburg, “Der Nationalstaat und die Volkswirtschaftspolitik” (1895), in Johannes Winckelmann, ed., *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1971), 1–25. On Weber’s work on this topic, see especially Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890–1920*, trans. Michael S. Steinberg (1959; repr., Chicago, 1984). Fritz Ringer’s recent account, in my view, unjustly minimizes the importance of anti-Polish racism in Weber’s politics and social science. See Fritz Ringer, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago, 2004).

⁴⁶ The Verein für Sozialpolitik economist Max Sering, for example, directly advised the Prussian commission in charge of settling German farmers. See Max Sering to Landwirtschaftsminister, March 6, 1891, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 87B, no. 9369, Bl. 1–2, and Max Sering, “Politik der Grundbesitzverteilung in den großen Reichen,” *Verhandlungen des Landes-Oekonomie-Kollegiums am 9. Februar 1912* (Berlin, 1912), in GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 87B, no. 9329, Bl. 13–41.

⁴⁷ On Weber’s trip to the United States, see Marianne Weber, *Max Weber: A Biography*, trans. Harry Zohn (1926; repr., New York, 1975), 279–304, and Lawrence Scaff, “Max Weber’s *Amerikabild* and the African American Experience,” in David McBride et al., eds., *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World* (Columbia, S.C., 1998), 82–94.

⁴⁸ Weber, *Max Weber*, 295.

⁴⁹ W. E. B. Du Bois, “Die Negerfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten,” *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 22 (1906): 31–79, 43.

⁵⁰ Du Bois details his German education in a letter to D. C. Gilman, October 28, 1892, in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois*, vol. 1: *Selections, 1877–1934* (Amherst, 1973), 20–21. On Du Bois’s seminar paper, see David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race*,

merated the regimes of labor coercion that had replaced slavery in the United States. He focused especially on the sharecropping system, which held the Negro in "a system of *corvée* labor, bound to the soil under paternal domination."⁵¹ He thus developed connections already made by Knapp between agricultural labor in Prussia and the "Negro question" in the United States. Like his German teachers and colleagues, Du Bois concerned himself with the ways in which forms of tenancy and ethnic relations shaped agricultural labor and class conflict, even if he was far more concerned about the exploitation and oppression fostered by racism and ethnocentrism.

Conferences held in Paris and London in the summer of 1900, only months before the first members of the Tuskegee expedition arrived in Togo, placed Africa at the center of the transatlantic discussions about free labor and the "Negro question."⁵² Both conferences situated the "Negro question" in the context of European imperialism and emphasized its relevance to broader discussions of social policy. At the International Exposition in Paris, the U.S. commission included in its "Social Economy Building" an "exhibition on the present condition and progress of the Afro-American" as a model of "racial adjustment." "To the statecraft of Europe," the exhibition's African American organizer explained, "the 'Negro Problem' is destined to become a burning reality in their African colonies, and it is our privilege to furnish them the best evidence at hand to prove that the only solution that will ever succeed is that of an equal chance in the race of life without regard to 'color, race or previous condition.'"⁵³ For Du Bois, who attended both the Paris and the London conferences, the conditions of African Americans presented questions about social policy and "the larger aspects of human benevolence" analogous to such institutions as Belgian working men's circles, the Red Cross Society, and German state insurance programs.⁵⁴ Most speakers at the Pan-African Congress in London that summer spoke far more critically of European imperialism and U.S. racism, but they still related both to larger questions about race, labor, and justice. In the concluding declarations of the London conference, Du Bois first proclaimed: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."⁵⁵ While the participants in

1868–1919 (New York, 1993), 137–143. On the importance of Du Bois's study in Germany for the development of his social science, see Francis L. Broderick, "German Influence on the Scholarship of W.E.B. Du Bois," *Phylon Quarterly* 19 (1958): 367–371, and Barrington Steven Edwards, "W.E.B. Du Bois, Empirical Social Research, and the Challenge to Race, 1868–1910" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2001), esp. 111–146.

⁵¹ Du Bois, "Die Negerfrage," 43.

⁵² For these conferences, as well as the international Pan-African movements generally, see Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa*, trans. Ann Keep (1968; repr., New York, 1974).

⁵³ Thomas J. Calloway (no known relation to James Calloway), United States Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900, "The American Negro Exhibit" (Washington, D.C., December 21, 1899), George Washington Carver Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Reel 2.

⁵⁴ W.E.B. Du Bois, "The American Negro at Paris," *American Monthly Review of Reviews* (New York) 22 (November 1900): 575–577, in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others* (Millwood, N.Y., 1982), 1: 86–88, 86.

⁵⁵ Alexander Walters, Henry B. Brown, H. Sylvester Williams, and W. E. B. Du Bois, "To the Nations of the World" (1900), in W. E. B. Du Bois, *An ABC of Color: Selections Chosen by the Author from Over a Half Century of His Writings* (New York, 1969), 19–23, 20. That Du Bois wrote this document is attested to not only by Du Bois himself, but also by Alexander Waters, in *My Life and Work* (New York, 1917), 257.

the Paris and London conferences, as well as the members of the Tuskegee expedition to Togo, expressed different ethical and political views of European colonialism and the "Negro question," they all shared and disseminated the assumption that Africans and African Americans, because they were of the same "race," could enjoy similar social reforms, labor relations, and emancipation from white domination.

Influenced by the international misunderstandings of his 1895 address, Washington came to regard the New South, and especially its race relations, as a model for colonialism as much as a solution for the problems left by America's erstwhile "peculiar institution."⁵⁶ The newly transnational conception of the Negro, proclaimed in Paris and London and, as we shall see, worked out in theory and practice in German and other colonial circles, had exercised a reciprocal influence on the discourse in the United States. The international fame that Washington gained in Atlanta in 1895 by advising African Americans to "cast down your bucket where you are" gave him the opportunity to cast his own bucket around the world, from the Philippines to West Africa.⁵⁷ In the first decade of the twentieth century, he became an international authority on the racist politics of empire, the very politics he had privately disavowed in 1895 as the "wrong idea of my position." "[I]n the effort to solve the Negro problem by means of industrial education," he wrote in 1909, "we have succeeded in working out in this country a practical and useful method of dealing with other primitive races."⁵⁸ In 1914, he declared the southern states a model for colonial societies: "There are millions of Black people throughout the world," Washington explained to the Southern Sociological Conference. "Everywhere, especially in Europe, people are looking to us here in the South, Black and White, to show to the world how it is possible for two races, different in color, to live together on the same soil, under the same laws, and each race work out its salvation in justice to each other."⁵⁹ Washington had come to regard Tuskegee and the New South as models for colonial societies everywhere.

GERMAN COLONIAL INTERESTS seized on the New South ideology of the "Negro," available already in German social scientific writing, during the revival in fin-de-siècle Togo of earlier European attempts to develop African and other colonial cotton growing for the world market.⁶⁰ Many European powers had long hoped to break

⁵⁶ Edgar Gardner Murphy similarly offered the New South as a general model for imperialist race relations in "Ascendancy," chap. 11 in *The Basis of Ascendancy: A Discussion of Certain Principles of Public Policy Involved in the Development of the Southern States* (New York, 1909), 209–248, 222–223.

⁵⁷ Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., connects the internationalization of African American politics to the U.S. occupation of the Philippines, in which many African American soldiers served. See his *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898–1903* (Urbana, Ill., 1975). Booker T. Washington made a similar connection in Washington, N. B. Wood, and Fannie Barrier Williams, *A New Negro for a New Century: An Accurate and Up-to-Date Record of the Upward Struggles of the Negro Race* (Chicago, 1900).

⁵⁸ Booker T. Washington, "Relation of Industrial Education to National Progress," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 33, no. 1 (1909): 1–12, 8–9.

⁵⁹ Booker T. Washington, "The Southern Sociological Congress as a Factor for Social Welfare," in James E. McCulloch, ed., *Battling for Social Betterment: Southern Sociological Congress, Memphis, Tennessee, May 6–10, 1914* (Nashville, Tenn., 1914), 155–159, 158–159.

⁶⁰ Sven Beckert traces the turn to non-U.S. sources of cotton based on formally free labor to political and economic responses to the U.S. Civil War in "Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the World-

the U.S. monopoly on cotton fiber through what Germans called a “cotton *Kulturkampf* against America.”⁶¹ French colonists began promoting cotton growing in Senegal as early as 1817.⁶² In the 1840s, the East India Company brought cotton experts from Mississippi to India to transform cotton growing in the land that had first taught the world how to grow, spin, and weave the fiber.⁶³ In 1859–1860, Martin Delany traveled to Abeokuta, Yorubaland, to found a settlement of African Americans who, he promised, would improve cotton fiber exports, allowing Africans and African Americans to “enrich themselves, and regenerate their race.” Nothing came of this scheme.⁶⁴ In the nineteenth century, Egypt developed a fine, long-stapled cotton that has been used ever since to produce especially soft fabrics, but in quantities too limited to cover the massive needs of the European textile industry.⁶⁵ Colonial producers redoubled their efforts to increase colonial cotton exports during the cotton supply crisis caused by the U.S. Civil War, and growers from India to the region of the Slave Coast that would later become German Togo earned quick profits by selling to British merchants. All of these booms, however, turned to major busts for those Indians and Africans who had invested everything in cotton, as British manufacturers returned immediately after the war to the superior fiber supplied by American growers.⁶⁶

Driven at least in part by an interest in the New South, Germans concerned with Africa began increasingly to privilege the term “Negro” (*Neger*) over the older anthropological term “natural peoples” (*Naturvölker*) or the colonial term “natives” (*Eingeborenen*).⁶⁷ While Germans had used the term “Neger” even in the early nine-

wide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War,” *AHR* 109, no. 5 (December 2004): 1405–1438.

⁶¹ See “Deutsche Baumwolle,” *Tägliche Rundschau* (Berlin), February 27, 1913, BArch R8024/58, Bl. 86. Thaddeus Sunseri discusses this campaign in relation to Tanzania in “The *Baumwollfrage*: Cotton Colonialism in German East Africa,” *Central European History* 34 (2001): 31–51.

⁶² See Roberts, *Two Worlds of Cotton*.

⁶³ See Tarasankar Banerjee, “American Cotton Experiments in India and the American Civil War,” *Journal of Indian History* 37 (1969): 425–432, and K. L. Tuteja, “American Planters and the Cotton Improvement Programme in Bombay Presidency in Nineteenth Century,” *Indian Journal of American Studies* 28 (1998): 103–108. See also Arthur W. Silver, *Manchester Men and Indian Cotton, 1847–1872* (Manchester, 1966).

⁶⁴ See Martin R. Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States; and, Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party*, intro. by Toyin Falola (Amherst, N.Y., 2004), 298–299, 351–355. For an excellent account of this expedition, see James T. Campbell, “Redeeming the Race: Martin Delany and the Niger Valley Exploring Party, 1859–60,” *New Formations* 45 (Winter 2001–2002): 125–149. The Church Missionary Society already exported cotton from Abeokuta before Delany arrived. See Judith A. Byfield, *The Bluest Hands: A Social and Economic History of Women Dyers in Abeokuta (Nigeria), 1890–1940* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2002).

⁶⁵ For a good contemporary account by a German cotton expert, see Moritz Schanz, *Cotton in Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Manchester, 1913). See also W. Lawrence Balls, *The Cotton Plant in Egypt: Studies in Physiology and Genetics* (London, 1912).

⁶⁶ On the relation of this cotton economy to famine in India, see Laxman D. Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar, 1850–1900* (New Delhi, 1997). On the Indian cotton boom during the U.S. Civil War, see Frenise A. Logan, “India: Britain’s Substitute for American Cotton, 1861–65,” *Journal of Southern History* 24 (1958): 472–480, and Logan, “India’s Loss of the British Cotton Market after 1865,” *Journal of Southern History* 31 (1965): 40–50. On the export of cotton from precolonial Togo, see Ferdinand Goldberg (in Klein Popo) to the Foreign Office [Auswärtiges Amt], August 1, 1890 (copy), BArch R150, Togo National Archives (hereafter TNA) FA 1–332, Bl. 21–34, and Maier, “Persistence of Precolonial Patterns of Production,” 75.

⁶⁷ I treat the concept of “natural peoples” extensively in *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 2001). For an example of the new colonial discourse of improvement that displaced

teenth century, in early-twentieth-century colonial discourse it designated an individual capable of improvement, in contrast to the “natural person,” who was doomed either to extinction or to a travestied approximation of civilization. German colonial reformers looked to Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute for guidance in what they called *Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit*: “Teaching the Negro to Work.”⁶⁸ The proponents of Tuskegee-style education in Togo, and later throughout Africa, hoped to make Africans just like U.S. “Negroes,” only more so—more productive, more docile, more rational and free, and more obedient and constrained.⁶⁹ The concept of the “Negro” buttoned together a number of ideological discourses about race and ethnicity, free labor, and agricultural production in the United States, Africa, and Germany.

Direct imperialist intervention in Togolese relations of production began when the German Foreign Office learned in 1889 that inhabitants of the hinterland grew cotton, and that regional markets offered “very durable cotton cloth” but sold fiber at prices too high to make a profitable export trade.⁷⁰ The region that became German Togo had essentially been a no-man’s-land between the Asante empire to the west and the kingdom of Dahomey to the east.⁷¹ The Ewe were the major ethnic

the old discourse of “natural peoples,” see “Zum neuen Jahr,” *Koloniale Rundschau* 2 (1910): 1–2. For a study relating anthropological conceptions of African Americans to legislation about race in the United States, see Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

⁶⁸ The most striking evidence of this use of Washington is in the prefaces to the German translations of his works, all of which explicitly make the connection between Tuskegee and colonial development. See Vohsen, “Vorwort,” in Washington, *Vom Sklaven Empor*; Johannes Wichern, “Vorwort,” in Washington, *Charakterbildung: Sonntags-Ansprachen an die Zöglinge der Normal- und Gewerbeschule von Tuskegee*, trans. Estelle Du Bois-Reymond (Berlin, 1910), ix–xv; and Julius Richter, “Vorwort,” in Washington, *Handarbeit: Fortsetzung des Buches ‘Sklaven Empor’ und Schilderung der Erfahrungen des Verfassers bei dem gewerblichen Unterricht in Tuskegee*, trans. Estelle Du Bois-Reymond (Berlin, 1913), v–vi. German journals focusing on colonial policy and reform repeatedly invoked Booker T. Washington. See, for example, Hermann Gerhard, “Die Negerfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten,” *Politisch-Anthropologische Revue* 5 (1906/1907): 268–281; Friedrich Wohltmann, “Neujahrsgedanken 1907,” *Der Tropenpflanzer* 11 (1907): 1–13; Moritz Schanz, “Negererziehung in Nordamerika und Booker T. Washington,” *Der Tropenpflanzer* 12 (1908): 214–226, 270–280; Schanz, “Die Negerfrage in Nordamerika,” *Der Tropenpflanzer* 13 (1909): 573–585; and anon., “Amerikanische Neger über Negererziehung in Afrika,” *Koloniale Rundschau* 1 (1909): 498. See also Anton Markmiller, *‘Die Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit’: Wie die koloniale Pädagogik afrikanische Gesellschaften in die Abhängigkeit führte* (Berlin, 1995), and Fatima El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche: Der Diskurs um ‘Rasse’ und nationale Identität, 1890–1933* (Frankfurt, 2001).

⁶⁹ See, for example, Reichskolonialamt, *Die Baumwollfrage*, 94–96.

⁷⁰ Foreign Office to Eugen von Zimmerer, Kaiserliche Kommissar of Togo, Klein Popo, September 24, 1889, BArch R150, TNA FA 1–332, Bl. 1–2; Jesko von Puttkamer, Klein Popo, to Chancellor Bismarck, March 26, 1890, BArch R1001/8220, vol. 1, 1889–1899, Bl. 7–8.

⁷¹ On the role of the Asante empire in defining the Togo-Ghana border, see Marion Johnson, “Ashante East of the Volta,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 8 (1965): 33–39, and Paul Nugent, *Smugglers, Secessionists and Loyal Citizens on the Ghana-Togo Frontier: The Lie of the Borderlands since 1914* (Oxford, 2002). The best general histories of Togo are the volumes written by the department of history at the University of Lomé, Togo, under the direction of Nicoué Lodjou Gayibor: *Histoire des Togolais: Des Origines à 1884* (Lomé, 1997) and *Le Togo Sous Domination Coloniale (1884–1960)* (Lomé, 1997). See also the essays collected in François de Medeiros, ed., *Peuples du Golfe du Bénin: Aja-Ewe—Colloque de Cotonou* (Paris, 1984). By far the most in-depth account of German colonialism in Togo is the dissertation by Pierre Ali Napo, “Le Togo à l’époque allemande (1884–1914),” 5 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne, 1995). For one-volume histories of Togo, see Ralph Erbar, *Ein Platz an der Sonne? Die Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der deutschen Kolonie Togo, 1884–1914* (Stuttgart, 1991); Knoll, *Togo under Imperial Germany*; and Peter Sebald, *Togo 1884–1914: Eine Geschichte der deutschen ‘Musterkolonie’ auf der Grundlage amtlicher Quellen* (Berlin, 1988).

group in the south of this region, which would produce the most cotton for export. The territory came to be known as “Togo” or “Togoland” when the German Gustav Nachtigal signed a “treaty of protection” with King Mlapa of Togoville, a village on the north shore of Lake Togo, on July 5, 1884, thus establishing an official German presence on the Slave Coast between the British sphere to the west and the French to the east. As the Germans extended their authority hundreds of miles into the hinterland, they preserved the name “Togo” for their territory and thus extended, by implication, the sovereignty that King Mlapa had signed over in 1884.

Germans hoped to improve the raw cotton exports of Togo by establishing what they called *Volkskultur* (literally, people’s agriculture) instead of European-run plantations. In reality, the only part of indigenous West African “culture” that the Germans wanted to preserve in what they defined as *Volkskultur* was the simple fact of cotton growing.⁷² Everything else—from the seeds used, to the techniques and relations of production in cotton growing, to the processing of the raw cotton—they hoped to banish from Togo.⁷³ Proponents of *Volkskultur* held that the advantages of commercial cotton farming were so self-evident that simply training Africans to be rational farmers would lead them to produce cotton for the world market of their own free will. The unspoken corollary of this assertion was that if African farmers refused to grow cotton, they would be forced to do so—forced, in a sense, to be free. Those involved in creating *Volkskultur* understood that capitalist farming, even under the guise of *Volkskultur*, required, in the words of one colonial official central to the Tuskegee cotton expedition, “gentle and even possibly strong pressure” from the state.⁷⁴ *Volkskultur* relies on a mistaken identity—the identification of freedom and coercion—that lies at the heart of every liberal and neoliberal understanding of the market. This mistaken identity of freedom and coercion was both supported and understood through a second mistaken identity, that of the Togolese *Volk*, whose *Kultur* (that is, agriculture and civilization) the German policy of *Volkskultur* would foster. German businesses and the German state identified this *Volk* not with any of the many ethnic groups of Togo, but rather with the racial concept “Negro.”⁷⁵ Defining the inhabitants of the Togo Protectorate as “Negroes” meant that the New South that German observers had come to admire could be extended directly into the region.

Booker T. Washington helped Germans import both American-style cotton and the New South concept of the “Negro” to Togo. Since 1889, German diplomatic personnel in the United States had gathered information about cotton growing for the Colonial Section of the Foreign Office and sought out American cotton experts

⁷² Historian Peter Sebald has argued that *Volkskultur* in Togo amounted to colonial domination little different from plantation agriculture, in that both shaped agricultural production to suit the political and economic demands of imperialism. Sebald is right, but his thesis risks burying the specific relations of production represented by *Volkskultur* in the larger fact of imperialist oppression and exploitation. See Sebald, *Togo*, esp. 437.

⁷³ On the competition between European and African textile manufacturers for raw materials and markets and the use of military violence in supporting the European industry, see especially Marion Johnson, “Cotton Imperialism in West Africa,” *African Affairs* 73 (1974): 178–187.

⁷⁴ Geo. A. Schmitt, Atakpame Station, to Imperial German Government of Togo, Lomé (hereafter Lomé Government), August 7, 1900, BArch R150, Togo National Archives FA 1–332, Bl. 111–118.

⁷⁵ Missionaries, by contrast, identified the ethnic groups, in part to privilege what they regarded as the incipient monotheism of the Ewe. See, for example, Jakob Spieth, *Die Religion der Eweer in Süd-Togo* (Göttingen, 1911).

to send to West Africa.⁷⁶ Baron von Herman himself contacted Washington in August of 1900 to “select for us two negro-cottonplanters and one negro-mechanic” to work in Togo for the Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee (Colonial-Economic Committee, hereafter KWK), an association of textile manufacturers that was working closely with the German state to develop African cotton exports. These three “negro” experts would “come over to said company’s land . . . to teach the negroes there how to plant and harvest cotton in a rational and scientific way.” Washington agreed to send “kindly disposed, respectful gentlemen” who would allay KWK fears that these “negro-planters might find some difficulties . . . in finding the necessary authority towards the native population and in having at the same time the necessary respect towards the German government official.”⁷⁷ He sent three Tuskegee graduates, Allen L. Burks, Shepherd L. Harris, and John W. Robinson, under the leadership of a German-speaking Tuskegee faculty member, James N. Calloway.

The identity “Negro” played a contradictory role in German understandings of the expedition. As “Negroes” like the “Negroes” of Togo, Tuskegee personnel might have a better relation with their charges.⁷⁸ At the same time, these Tuskegee-educated African Americans represented a superior “Negro,” whose example could improve the inhabitants of the Togo Protectorate. If the Tuskegee personnel were both like and unlike white colonizers, the Togolese whom they were supposed to teach to grow cotton were both already and not yet Negroes. The identity “Negro” was brought to Togo not only as a set of characteristics to be imposed on an unwilling population, but also as an impossible paradox: those identified as Negroes had to be forced to become what they were supposed already to be.

The Tuskegee expedition hoped to transform an economy already shaped by long-standing commercial relations among German and Ewe traders and a diffuse domestic division of labor that Germans and Americans regarded as economically and morally inferior to patriarchal monogamy.⁷⁹ Ewe women generally had their own houses and fields, which they farmed with the assistance of their dependent children. Several women shared a single husband, who lived separately from his wives. This

⁷⁶ Office of the Imperial Chancellor, Friedrichsruh, to Wirklichen Geheimen Legationsrath Herrn von Holstein, September 21, 1889, BArch R1001/8142, Bl. 14. See also the reports and newspaper clippings collected in subsequent volumes of this series on cotton, R1001/8142–8153. See also the consular reports on cotton in the United States sent to the Foreign Office itself, BArch R901/349–377.

⁷⁷ Herman to Washington, September 3, 1900, and Washington to Herman auf Wain, September 20, 1900, in Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5: 633–636, 639–642.

⁷⁸ The Colonial Section [Kolonialabteilung] of the German Foreign Office expressed the opinion in a marginal note that it found employing “colored young” personnel to train indigenous farmers in Togo “very practical,” although it did not specify why. See KWK to Foreign Office, Colonial Section, October 11, 1900, BArch R1001/8221, Bl. 11–13. One of the founders of the KWK later explained that they chose Tuskegee personnel because they thought “the Negro would more easily influence their fellow tribesmen [*Stammesgenossen*] and would be better able to bear the climate.” Otto Warburg, “German Colonies,” in Wyndham R. Dunstan, *Report on the Present Position of Cotton Cultivation: Presented to the International Congress of Tropical Agriculture, Brussels, May 1910* (Paris, 1910), 261–278, 267–268.

⁷⁹ The best information on Ewe economics comes from works by Protestant missionaries. See especially Jakob Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme: Material zur Kunde des Ewe-Volkes in Deutsch-Togo* (Berlin, 1906), 55–64, 208–211, 356. Spieth collected most of his information in Ho, Togo. See also Diedrich Westermann, *Die Glidy-Ewe in Togo: Züge aus ihrem Gesellschaftsleben* (Berlin, 1935), 71–82. Westermann obtained the information for this book from Bonifatius Foli, an Ewe from Glidy in southeastern Togo. Heinrich Klose, “Industrie und Gewerbe in Togo,” *Globus* 85 (1904): 69–73, 89–93, has good information on the Togolese textile industry. On early African-German commercial relations in Togo, see Hugo Zöller, *Das Togoland und die Sklavenküste* (Berlin, 1885), 243.

left women time for farming, marketing, and craft production. Women dominated the Ewe side of the trade with German merchant houses, which consisted primarily of exchanges of palm kernels and oil for European manufactured goods, tobacco, and liquor. Children also had significant economic independence; they could own their own cattle and were generally permitted to sell or keep at least some of the products of their labor. Still, mothers could expect their unmarried daughters to work in their households, and their sons to transfer wealth to them in the form of gifts. Fathers could get cash for their own agricultural or craft production, but they could also put up a wife or child as collateral on a loan, the terms of which required that the human "collateral" work a specified number of days for the creditor.⁸⁰ Husbands, for their part, had to provide their wives with economically significant gifts if they hoped to enjoy their companionship and care, for women's economic independence and separate residences did not allow for constant coercion.⁸¹ Despite the personal autonomy that Ewe households afforded their members, the authority of parents over children and husbands over wives bound families together in ways that also allowed for economic coercion and cooperation.

German economic activity in Togo had a differential impact on the economic activity of women, men, and children.⁸² Cotton textiles formed an important part of the household division of labor in southern Togo.⁸³ Only women grew cotton, which they ginned and spun by hand with the assistance of their children. Men sometimes

⁸⁰ On human collateral, see Heinrich Seidel, "Pfandwesen und Schuldhafte in Togo: Nach den Erhebungen im Missionsbezirke Amedschovhe dargestellt," *Globus* 79 (1901): 309–313. Beverly Grier studies similar economic arrangements in Ghana in "Pawns, Porters, and Petty Traders: Women in the Transition to Cash Crop Agriculture in Colonial Ghana," *Signs* 17 (1992): 304–328. On Ewe economics and the gender division of labor in the relatively exceptional city of Anlo, Ghana, see Sandra E. Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo Ewe* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1996).

⁸¹ This female independence both intrigued and disturbed the missionary's wife, Anna Knüsli. See her *Afrikanisches Frauenleben wie ich es in Togo gesehen habe*, *Bremer Missionsschriften*, vol. 19 (Bremen, 1907).

⁸² The links between Ewe households and the political economy of imperialism suggest that Claude Meillassoux was correct to see an articulation between household and capitalist modes of production, but also that he should have emphasized the dynamic interaction of the two modes. See especially his *Maidens, Meat and Money* (1975; repr., Cambridge, 1981). On the relations of household transformations, the gendered division of labor, and the political economy of imperialism, see Ester Boserup's classic *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (New York, 1970), and more recently Jean Marie Allman and Victoria Tashjian, "I Will Not Eat Stone": *A Women's History of Colonial Asante* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2000); John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, vol. 1: *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991) and especially vol. 2: *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, 1997); Jane I. Guyer, "Household and Community in African Studies," *African Studies Review* 24 (1981): 87–137; Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham, N.C., 1999); Karen Tranberg Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992); Diana Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion, and Power: The Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia, 1894–1930* (Oxford, 1993); Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephan F. Miescher, eds., *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2003); Henrietta L. Moore and Megan Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890–1990* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1994); M. Anne Pitcher, "Conflict and Cooperation: Gendered Roles and Responsibilities within Cotton Households in Northern Mozambique," *African Studies Review* 39 (1996): 81–112; and Vaughan, *The Story of an African Famine*.

⁸³ Colleen Kriger shows how ethnographic accounts of cotton textile production have overlooked women's work by failing to consider the household in "Economy, Society and Material Culture in Nigeria: Textile Production and Gender in the Sokoto Caliphate," *Journal of African History* 34 (1993): 361–401. Women were especially burdened by the coercive cotton drives of Mozambique, while men were forced into cane fields, as Leroy Vail and Landeg White argue in "'Tawani, Machambero!' Forced Cotton and Rice Growing on the Zambezi," *Journal of African History* 19 (1978): 239–263.

did help women pick cotton, but they neither grew nor spun it. Women sold yarn to weavers, all of whom were male, and from whom they in turn bought cloth. While cheap English fabric did not compete well with the sturdier and more luxurious local weaves, chemically dyed yarn gradually pushed out the products of local spinners. The Ewe, like many West African textile producers, dyed yarn with locally grown indigo, a time-consuming and labor-intensive process that made it difficult for African spinners to compete successfully with their European counterparts.⁸⁴ This shift to yarn supplied by American growers and European spinners struck at an important source of Ewe women's income, while leaving male weavers relatively unaffected.

Ewe men gained new economic opportunities under German rule, even as their wives and daughters saw their economic opportunities shrink. With the growth of the state and the mercantile economy, men with little property or education could earn as much in wages from a day carrying goods as they could from the produce of one or even two weeks of farming.⁸⁵ Mission schools throughout West Africa had long provided young men with opportunities for economic advancement within the institutions of European power and with personal autonomy from domestic authorities.⁸⁶ The academic instruction these schools offered gave men the skills necessary to become clerks for merchant houses or government offices. Some also offered training in skilled trades that similarly gave young men greater personal and economic autonomy than did labor within agricultural households. One Togolese teacher at a mission school expressed a common view when he complained that his students "see school as a form of protection from fieldwork. They believe they can laze about here undisturbed, protected from their fathers, who want to take them along to the field."⁸⁷ In fact, white-collar or skilled work, in Togo as elsewhere, offered higher wages and personal freedom than farming did. Students left the fields and entered the schools not because they were lazy, but rather because they desired wealth and independence, and perhaps in hopes of becoming one of the Ewe "dandies" and "gentlemen" who marked the urban environment of Lomé.⁸⁸ Many

⁸⁴ See Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, 404–406.

⁸⁵ James N. Calloway, "Tuskegee Cotton-Planters in Africa," *Outlook* 70 (March 29, 1902): 772–776.

⁸⁶ The question of whether West African education should have trained farmers and craftsmen rather than clerks continued even after the end of colonialism. I find the account by Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (Chicago, 1965), most persuasive. See also Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, Africa—A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), and C. K. Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana from the Earliest Times to the Declaration of Independence* (London, 1971). Stephanie Newell demonstrates that academic education did not function merely as vocational education for clerks, but also allowed for the emergence of a genuine literary culture; Newell, *Literary Culture in Colonial Ghana: "How to Play the Game of Life"* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002). West Africans did far more with their literary education than seek white-collar jobs, as Robert W. July makes clear in *Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 1967). Africans could also use industrial education to challenge the imperialist aims of missionaries. See Carol Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918–1940* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2002). See also T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982). Education also played varying roles in the domestic relations between men and women. See Summers and the contrasting case of the Belgian Congo presented by Gertrude Mianda in "Colonialism, Education, and Gender Relations in the Belgian Congo: The Évolué Case," in Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002), 144–163.

⁸⁷ Teveril Dzansi, Dzokpe, "Wie haben wir uns gegen neu eintretende Schüler zu verhalten?" Archives of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft, Staatsarchiv Bremen (hereafter NDM), 31/3.

⁸⁸ See the interview with Martin Aku from Lomé in Diedrich Westermann, *Afrikaner erzählen ihr Leben* (Essen, 1938), 337–405. Mission educators also noted that upward mobility depended on learning

Germans expressed contempt for such men, whom they derided as “black fops” or “trouser-niggers,” but of course the functioning of local government and merchant houses depended on such white-collar blacks.⁸⁹

Missionaries, colonial officials, and the members of the Tuskegee expedition all sought to impose bourgeois domestic ideals to correct what they regarded as a crisis in the Ewe household. One African missionary teacher explained that “Blacks cannot bring up their children” because women in female-dominated households became “the *Herr* [both master and man] over the children” and undermined paternal authority.⁹⁰ Even though many African and European observers worried that women had too much domestic and economic power, transformations brought about by German rule, as we have seen, in fact limited the economic opportunities of women more than those of men or male children. German colonial officials and Tuskegee personnel sought neither to restore and preserve Ewe households nor to liberate Africans from the confines of the household. Rather, they tried to impose a patriarchal monogamous household on Ewe men, women, and children. They wanted to wreck not only the economic activities of women and children, but also those of the supposedly dominant male, who would become a peasant farmer rather than a clerk, an urban dandy, or at least a better-paid porter.

From the moment the four members of the Tuskegee expedition landed at Lomé, Togo, on December 30, 1900, they began working closely with German efforts to destroy Togolese economic autonomy and impose these patriarchal households. The government first directed the expedition to Tove, a collection of six villages about sixty miles inland. Tove would have been a poor choice had the goal of the expedition been restricted to encouraging already existing cotton cultivation. Unlike most of southern Togo, Tove had no significant textile industry; it had long been a major center of pottery production, an industry, like cotton growing and spinning elsewhere, that was dominated by women.⁹¹ As German explorer Heinrich Klose observed the year before the Tuskegee expedition arrived, the people of Tove had been relatively immune from foreign competition because, unlike textiles, ceramic pottery was too heavy and fragile to be shipped cheaply from Europe to compete with the local industry.⁹²

The people of Tove had also long been politically independent from both Germans and other Ewe polities. They had refused to fight against the Asante in the 1874 war, and even permitted the invaders to reside in their villages for several months during the conflict.⁹³ In 1888, Curt von François, perhaps the first German government official to visit Tove, found the inhabitants there “less friendly” than those in

reading and writing. See Spiess and Poppinga, *Stationskonferenz Ho*, *Bemerkungen zu Schossers Vorschläge*, March 1908, NDM, 39/4.

⁸⁹ For example, see Heinrich Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge* (Berlin, 1899), 171, 257, and Hans Gruner's Nazi-era Memo on Togo, April 14, 1938, BACh R1001/4308, Bl. 186–193.

⁹⁰ Robert Klu, Waya, “Warum können die Schwarzen ihre Kinder nicht erziehen?” September 18, 1909, NDM, 31/3.

⁹¹ On Tove, see Carl Spiess, “Die Landschaft Tove bei Lome in Togo,” *Deutsche Geographische Blätter* 25 (1902): 75–79.

⁹² Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge*, 162.

⁹³ Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, 33–34.

other areas, complaining that they fired rifles in the direction of his tent.⁹⁴ The area around Tove did not come under German political domination until an 1894–1895 expedition led by Hans Gruner and Lieutenant Ernst von Carnap.⁹⁵ The two carried out “punitive expeditions” and exemplary executions to establish German hegemony in the region. In 1895, a minor skirmish (which originated when people in Tove mocked a German botanist) escalated into a small war that had Germans in the hinterland partially cut off for a short time. Gruner used the conflict as an occasion to burn five of the six villages, destroy the local pottery industry, kill about thirty individuals, wound many more, and require tribute from the survivors.⁹⁶ His troops reportedly decapitated their victims and shipped the heads to Germany.⁹⁷ Thanks to these actions, German merchants were able to establish stations in the area around Tove for the first time. For years after the uprising, the destruction was still evident in the area, with collapsing, empty houses and shattered pottery strewn along the main road. The inhabitants of Tove remained hostile to Germans, but they tended to hide in the bush rather than openly confront their invaders.⁹⁸

Less than six years after the German conquest of Tove, Calloway, Robinson, Burks, and Harris arrived in the area. Hans Gruner, the officer responsible for the 1895 massacre, commanded the nearby Misahöhe Station and was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Tuskegee expedition.⁹⁹ Because there were no draft animals to pull the expedition’s wagons of cotton seed and agricultural implements from Lomé, porters had to pull the wagons themselves. Washington twisted this incident into an illustration of the backwardness of Africans who had not yet received the benefits of Tuskegee-style education. He rendered the episode increasingly absurd and insulting with each retelling, until he finally had the Togolese disassembling the wagons and carrying them on their heads because they had never seen wheels.¹⁰⁰ The four Tuskegee pioneers set up a model plantation of at least seventy-five acres, leased mostly from the king of Tove.¹⁰¹ Gruner had local political leaders recruit two hundred men, women, and children to work the Tuskegee fields at a wage meager even by colonial standards.¹⁰² All twenty-two oxen and twenty-two horses sent to

⁹⁴ Curt von François, *Ohne Schuß durch dick und dünn: Erste Erforschung des Togohinterlandes*, ed. Götz von François (Esch-Waldems, 1972), 19. This book is based on François’s travel journals.

⁹⁵ For a brief history of this expedition by a contemporary German, see Moritz Schanz, *West-Afrika* (Berlin, 1903), 298–299.

⁹⁶ See Hans Gruner, Report on “Tove-Unruhen,” April 1, 1895, K. 7, Mappe 34, Nachlass 250 (Hans Gruner), Staatsbibliothek Berlin (hereafter NL Gruner), 5–7, and Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge*, 166–167. In 1974, Marion Johnson reported: “People still tell in Togo of the smashing of local pottery to create a market for the German imported hardware—and show the broken potsherds to prove it.” Johnson, “Cotton Imperialism in West Africa,” *African Affairs* 73 (1974): 178–187, 184.

⁹⁷ F. M. Zahn (Bremen) to Foreign Office, Colonial Section, November 8, 1895, sending “Kwittah Terrible Revelations,” *Gold Coast Chronicle*, July 26, 1895, 3, BArch R1001/4307, Bl. 65–66. German anthropologists did, in fact, successfully encourage such battlefield trophy-taking to augment metropolitan scientific collections. See my *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, chap. 7.

⁹⁸ Spiess, “Die Landschaft Tove bei Lome in Togo,” 75, and Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge*, 163.

⁹⁹ On the importance of Gruner to the expedition, see Calloway (Misahöhe) to KWK, January 11, 1901 (copy), BArch R1001/8221, Bl. 37.

¹⁰⁰ See Booker T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery* (1909; repr., New York, 1969), 1: 37–38.

¹⁰¹ See Calloway to KWK, March 12, 1901 (Copy), BArch R1001/8221, Bl. 51.

¹⁰² The wage paid to the employees of the expedition at Tove ranged between 8 and 16 percent of what the expedition had paid its porters. See Calloway, “Tuskegee Cotton-Planters in Africa,” and KWK, *Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo: Bericht 1901*, BArch R901/351.



FIGURE 1: Togolese men pulling wagons of cotton, n.d. The wagon covers bear the initials “KWK” for *Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee*, the organization that sponsored the Tuskegee expedition to Togo. Because of the difficulty of keeping draft animals alive in Togo, humans were often required to take their place on animal-drawn farm equipment. Ironically, the progress of Togolese cotton production could involve a regression of humans to the work roles of animals. Staatsarchiv Bremen, reproduced by permission of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft.

Tove soon died of sleeping sickness. So deep was the Tuskegee commitment to introducing plows into African agriculture that when there were no draft animals available, rather than return to the familiar hoe, Calloway had the Tove employees hitch themselves to plows to prepare the fields. In the name of progress and racial uplift, Tuskegee personnel placed Africans in the position of animals.¹⁰³ This was not merely economic exploitation, but also a visible sign of the political submission of Tove to the German state and to the Tuskegee mission.

In fact, Africans yoked like draft animals to wagons, plows, cotton presses, and other equipment marked many Tuskegee agricultural “improvements.” (See Figure 1.) The Tuskegee program for Africa, like many German and other European plans, centered around introducing animal-powered equipment into African agriculture, especially shifting African farming from the hoe to the plow.¹⁰⁴ (See Figure 2.) For many imperialist observers, plows had more than just the apparently obvious advantage over hoes of increasing the efficiency with which fields could be prepared. Many hoped that men would carry out plow agriculture and thus end the agricultural employment of women and children, leading to male-dominated, monogamous do-

¹⁰³ See Calloway, “Tuskegee Cotton-Planters in Africa.”

¹⁰⁴ A French commentator who would later be a leading member of the *Association Cotonnière Coloniale* attributed the Tuskegee-Togo expedition’s single-minded preference for plows over hand tools to American technophilia. In fact, the obsession with moving from hoe to plow was, and still is, a common feature of many agricultural development schemes. See Emile Baillaud, “Cultivation of Cotton in Western Africa,” *Journal of the African Society* 2 (1902–1903): 132–148.



FIGURE 2: Tove cotton field, 1905. This photograph was shot at one of the rare times when the Tuskegee expedition had living draft animals healthy enough to pull plows. Normally, tsetse flies ensured that Togolese employees or students did the work of draft animals. The figure in khaki and sun helmet in the center may be one of the members of the Tuskegee expedition. While the expedition had already moved to Notsé at the time this photograph was shot, Tove continued as an experimental cotton farm and seed production center throughout the German colonial period. Staatsarchiv Bremen, reproduced by permission of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft.

mesticity.¹⁰⁵ Using plows also would require Africans to care for draft animals, which, reformers thought, would encourage greater personal responsibility.¹⁰⁶ Although tsetse flies quickly killed off draft animals in Togo, as in many other regions of tropical Africa, introducing plows and other animal-driven farm equipment remained the principal goal of Tuskegee interventions in African agriculture, even if this meant treating Africans themselves as draft animals. The image of African men yoked to plows like oxen in the name of progressive farming presents the sort of negative modernity highlighted by Franz Kafka's "Metamorphosis": the technocratic civili-

¹⁰⁵ For descriptions of, and complaints about, Togolese agriculture, see Ferdinand Goldberg (in Klein Popo) to the Foreign Office, August 1, 1890 (copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-332, Bl. 21-34; Unsigned Report about cotton growing, n.d. (ca. 1904), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-89, Bl. 8-57; "Bericht Regierungsrat Dr. Busse über die pflanzenpathologische Expedition nach Kamerun und Togo 1904/05," n.d. (ca. 1905), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-326, Bl. 129-138; "Bericht über die Ackerbauschule Nuatjä für das Berichtsjahr 1908/09," BArch R1001/6543; Pape to Lomé Government, August 19, 1909, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-388, Bl. 72-73.

¹⁰⁶ Eduard Hahn was the most important German academic authority on the civilizational advantages of plows over hoes. See his *Die Entstehung der Pflugkultur (unsres Ackerbaus)* (Heidelberg, 1909). For an even more direct recommendation by the KWK to introduce plows into Africa in order to make the "Negroes" there as efficient as farmers in the United States, as well as a discussion of the moral implications of plow use, see Otto Warburg, "Einführung der Pflugkultur in den deutschen Kolonien," *Verhandlungen des Kolonial-Wirtschaftlichen Komitees* (1906), 4-9. See also Karl Supf, "Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll Unternehmungen, Bericht VII (Frühjahr 1906)," *Der Tropenpflanzer* 10 (1906): 355-369, and Otto Warburg, "Ergebnisse und Aussichten der kolonialen Landwirtschaft," *Der Tropenpflanzer* 10 (1906): 1-15.

zation designed to improve humans in fact places them in the position of animals. This image was no ironic reversal of good intentions, but rather a parapraxis indicating a truth that no one at the time was willing to speak: the Tuskegee expedition, like many imperialist development programs, ended up dominating those people it was charged with helping, not in spite of, but precisely by means of, its failure to achieve the results it claimed it sought.¹⁰⁷

Both Booker T. Washington and the KWK had initially hoped that the original four members of the expedition would be joined by additional African American settlers who would inspire Togolese farmers by their good example. Four additional Tuskegee graduates, one accompanied by his wife, did arrive in Togo in 1902, but two of the men drowned while trying to land in the rough surf.¹⁰⁸ The survivors—Walter Bryan, Horace Griffin, and Griffin's wife—set up farms near Tove. It is unlikely that these Tuskegee cotton farms inspired anybody in Togo to follow their example: the Griffins could not get anyone to work for them, and Bryan could not get American cotton varieties to grow at all.¹⁰⁹ John Robinson introduced and bred new cotton seeds that would produce industrial-grade cotton fiber in Togo, which expedition members and German officials distributed gratis to growers throughout the protectorate. Tuskegee personnel and German officials encouraged cotton monoculture until they realized that cotton grew better in Togo when interplanted with corn, as was commonly done by local farmers.¹¹⁰ Government purchasers bought cotton at markets set up in every district in the colony at prices that were apparently high enough to attract cotton from some Gold Coast growers.¹¹¹ Still, the German government forbade the export of cotton to the Gold Coast, so that all cotton grown in Togo was ginned in Tove and then sent, via Lomé merchants, to Europe.¹¹² The Tuskegee expedition did manage to triple the cotton exports of Togo in its first two

¹⁰⁷ For an excellent account of how development succeeds (in producing domination) by failing (to achieve its stated goals), see James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (1990; repr., Minneapolis, 1994). For a more explicitly psychoanalytic analysis of success through failure, see the analysis of ostensibly socialist education in Yugoslavia by Renata Salecl, "Deference to the Great Other: The Discourse of Education," in Bracher et al., *Lacanian Theory of Discourse*, 163–175.

¹⁰⁸ On the drowning, see James N. Calloway to Booker T. Washington, May 8, 1902, in Harlan, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 6: 455–456.

¹⁰⁹ Geo. A. Schmidt, District Officer of Atakpame, to Lomé Government, November 10, 1902 (copy), BArch R1001/8222, vol. 2, Bl. 15–22.

¹¹⁰ For a description of Togolese intercropping, see "Bericht über die Ackerbauschule Nuatjä für das Berichtsjahr 1908/09" (n.d.), BArch R1001/6543. As Paul Richards has written, "Intercropping . . . is one of the great glories of African science. It is to African agriculture as polyrhythmic drumming is to African music and carving to African art." Richards, "Ecological Change and the Politics of African Land Use," 27.

¹¹¹ N. M. Penzer, *Cotton in British West Africa, Including Togoland and the Cameroons* (London, 1920), 22.

¹¹² On the activities and results of the Tuskegee work at Tove, see Cotton Expedition, Tove, circular to Misahöhe, Atakpame, Kete-Kretschi, Basari-Sokode Stations, June 15, 1901, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 121–124; KWK, telegram to Lomé Government, November 12, 1901, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 119; Karl Supf, KWK, to Colonial Section of the Foreign Office, November 15, 1901 (copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 130; James Calloway, "Inspektion der Baumwollfarmen und Baumwollmärkte" and "Bericht des Kolonial-Wirtschaftlichen Komitees," in *Bericht II: Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen 1902/03*, Supplement to *Tropenpflanzer* 4 (1903): 82–89; "Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo," *Verhandlungen des Kolonial-Wirtschaftlichen Komitees*, January 22, 1903, 12–16. On the seed distribution and price supports, see Smend, Misahöhe Station, and Martin, Kpandu Mission, Memo, September 21, 1903 (copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 194–195.

years at Tove, both through the products of its own plantations and farms and by purchasing cotton from African smallholders.¹¹³

Washington, the Tuskegee personnel in Togo, and German colonial officials all imagined that cotton *Volkskultur* would introduce a patriarchal, monogamous domesticity to Togo. Gruner explained to a meeting of local political notables and missionaries that growing cotton would improve family life by allowing a man to make a living as a “free farmer on his own plot, at home with his family.” Men would no longer have to travel long distances to earn money as day laborers or porters, and “the women would cease to ramble around.” “Orderly family relations,” Gruner concluded, “could take hold.”¹¹⁴ In 1906, Danella Foote, who had married John Robinson during his brief leave in the United States, joined the wife of Horace Griffin in exercising what Calloway and Washington both regarded as a positive moral influence on Togolese women.¹¹⁵ These Tuskegee wives supposedly gave Togolese women housekeeping tips and inspired them to become “better consumers.”¹¹⁶ According to Washington, by 1904, inhabitants of Tove observed the Sabbath and went to church in holiday attire. Their houses, according to Washington, had proper beds, shutters, doors, and bathrooms, so that their inhabitants no longer bathed in public view.¹¹⁷ Of course, women in Togo continued to grow and sell cotton and likely contributed significantly to the increasing exports of the fiber from the protectorate. (See Figure 3.) The Germans did, however, manage to impede some women’s industries, such as spinning and pottery, and did force some men to grow cotton. They imagined that this would result in cultural transformations that would bring the normal bourgeois Christian family to Togo. Indeed, their actions may have revealed an uncomfortable truth about the normal bourgeois Christian family. Germans could call this attempt to radically restructure the Togolese economy *Volkskultur* only because they identified Africans with the imaginary “Negroes” concocted by New South ideologues—inherently pathological agents requiring outside force to become what they supposedly had always, essentially, been.

IN 1904, THE EXPEDITION’S ORGANIZERS abandoned their original plans for Tuskegee graduates to settle in Togo as exemplary “Negro” cotton farmers. Instead, one of the Tuskegee members, John Robinson, would set up a cotton school to train selected Togolese to serve as examples to their countrymen. The German state located this new cotton school in Notsé (the German colonial name was Nuatjä). Tove remained

¹¹³ Figures on Togo’s cotton output are from Dunstan, *Report on the Present Position of Cotton Cultivation*, 46–47. On cotton purchasing and export regulations, see Smend and Martin, Missionar, Kpandu, Memo, September 21, 1903 (Copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 194–195.

¹¹⁴ Minutes of Meeting of Gruner with Chiefs of the District, Missionary Schosser, two teachers from Mission Agu, and five teachers from the Catholic mission, Misahöhe Station, April 15, 1904, BArch R1001/8222, Bl. 140–141.

¹¹⁵ On Danella Foote, see John W. Robinson, “A Tuskegee Graduate in West Africa,” *Colored American Magazine* 10, no. 5 (May 1906): 355–359.

¹¹⁶ Calloway, “Inspektion der Baumwollfarmen und Baumwollmärkte,” 113.

¹¹⁷ Booker T. Washington, *Working with the Hands* (1904; repr., New York, 1969), 226–320; Washington, “The African at Home,” chap. 3 in *The Story of the Negro*, 6: 36–56. See also Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro in the South: His Economic Progress in Relation to His Moral and Religious Development* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1907), 33–36.



FIGURE 3: Market day in Notsé, 1906. The man posing near the center of the photograph may be a buyer employed by the German government as part of the Tuskegee cotton program. Even in Notsé, which had become the center of Tuskegee efforts in 1904, women still dominated cotton marketing. In all likelihood, much of the cotton sold here was grown by these women, a gendered division of labor that Tuskegee personnel and the German government hoped to change. Staatsarchiv Bremen, reproduced by permission of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft.

a KWK experimental farm, and in 1912 it became a specialized seed production and distribution center.¹¹⁸ Calloway and the remaining Tuskegee graduates returned to the United States, leaving Robinson in charge of the new school.¹¹⁹

Locating the Tuskegee cotton school at Notsé, like stationing the expedition at Tove, attacked prior Ewe history and identity to clear the way for the imposition of the new identity “Negro.” More than fifteen years earlier, in 1888, the North German missionary E. Bürgi had found that the people of Notsé, a group of seven villages, had had little prior contact with Europeans or with other Ewe. The locals had welcomed Bürgi and his Ewe porters, but the missionary found the king of Notsé so

¹¹⁸ See “Jahresbericht der Saatvermehrungstelle Tove-Glekovhe für die Zeit vom 20. Februar–31. Dezember 1912,” December 31, 1912 (copy), BArch R1001/8226, Bl. 7–9. Under the French, the agricultural school reopened at Tove, and it remains in operation today.

¹¹⁹ Technically, Calloway was replaced with a white official, and Robinson was made an assistant to this official. In practice this amounted to replacing Calloway with Robinson as head of the Tuskegee expedition. See the minutes of the conference at the Agu plantation of the German Togo Company, March 31, 1903 (copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 142–147, 151–155. John Robinson, “Sonderbericht der Versuchsstation Tove,” in *Bericht II: Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen 1902/03*, Supplement (*Beiheft*) to *Tropenpflanzer* 4 (1903): 90–109. On Robinson, see Julius Zech, Governor of Togo to KWK, August 22, 1904, in “Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen: Sonderbericht über die Baumwollschule in Nuatschä,” BArch R1001/8673, 3–5, and in BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–363, Bl. 22–37. See also Robinson, “Cotton Growing in Africa,” in Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements* (1905; repr., Freeport, N.Y., 1971), 184–199.

"shamelessly beggarly" that he fled after only one day of preaching.¹²⁰ As late as 1891, Bürgi still seemed to be the only German who had recently visited Notsé, and he did not attribute any special significance to the area.¹²¹ By the turn of the twentieth century, however, it became widely known among Germans in Togo that the Ewe all traced their historical origins to an exodus from the sadistic rule of a King Agokoli of Notsé.¹²² In Togo today, an annual Ewe cultural festival draws visitors to Notsé every September, and parts of Agokoli's palace and the city wall have been excavated and reconstructed.

King Agokoli of Notsé, probably in the sixteenth century, sought to aggrandize his power, bypassing the mediating roles of his royal counselors and forcing his people to perform cruel and difficult tasks, including building a wall around the city. Versions of the history collected in 1914 by Hans Gruner himself had Agokoli hiding spikes in the ground to lacerate the feet of pedestrians, so that their blood would soak the earth to make mud for the walls.¹²³ He also had all the Notsé elders killed, fearing that they would lead a popular uprising against him. To escape the tyranny of Agokoli, women agreed to empty washing and cooking basins on a specific place on the earthen wall, softening it until it could be breached in the dark of night. The Ewe fled throughout the region between the Mono and Volta rivers, settling down into independent states that all traced their origin to Notsé. By beginning their history with an exodus from a walled city, from an absolute authority, and from submission to the labor demands of others, the Ewe understood themselves as a society marked by local, familial, and individual independence.¹²⁴ Ewe households, as we have seen, also reflected this dispersed political organization. Ewe historical memory ran counter to the despotism of state formation, capital accumulation, and patriarchal monogamy. The German colonial state and the Tuskegee expedition would send Ewe back to Notsé not only to train them to grow cotton, but also to transform them into "Negroes," subject to the new Agokoli of colonial capitalism.

Every district in the colony, not only in Ewe territory, was required to send stu-

¹²⁰ E. Bürgi, "Reisen an der Togoküste und im Ewegebiet," *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 34 (1888): 233–237. Sandra Greene cites an 1877 account by a North German missionary that describes the history of Notsé. From my own research, however, it appears that neither Bürgi nor the German administration realized the city's significance before the twentieth century. See Sandra E. Greene, "Notsie Narratives: History, Memory and Meaning in West Africa," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101 (2002): 1015–1041.

¹²¹ E. Bürgi to "Hochgeehrter Herr Inspektor," November 26, 1891, NDM, 41/4.

¹²² See, for example, Carl Spiess, "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Evhe-Volkes in Togo: Seine Auswanderung aus Notse," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 5 (1902): 278–283. For a recent Togolese account, see Nicoué Lodjou Gayibor, "Le remodelage des traditions historiques: La légende d'Agokoli, Roi de Notse," in Claude-Hélène Perrot, ed., *Sources orales de l'histoire de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1989), 209–215. Both Sandra Greene and Birgit Meyer point to how missionaries attempted to unify the Ewe by, among other things, standardizing the Ewe language and emphasizing Notsé as the origin of all Ewe. The German colonial officials and the Tuskegee personnel who set up the cotton school at Notsé accepted this narrative, as did their Ewe informants. See Sandra E. Greene, *Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002); Greene, "Notsie Narratives"; and Birgit Meyer, "Christianity and the Ewe Nation: German Pietist Missionaries, Ewe Converts and the Politics of Culture," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32 (2002): 167–199.

¹²³ Gruner, "Wissenschaftliche Notizen (Geschichte)," January 12, 1914–February 7, 1914; February 15, 1914–March 26, 1914; April 18, 1914–July 17, 1914, NL Gruner, K. 8, no. 42.

¹²⁴ F. Agbodeka, "The Origins of the Republic Idea in Eweland: The North Western Region," in Medeiros, *Peuples du Golfe du Bénin*, 159–162.

dents to the Notsé cotton school¹²⁵ to learn what the school's supporters regarded as rational and free farming: rational because it was male-dominated plow monoculture of cotton; free because it was motivated by market incentives. Students were to spend three years learning about "rational agricultural implements" (especially plows), draft animals, natural fertilizers, crop rotation, and cotton seed selection.¹²⁶ Once the school had been in operation long enough to have several classes at different levels, Robinson set up an instructional hierarchy. He trained the first- and second-year students to use agricultural implements, especially the plow, and taught them about fertilizer, plant varieties, and pest control on several large common fields. The school gave each of the third-year students a personal plot where they could spend about a third of their time, keeping any profits they earned. The first-year students served as field hands and apprentice farmers on these personal plots. Advanced students thus gained experience managing farm employees, teaching agricultural skills, and responding to market pressures.¹²⁷

Education was a central issue in colonial domination and resistance in Togo, not only because Germans sought to control and exploit African labor through agricultural education, but also because many Togolese sought to escape both the imperial race-class hierarchy and African domestic hierarchies through the academic education offered at mission schools. The Tuskegee school in Notsé, to a far greater extent than Washington's own Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, scrupulously avoided any instruction that might appear to give the students academic qualifications. Washington endorsed the Notsé cotton school in part because, unlike mission schools, it did not give its students the academic skills necessary to become merchants—a career, he claimed, that led Africans to take many wives and consort with unscrupulous Europeans.¹²⁸ The German government did offer elementary education to train Togolese clerks, but regarded even this education as a threat to the colonial social order. German governors had long complained that missionary education offered too much academic training rather than "the love of practical work," as one put it.¹²⁹

In 1907, the North German Mission Society sought to reorient its own schools in Togo toward manual and agricultural labor. The head office in Bremen sent the German translation of Washington's *Up from Slavery* to missionaries in Togo and encouraged them to familiarize themselves with the program at Notsé and to apply Tuskegee ideals to their own schools.¹³⁰ Missionaries sent a number of African teach-

¹²⁵ Originally called the "Cotton School" (*Baumwollschule*), the institution was renamed a "farming school" (*Ackerbauschule*) in 1906 and "State Agricultural Institute" (*Landeskulturanstalt*) in 1912. Despite these name changes, cotton farming remained the main focus of the school. The Lomé government, which had always provided significant financial and other support to the school, took over the institution in 1908. See Zech to KWK, August 23, 1907 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 9.

¹²⁶ Smend, Misahöhe Station, to KWK, November 9, 1903, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-332, Bl. 221-231.

¹²⁷ For versions of the study plan of the school, which varied slightly from year to year, see Governor Zech (Lomé) to KWK, August 22, 1904, in "Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen: Sonderbericht über die Baumwollschule in Nuatschä," BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 3-5; Zech, "Lehrplan für die Baumwollschule in Nuatjä," 1906, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-363, Bl. 161-162; "Bericht über die Ackerbauschule Nuatjä für das Berichtsjahr 1908/09," BArch R1001/6543, 121. The study plan is also described in Norris, *Die Umerziehung des Afrikaners*, 141-149.

¹²⁸ Washington, *Working with the Hands*, 226-230.

¹²⁹ Puttkamer, Klein Popo, to Bismarck, February 10, 1888 (copy), BArch R1001/4076, Bl. 12-16.

¹³⁰ A. W. Schreiber, Missionsinspektor, Bremen, to the Stations-Conferenzen, July 9, 1907, NDM, 39/4.

ers to Notsé for a one-month summer course to learn agricultural methods that they might transmit to their students. Essays by these teachers suggest that neither they nor their students found much value in agricultural education.¹³¹ One teacher who did try to pass on what he had learned at Notsé discovered the extent of student resistance to Tuskegee-style education. A student he asked to assist him in this rare lesson in agriculture refused to use his right hand to plant seeds, because he regarded the soil as unclean. The student also refused to fetch manure from the chicken coop for fertilizer, and when the teacher went instead, the class erupted in laughter. The teacher threatened to punish his students to convey the importance of agricultural education. By doing so, he perhaps demonstrated a greater understanding of the true program of the cotton school than any of its boosters.¹³²

Local German officials, under pressure from the government (and perhaps eager to increase cotton production in their own districts), forced students to attend the cotton school.¹³³ The governor of Togo asked few questions about recruitment methods, and found, not surprisingly, that students and graduates of Notsé “enjoyed diminished prestige among the other natives” because of the “compulsion under which they stand.”¹³⁴ Only two students ever attended the cotton school voluntarily, and their willingness so surprised the governor that he ordered an investigation. It turned out that they were orphans in poor health, with apparently no other options for securing a livelihood.¹³⁵ The head of a government station in the north of the colony wrote bluntly that students could be recruited only through “involuntary measures [*Zwangsmassregeln*] and punishments.”¹³⁶ A number of Notsé farming students were taken from the nearby penal colony at Chra, as were, in all likelihood, the many laborers who also worked in the school fields.¹³⁷ The cotton school at Notsé represented a political, economic, and symbolic assault on the independence of the Ewe

¹³¹ See Reinhold Dzansi, Agu, “Thema: Der Landwirtschaftliche Kurs in Nuatjä,” n.d., and Aaron A. Anku, Peki Dzake, “What Profit Brought the Agricultural Course at Aburi to You?” October 15, 1909, NDM, 31/3.

¹³² Theophilus R. Asieni, “Wie verwerte ich meine Kenntnisse, die ich auf Ackerbauschule in Notschie erworben habe?” n.d., NDM, 31/3.

¹³³ See Governor Zech to All Station and District Officers, March 4, 1904; Zech to KWK, August 22, 1904, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–363, Bl. 9–10, 22–37. For an example of recruiting students that suggests that district officials tried to spread the burden somewhat equitably among villages in their areas, see Atakpame District Office [Bezirksamt] to Lomé Government, November 8, 1909, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, Bl. 110. The chiefs of Anecho unsuccessfully protested recruitment to the school in 1909. See Anecho District Office to Lomé Government, October 29, 1909, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, Bl. 103.

¹³⁴ Lomé Government to the Imperial Colonial Office [Reichskolonialamt], May 4, 1912, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 177–178.

¹³⁵ Governor Zech to the Imperial Colonial Office, January 25, 1908, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 24–25. On the two volunteers, Friedmund Adom and Gotthold Gogon, see Missionary Diehl, Norddeutsche Missions-Gesellschaft, to Misahöhe District Office, February 18, 1907 (copy); Governor Zech to the Misahöhe District Officer [Bezirksleiter], March 15, 1907; Zech to the Baumwollinspektion of the KWK in Lomé, April 16, 1907; Friedmund Adom and Gotthold Gogon, signed declaration, Misahöhe, April 6, 1907; Diehl, Agu, April 5, 1907; BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–363, Bl. 226, 227–229, 251–252, 255–256, 257–258.

¹³⁶ Sansanne-Mangu Station to Governor Zech, February 28, 1906, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–363, Bl. 85–91.

¹³⁷ By 1911, with four graduating classes, there were at least seventeen graduates from Chra. Sengmüller to Lomé Government, November 8, 1911 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 186. Chra was the main penal colony of Togo, where convicts from all over the protectorate served life sentences along with their families. For information on the region, see Martin Schlunk, *Die Norddeutsche Mission in Togo*, vol. 1: *Meine Reise durchs Eweland* (Bremen, 1910), 53–54.

and other groups living in Togo under German rule. Paradoxically, John Robinson and the German officials who set up the school carried out this coercive program to create independent peasant cultivation. This fusion of coercion (whether legal, physical, or economic) and freedom was underwritten by the New South discourse of the "Negro," admired by German colonists, and imported to Africa by Calloway, Robinson, and the other Tuskegee personnel.

THE STUDENTS AT THE COTTON SCHOOL did not, evidently, come to identify themselves as "Negroes," at least insofar as they did not voluntarily grow cotton after graduation. This refusal to be what they supposedly were led Germans and Tuskegee personnel to further develop their program of coerced, but formally free, agricultural labor. German colonial officials and the American John Robinson each contributed a model of semifree agricultural smallholding from their own national tradition to the new identity they hoped to foist upon the graduates of the Notsé cotton school. Robinson proposed that graduates be treated as "croppers," applying to Togo the system of coercive tenancy that marked so much African American agricultural labor between the Civil War and World War II.¹³⁸ During the U.S. Civil War, freedpeople demanded, and often succeeded in appropriating for themselves, parcels of the land they had worked as slaves, thus gaining some political and economic autonomy.¹³⁹ After the war, southern and northern elites, assisted by an increasingly conservative Freedmen's Bureau, managed to divert African American demands for self-sufficient, independent farms into a coercive system of sharecropping. The law generally classified croppers as employees rather than renters, so that landlords could intervene in the labor process, forcing tenants to grow cotton rather than food crops. The system of crop liens further entwined tenants in a system of labor coercion carried out in the monetary terms of the market economy. This system, brutally unfair as it was, resulted from an implicit compromise in which landlords exploited the economic autonomy that African Americans had forced them to accept.¹⁴⁰ Such a system, Robinson imagined, would allow the German government to control otherwise free African farmers so that they would continue growing cotton using the methods they had learned at the Notsé cotton school.

German policymakers captured the identity of the graduates of the Notsé school

¹³⁸ Robinson made this suggestion in December 1904. It was reported in Atakpame Station to Lomé Government, September 25, 1905, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-304, Bl. 60-63.

¹³⁹ On land redistribution under the Freedmen's Bureau, see Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978).

¹⁴⁰ For contemporary observations of the tenant system, see Thomas J. Edwards, "The Tenant System and Some Changes since Emancipation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 49 (1913): 38-46, and Johnson et al., *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*. Especially helpful for the present discussion of sharecropping has been William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915* (Baton Rouge, La., 1991); Pete Daniel, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969* (1972; repr., Urbana, Ill., 1990); Daniel, "The Metamorphosis of Slavery, 1865-1900," *Journal of American History* 66 (1979): 88-99; Daniel A. Novak, *The Wheel of Servitude: Black Forced Labor after Slavery* (Lexington, Ky., 1978); Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2001); Edward Royce, *The Origins of Southern Sharecropping* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1993); Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South*; and Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the Civil War* (New York, 1986).

with the term *Ansiedler*, which was already used in Prussia to describe the ethnic Germans settled under government supervision to counter the perceived “Polonization” of the kingdom’s eastern portions. The “Settlement Commission” (Ansiedlungskommission) of the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture purchased and subdivided large estates in Posen and West Prussia, on which they had settled more than 85,000 German farmers and agricultural laborers by 1908.¹⁴¹ Each estate was placed under an administrator, who advised the settlers on farming, set up rental contracts that also stipulated their tasks, and supervised “political, general economic, social, and communal things.”¹⁴² Creating peasants, or semi-independent smallholders, whether in Europe, the United States, or Africa, required constant supervision and control.¹⁴³

Gustav Schmoller, a Verein member and former academic advisor to W. E. B. Du Bois, brought the discussions of internal colonization, agricultural settlements, and the political and economic benefits of small farming to the attention of colonial planners several years before the Notsé student settlement scheme.¹⁴⁴ Like most members of the Verein, Schmoller advocated tenancy contracts to control rural workers by keeping them tied to the land. After a presentation at the 1902 German Colonial Congress by Baron von Herman, who had recruited Booker T. Washington for the Togo project, Schmoller called attention to the relevance of the agricultural sociology of the Verein für Sozialpolitik to the colonial question of “plantation versus native culture.” Schmoller endorsed small-scale cultivation to further the “entire mental and economic development of the natives” and improve the “future of the conquered, lower races.”¹⁴⁵ The Tuskegee expedition to Togo, Booker T. Washington, and the “education of the Negro to work” became central aspects of the discussions at the next German colonial congresses in 1905 and 1910.¹⁴⁶

Both the *Ansiedler* and the sharecropper models presented German and Tuskegee officials with possibilities for controlled but ostensibly free smallholding in Togo.

¹⁴¹ On founding the commission, see Minutes of Confidential Meeting in the Königlichen Staatsministeriums, January 24, 1886, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 90 A, no. 3742, Bl. 70–72. On settlement statistics, see the report that the Royal Settlement Commission for West Prussia and Posen sent to its local administrators (*Dezernenten*), December 10, 1908, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 212, no. 5142, Bl. a, 100–101.

¹⁴² “Geschäftsanweisung für die Oberverwalter der Ansiedlungskommission,” September 9, 1907, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 212, no. 5130, and *Geschäfts-Anweisungen für die Ansiedlungsvermittler der Königlichen Ansiedlungskommission* (Posen, 1910), GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 212, no. 5224. See also the printed form for the contract between individual families and the commission (ca. 1907–1908), GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 212, no. 5142, Bl. 86.

¹⁴³ An interesting comparative case is provided by the settlement of German ranchers in southwest Africa, which also presented questions about economics, social discipline, and nationality. See Daniel Joseph Walther, *Creating Germans Abroad: Cultural Policies and National Identity in Namibia* (Athens, Ohio, 2002).

¹⁴⁴ See Erik Grimmer-Solem, “Imperialist Socialism of the Chair: Gustav Schmoller and German Weltpolitik, 1897–1905,” in Geoff Eley and James Retallack, eds., *Wilhelminism and Its Legacies: German Modernities, Imperialism, and the Meanings of Reform, 1890–1930* (New York, 2003), 106–122.

¹⁴⁵ For Schmoller’s intervention, see Freiherr von Herman, “Plantagen und Eingeborenen-Kulturen in den Kolonien,” *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902 zu Berlin am 10. und 11. Oktober 1902* (Berlin, 1902), 507–517.

¹⁴⁶ Pater H. Heines, “Erziehung eines Naturvolkes durch das Mutterland”; A. Nachtwey, “Die Mission als Förderin der Kultur und Wissenschaft”; Moritz Schanz, “Die Baumwollfrage in den Kolonien”; and Otto Warburg, “Die Landwirtschaft in den deutschen Kolonien,” all in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905 zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1906), 442–460, 553–563, 698–710, 587–604. D. Richter, “Das Problem der Negerseele und die sich daraus für die Emporentwicklung des Negers ergebenden Folgerungen,” and Norbertus von Weber, “Ziele und Wege der Eingeborenen-Erziehung,” in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910 zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1910), 609–628, 679–683.

The German model of the *Ansiedler*, in contrast to the American model of the sharecropper, also shared with the Tuskegee program the aspiration to improve entire regions through carefully planned settlements of farmers. Government regulations arrived at before the first class graduated from Notsé required students to return to their districts of origin to teach their new cotton farming techniques by example. Because the governor feared that, “without the necessary pressure, the people would immediately return to their old methods of cultivation,” he had graduates settled in concentrations, usually near a district station, where local officials could exercise the requisite “oversight and control.”¹⁴⁷ The district government gave each student twenty acres of land, two or three draft animals, a plow, and other agricultural implements. Harvests would be the property of the settlers; however, because they could sell their cotton only under governmental supervision to German merchant houses, the crop was not private property in a meaningful sense.¹⁴⁸

Many German officials found it paradoxical that this program coerced African farmers in order to create free farming, but they located this paradox in the pathological nature of the “Negro,” whose freedom demanded supervision and coercion. These officials had seemingly become good students of New South racial ideology. The station chief of Atakpame, the district containing Notsé, observed that the cotton school trained its pupils to accept “supervision and compulsory labor [*Arbeitszwang*]” even though its goal was “to educate the students into independent farmers, who earn their bread themselves and through cotton cultivation gradually achieve comfortable prosperity.” Such coercion, he acknowledged, was nonetheless necessary to achieve the independence that it seemed, simultaneously, to undermine.¹⁴⁹ After making a tour of settlements in a number of districts, the officer remarked on the irony that the “free, hardworking farmers, who would be an encouragement and example to the rest of the population,” worked only “under the firm [*scharfen*] pressure of officials” and thus were, by definition, themselves not “free farmers.”¹⁵⁰

Rather than producing the model patriarchal households imagined by Washington and others, the Tuskegee cotton program in Togo often produced lonely and miserable young men, unable to attract spouses to a life on an exemplary farm under German oversight. The German agricultural expert Albert Sengmüller observed: “The farms look lonely and abandoned. There is no sense of a cheerful family life, for the settlers lack the most important element for that: women . . . The people are not glad to be on their settlements; the frequent running away is proof of that.”¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Governor Zech to the Imperial Colonial Office, January 25, 1908, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 24–25.

¹⁴⁸ See Zech, “Programm für die Einstellung, Ausbildung und spätere Verwendung von Landwirtschaftsschülern,” December 29, 1906, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–363, Bl. 158–160, and “Verordnung des Gouverneurs von Togo, betr. den Handel mit Baumwolle,” January 11, 1911, *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 22 (1911): 268.

¹⁴⁹ Georg Haering to Lomé Government, October 24, 1910, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, Bl. 321–329. Another German observer in Notsé similarly observed that the school did not create free cotton farmers, but rather taught students the “unpleasant aspects” of cotton farming so that they would be unlikely to continue to grow cotton when they got “freedom.” [Name illegible], Notsé, April 25, 1911, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, Bl. 245–262.

¹⁵⁰ Haering, memorandum, November 12, 1911 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 187–188.

¹⁵¹ Sengmüller to Lomé Government, August 15, 1911 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, 171–173. A similar, though less frank, account of the settlements was published in Reichskolonialamt, *Der Baumwollbau in den deutschen Schutzgebieten: Seine Entwicklung seit dem Jahre 1910* (Jena, 1914), 236–238.

Although it was clear to many involved in the project that the application of Tuskegee education in Togo had created a program of coercion at odds with its own ideals of freedom and rationality, this paradox went beyond mere fraud.

The ideology of the "Negro" in Togo provided the foundation of a self-perpetuating system of extra-economic coercion whose very failures justified and furthered its own reproduction. Resistance to the Tuskegee cotton program in Togo only further elaborated the characteristics of the "Negro" and thereby intensified the very interventions that had produced this resistance in the first place. The only immediate possibility for liberation from this forced peasantization lay in escaping government control altogether, and many did undertake a second exodus from Notsé before they graduated or fled their settlements afterward.¹⁵² Resistance from within the role "Negro peasant cotton farmer," by contrast, had few liberating effects. One such strategy involved neglecting cotton in favor of more profitable crops, especially corn, a form of resistance made easier by the eventual German acceptance of interplanting the two crops.¹⁵³ Rather than undermining the cotton program, such piecemeal acts of insubordination brought about the very coercion they were designed to resist, and thus furthered the forced production drive. German observers explained resistance to the cotton program as the result of an inherent tendency of "Negroes" to "laziness."¹⁵⁴ Officials compensated for this "laziness" with what they called "supervision" or "pressure," described frankly by one district officer when he wrote: "reminders and warnings do nothing: it finally comes down to hard punishments."¹⁵⁵ This official spoke, no doubt, of the infamous twenty-five lashes emblematic of German rule in Togo.¹⁵⁶ Defining the Togolese as "Negroes" subjected them to racist political-economic regimes comparable to those found in the United States, placing them in a permanent state of exception that allowed violence and coercion to be exercised in the name of normalizing free labor.

The Tuskegee expedition seemed to bring about a situation in Togo in which

¹⁵² The statistics collected at the end of 1911 indicate only ninety-eight individual settlers, although there should have been roughly two hundred graduates by then. Two are listed in the table as having "escaped" during the year, and this may have been the fate of a larger number. See "Stand der Siedlungen des Schutzgebietes Togo (Ende 1911)," BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 182–183. A great number of settlers are also listed as "escaped" in Sengmüller, Notsé, "Bericht über die Siedlungen ehemaliger Ackerbauschüler in das Jahr 1910/11," July 1, 1911, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, Bl. 269–274.

¹⁵³ See District Officer Schlettwein, Lomé-Land, to Lomé Government, October 31, 1911, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 189–190.

¹⁵⁴ Governor Zech to the Imperial Colonial Office, January 25, 1908, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 24–25. This forms an interesting contrast to African American farmers, who, as Ransom and Sutch show, had far more difficulty resisting the pressure to grow cotton rather than corn. On the various reasons why it was not profitable for Togolese farmers to grow cotton for commercial export, see District Officer Kittel, "Baumwollkultur der Eingeborenen," Kete Kratschi, n.d. (ca. 1910), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, 312–314; Mangu-Fendi District Office to Lomé Government, November 28, 1907; and Döhring, Atakpame Station, to Lomé Government, December 28, 1907, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–402, Bl. 4–5, 7–12.

¹⁵⁵ Kittel, District Officer of Kete-Kratschi, "Bericht über der Ansiedler," to Lomé Government, October 10, 1911 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 184.

¹⁵⁶ On the use of the lash and other brutal means of rule in German Togo, see D. E. K. Amenumey, "German Administration in Southern Togo," *Journal of African History* 10 (1969): 623–639; Tétévi Godwin Tété-Adjalogo, *De la colonisation allemande au Deutsche-Togo Bund* (Paris, 1998); and Trutz von Trotha, "'One for Kaiser': Beobachtungen zur politischen Soziologie der Prügelstrafe am Beispiel des 'Schutzgebietes Togo,'" in Peter Heine and Ulrich van der Heyden, eds., *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus in Africa: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Peter Sebald* (Pfaffenweiler, 1995), 521–551.

“Negroes” freely produced industrial cotton. Thanks to Tuskegee efforts, Togo’s cotton exports improved in quality and increased in quantity by almost sixty-fold, from 2,000 to 116,850 kilograms per year.¹⁵⁷ This apparent success, however, resulted from the real failures of the Tuskegee idea and the violent compensation that these failures elicited. The Tuskegee cotton expedition offered Togolese an identity as a “Negro” “people” who participated in a “culture” of small-scale cotton growing for European markets. This “Negro” identity marked its bearer as a subject lacking precisely that outside authority that imperialists were only too eager to provide. Rejecting the identity “Negro” similarly marked an individual as a subject for external coercion by Tuskegee and German authorities. The trap of identity allowed Tuskegee personnel to oversee a forced cotton production drive under the signs of free labor and racial uplift.

Today, West African smallholders grow cotton willingly and complain that they are prevented from competing fairly on the world market because their U.S. and European competitors enjoy enormous government subsidies.¹⁵⁸ That today’s global hegemony prevents West Africans from exporting cotton in order that first world growers might prosper suggests a true, reverse form of the message of Tuskegee and subsequent imperialist cotton drives: imperialists never desired cotton; they only wanted to immobilize Africans for their shifting political-economic needs. In the present era of structural adjustment, marked by what James Ferguson has called the “global redlining of Africa,” Togolese and other West African cotton farmers are discovering that forced poverty has taken the place of forced cotton production.¹⁵⁹ The mass immobilizations characteristic of most forms of actually existing capitalism are the true, reverse forms of the increasing mobilization of capital, commodities, and elites, which included the Tuskegee expedition to German Togo.

National, ethnic, racial, and other identities have been essential in maintaining these mass immobilizations. Because the subject is split, however, identity—the imaginary—is bound to the dynamic and dialectical symbolic, and both are doomed to stumble repeatedly over the real. Class conflict thus always produces historical parapraxes, apparent failures of identities, and ideologies that present possibilities for new forms of class oppression, as we have seen in the case of the Tuskegee expedition to Togo, but also possibilities for revolutionary transformations of class societies. The immobilized of the world have recourse to stronger stuff than the

¹⁵⁷ See Dunstan, *Report on the Present Position of Cotton Cultivation*, 46–47.

¹⁵⁸ Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, and Mali voiced this complaint officially at the 2003 World Trade Organization Conference in Cancún. For the official report of the conference, see http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/min03_e/min03_e.htm. On recent conditions for Togolese cotton growers, see Alfred Schwartz, *Le Paysan et la Culture du Coton au Togo: Approche Sociologique* (Paris, 1985).

¹⁵⁹ James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 234–254. For two recent accounts of the non-African origins of the devastating poverty that has increasingly gripped sub-Saharan Africa in the last decades, see Giovanni Arrighi, “The African Crisis,” *NLR* 15 (May–June 2002): 5–36, and Henry Bernstein, “Agricultural ‘Modernisation’ and the Era of Structural Adjustment: Observations on Sub-Saharan Africa,” *JPS* 18, no. 1 (1990): 3–35.

weapons of the weak, revolutionary possibilities indicated by psychoanalytic and Marxist approaches to even the most gruesome periods, in even the most hopeless times.

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“National Spain Invites You”: Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War

SANDIE HOLGUÍN

PEOPLE LOOKING FOR A HIGHLY UNUSUAL VACATION on the eve of the second European conflagration might have been attracted to the following advertisement placed in tourist offices throughout major cities in Europe:

National Spain Invites you to visit the War Route of the North (San Sebastian, Bilbao, Santander, Gijon, Oviedo, and the Iron Ring). See history in the making among Spanish scenery of unsurpassed beauty.

So began a tourist brochure created in April 1938 by the Spanish Nationalists' newly formed National Spanish State Tourist Department. The Nationalists beckoned European tourists to visit the “War Route of the North” while the Spanish Civil War was still in progress. Along with its messages targeting markedly different groups of people—those who wanted the authenticity of the battlefield experience and those who just wanted a relaxing, scenic vacation—the brochure called on tourists to “Form your own judgment of the real situation in National Spain today.”¹

The Spanish Nationalists began running organized tours of the recently secured northern front on July 1, 1938. They added a War Route of the South through Andalusia in December of that same year. Collectively known as the *Rutas Nacionales de Guerra* (National War Routes), these tours began every other day, between July 1 and October 1 in the north and between December and April in the south, until the end of World War II.² For £8 or its equivalent in other European currencies, the Nationalists offered nine-day bus tours, which included three meals a day, accommodations in first-class hotels, incidental expenses, and tips.³ Spain was still in the

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¹ “National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain,” 1938, Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

² The War Route of the North tour would begin on May 1 from 1939 on. After the civil war ended, the War Routes became known as the *Rutas Nacionales de España* (Spain's National Routes).

³ “National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain.” The buses were, in fact, twenty American school buses bought from the Chrysler Corporation. See Luis A. Bolín, *Spain: The Vital Years* (Philadelphia, 1967), 304; see also “Copias de los telegramas cruzados entre la S.E.I.D.A. y la Chrysler

midst of war, yet the tours attracted thousands of people from throughout Western Europe.⁴

Although battlefield tourism had been around since at least the Battle of Waterloo, organized visits to battle sites increased dramatically after World War I, when the unfathomable death toll compelled many people to travel to places such as Verdun or the Somme as pilgrims wishing to hallow the dead or as thrill-seekers desiring a vicarious experience of trench warfare. But the Nationalists' *Rutas Nacionales de Guerra* were different from these forms of battlefield tourism. This was the first time that a regime whose claim to legitimacy remained very much in question had sponsored and conducted tours before the completion of a civil war.⁵ The tours also inaugurated a novel combination of solemn battlefield tourism with a more traditional brand of recreational tourism, juxtaposing the great deeds of Nationalist soldiers alongside "attractive seaside resorts."⁶

The evidence from tourist brochures, "scripts" that tour guides were supposed to read, tour logs, memos, memoirs, and newspaper accounts makes clear that the Nationalists believed that the tours could accomplish many disparate goals. Tourism could bring much-needed cash to the regime's war economy. More important, the very idea that the Nationalists could conduct tours during wartime gave them a legitimacy that they wanted and needed from the international community. They hoped to establish friendly links with groups in other authoritarian and fascist countries and attract tourists sympathetic to their cause. The tours also became an avenue to convince the international community that the Nationalist uprising in July 1936 had been absolutely necessary to save Spain from the disasters inflicted on it by supporters of the Second Republic. Finally, these tours served to sacralize both the battle sites and the Nationalist soldiers who had conquered the land. They played a critical role in creating and consecrating a series of narratives that the Franco regime would repeat obsessively until its demise in 1975, and helped to fashion a Francoist vision of national identity that—the Nationalists claimed—had temporarily been stolen by the architects of the Second Republic. On these tours, the Nationalists depicted the war as both a Crusade and a new *Reconquista*, thereby exalting a Nationalist heroism that depended on the complete humiliation of the "Red" enemy.

The Franco regime's experiment with battlefield tourism provides an excellent case study for examining how tourism that takes human suffering as its subject can be used to redefine national identity. Therefore, in addition to analyzing questions of national identity, it has broad applications for memory studies and for scholars

Corporation," 1938, Caja/Legajo 28060, Sección Cultura, Archivo General de la Administración (hereafter AGA), Alcalá de Henares.

⁴ I have found no evidence of official organized tourism on the Republican front. Although the Republic did invite foreign visitors to survey conditions on the war front and home front, there was nothing as organized as what the Nationalists carried out after 1938.

⁵ This is different from, say, the First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) during the U.S. Civil War, when civilians decided to watch the fighting from the sidelines and then traveled back to their homes to sleep, or the Boer War, when Cook's Travel Agency organized excursions to the battlefields while the war was still occurring. The Spanish case was state-sponsored by an illegitimate government. That is, the Nationalists attempted a coup d'état on July 17–18, 1936. Their failure to attain power immediately led to protracted fighting that transformed into a civil war.

⁶ "National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain."

analyzing the consolidation of regimes after wars, during wartime occupation, or even during transitions to democracy. Tourism, broadly speaking, provides an ideal means to mediate ideological processes of state legitimation and politicization of the past.⁷ But tourism coupled with wartime deaths enters into the realm of what anthropologist Katherine Verdery calls "dead-body politics," whereby people interpret the meaning of dead bodies in multivalent ways. Dead bodies can represent "the sacred, ideas of morality, [and] the nonrational." They "are especially useful and effective symbols for revising the past."⁸ And it is the conquest of the past that can add the necessary patina of respectability to sometimes questionable military and political conquests.

BATTLEFIELDS HAVE ALWAYS HAD THEIR PILGRIMS OR TOURISTS, but it was not until the nineteenth century that battlefield tourism became an industry. This form of "thanatourism," whereby "travel to a location [is] wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death," was made possible by the structural changes wrought by nineteenth-century industrial capitalism merging with elements of Romanticism.⁹ The sheer number of people involved in the production and consumption of travel made modern tourism different from its predecessors.¹⁰ With

⁷ John B. Allcock, "International Tourism and the Appropriation of History in the Balkans," in Marie-Francoise Lanfant, John B. Allcock, and Edward M. Bruner, eds., *International Tourism: Identity and Change* (London, 1995), 109–110.

⁸ Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York, 1999), 3, 25. A good example from Spain of Verdery's thesis on the symbolic richness of dead bodies is the fight between Republican exiles and the Franco regime over the interment of musical composer Manuel de Falla's body in 1946. See Raanan Rein, "Introduction: A Political Funeral," *History and Memory* 14, no. 1/2 (2002): 5–12.

⁹ A. V. Seaton, "From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism: Guided by the Dark," *Journal of International Heritage Studies* 2, no. 2 (1996): 232–244; cited in A. V. Seaton, "War and Thanatourism: Waterloo, 1815–1914," *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 1 (1999): 131.

¹⁰ As scholar Jozsef Borocz says, "The emergence of tourism . . . presupposes . . . the transfer of a certain amount of surplus value to wages spent on such types of nonessential consumption as leisure travel . . . [it] also presupposes that free time be regulated and packaged in weekly and annual blocks . . . The standardization, normalization, and commercialization of free time is one of the most obvious outcomes of this struggle. Thus, industrial capitalism is a key factor in the emergence of the institution of leisure migration." Jozsef Borocz, "Travel-Capitalism: The Structure of Europe and the Advent of the Tourist," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 4 (1992): 713.

The literature on battlefield tourism has grown significantly in recent years. A small sampling of some of the more recent works that cover the topic includes Modris Eksteins, "War, Memory, and the Modern: Pilgrimage and Tourism to the Western Front," in Douglas MacKaman and Michael Mays, eds., *World War I and the Cultures of Modernity* (Jackson, Miss., 2000); John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London, 2000); Stephen L. Harp, *Marketing Michelin: Advertising and Cultural Identity in Twentieth-Century France* (Baltimore, Md., 2001); David Wharton Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada, 1919–1939* (Oxford, 1998); Seaton, "From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism"; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1991); Seaton, "War and Thanatourism"; Stuart Semmel, "Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting, and Memory after Waterloo," *Representations* 9, no. 69 (2000): 9–37; and J. M. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1996). Although works on tourism sometimes differentiate between tourists and travelers, I prefer to focus instead on the Nationalist regime's desire to use the modern tourism industry as a way to legitimize Franco's rule and to create narratives about Spanish national identity. For theoretical discussions on tourists and travelers, see Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, eds., *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2001); Rudy Koshar, "What Ought to Be Seen: Tourists' Guide-

the Industrial Revolution, a new bourgeoisie had disposable income for leisure, but not necessarily time; therefore, a market developed for guidebooks and for tourist agencies such as Thomas Cook, which created tour packages that enabled people to see many places quickly.¹¹ The Second Industrial Revolution provided the necessary infrastructure to make the incipient international industry possible. Railroads allowed large numbers of people to travel great distances in shorter periods of time than had previously been possible, and telegraph cables helped newly formed travel agencies make efficient travel arrangements across international borders. Imperialism, aided by these aforementioned revolutions and modern advertising techniques, created new desires and tourist markets.¹²

Tourism also helped to construct and strengthen national identities. As nationalism blossomed in the nineteenth century, leaders of nation-states sought ways to lure international tourists to their countries, both to reap the economic benefits of tourism and to nurture patriotism in their own subjects or citizens.¹³ Tourism worked to cement visitors' own national identities by showing them different types of people and sights, thereby demonstrating the true "foreignness" of other cultures and highlighting the vivid ideological differences between tourists and "natives." These ideological contrasts were most notably seen in battlefield tourism.

Scholars point to the Battle of Waterloo (1815) as the first battle site to become a "tourism mega-attraction."¹⁴ Not only was Waterloo "the first great battle to be witnessed and recorded by tourists," but the location remained popular throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a place for business and recreational tourists. At first, individuals and small groups visited. Soon tourist agents such as Henry Gaze (1854) began shepherding people there in even greater numbers.¹⁵ During the nineteenth century, the number of tourists who visited battle sites during wartime increased, although the majority of these tourists were not organized by professionals into tour groups.¹⁶

It took the confluence of World War I and the development of national tourist

books and National Identity in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 3 (1998): 323–340; Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*; Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1999); Tom Selwyn, *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism* (Chichester, 1996); and John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London, 1990; repr., 1999).

¹¹ Thomas Cook began his first tour in July 1841 for Britons who wanted to attend a temperance meeting. The company began "organizing package tours to Switzerland (1863), Italy (1864), the USA (1866), Egypt (1869)," and Spain (1872). M. Barke and J. Towner, "Exploring the History of Leisure and Tourism in Spain," in M. Barke, J. Towner, and M. T. Newton, eds., *Tourism in Spain: Critical Issues* (Wallingford, 1996), 9; Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 15.

¹² Borocz, "Travel-Capitalism"; Koshar, "What Ought to Be Seen."

¹³ Many articles in Baranowski and Furlough, *Being Elsewhere*, discuss the importance of tourism to national identity. See also Allcock, "International Tourism and the Appropriation of History in the Balkans," for the ways in which tourism promoters try to solidify identities that are always being contested.

¹⁴ Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 130. See also Semmel, "Reading the Tangible Past."

¹⁵ Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 133; Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 19; Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 138–139; Semmel, "Reading the Tangible Past," 26–27.

¹⁶ The most famous destinations were the First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) in the U.S. Civil War (1862), various battles of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), and the Boer War (1899–1902), where people picnicked amid slaughter. For a discussion of the emergence of battlefield tourism, see Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 20–21.

agencies to make battlefield tourism a mass enterprise. The sheer scale of death in World War I touched almost everyone in Europe and accounts for the vast numbers of people who visited battlefields such as Verdun and the Somme. But these visitors were aided by savvy producers of tourism such as Michelin, the Touring Club de France, and the Office National du Tourisme (ONT), who did not waste any time *during* the war to begin planning how they would bring tourists to France at the *end* of the war. These organizations took steps to make their motives sound pure, offering a dignified way for people to honor the sacrifices of the war dead. But their inspiration was economic. Government enterprises such as the ONT needed money to rebuild France's infrastructure after so long and brutal a war.¹⁷ To stimulate tourism from Britain and within France, Michelin put out a guidebook to French battlefields in 1917 to suggest to tourists in automobiles *how* they might view the battlefields to best replicate the authenticity of the trench experience.¹⁸ Soon thereafter, tourist agencies began chartering groups, housing them in first-class hotels, and shuttling them in motor coaches.

The success of battlefield tourism in the interwar years was phenomenal, especially in the latter part of the 1920s. While scholars cannot give an accurate estimate of the number of visitors during this period, some figures are worth mentioning. In 1930, 100,000 people signed the visitors' log at the Menin Gate of Ypres, Belgium, in just three months, and there were 150 places for those tourists to buy beer. Almost 2,000,000 foreign tourists went to France in 1929, and during the Great Depression in 1935, a remarkable 390,000 still visited.¹⁹ It is no wonder that the Spanish Nationalists saw economic opportunity in promoting battlefield tourism during the civil war. Why did people come in droves to these sites of mass death? Certainly, those with relatives and friends who had been killed in the war did not view themselves as tourists—they were honoring their dead. Those who had not fought in the war may have wanted to approximate the authenticity of battle. Others may have wanted to use this type of tourism as a form of education. And some may have gone solely because they found warfare fascinating.

Of course, we cannot be certain what motivated people to visit scenes of mass carnage, but the fact that greater numbers of people did so by the beginning of the twentieth century points to both structural and psychological causes. According to scholars A. V. Seaton, John Lennon, and Malcolm Foley, thanatourism (also known as dark tourism) increased in popularity in the twentieth century, and it continues to attract numerous devotees to this day.²⁰ For Seaton, people's fascination with death and their desire to travel to places associated with death have always existed in all parts of the world. The earliest forms of thanatourism in Christian Western Europe—which he refers to as thanatopsis—could be found in such spectacles as the medieval Dances of Death, pilgrimages, and passion plays. These forms of thanatopsis served cathartic purposes for those who participated in them and regularized

¹⁷ The ONT enlisted Pierre Chabert to visit the United States and Canada to learn how to entice North American tourists to France's shores. Chabert mistakenly believed that as many as 600,000–700,000 Americans would visit France right after the war, and that they would gravitate to the battlefields. See Harp, *Marketing Michelin*, 94–95.

¹⁸ Eksteins, "War, Memory, and the Modern," 153–154.

¹⁹ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 154; Eksteins, "War, Memory, and the Modern," 157.

²⁰ Lennon and Foley, *Dark Tourism*; Seaton, "From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism."

death “in everyday life.” But in the nineteenth century’s nexus of Romanticism, secularization, and industrialization, thanatourism emerged. Romantic conceptions of death “developed precisely . . . when, in Western Europe, traditional religious and superstitious attitudes to death” diminished with increased secularization.²¹ Simultaneously, the Industrial Revolution increasingly provided the upper and middle classes easier means to travel. In the nineteenth century, “violent death became a consumer commodity, a spectator sport like tourism.”²²

Lennon and Foley see thanatourism as an element of late modernity, emerging from the technologies that brought about the “collapse of time and space” and the growth of capitalism. This combination produced a consumer culture that commodified everything, including death and destruction, piquing people’s interest in dark tourism. World War I battlefields qualified as some of the first dark tourism sites because the war touched almost every European family, and because moviegoing audiences could see actual war footage of those deadly battles. Instead of contempt and disgust, familiarity bred desire.²³

The appeal of Spanish Civil War tourism now begins to make some sense. Not only was there a long historical and spiritual precedent for pilgrims’ and tourists’ visiting places of death, but media images and sounds of the war proliferated through documentary news reels, feature films created by the war’s belligerents, radio broadcasts, and photojournalism.²⁴ This barrage of easily digestible messages helped the Nationalist organizers of Spanish Civil War tourism commodify the war in ways that had not been possible before. Additionally, the ease with which people could now travel helped tourists compare “the truth” of what they saw on film and in print media with “the truth” they saw before them on the tours.

TO HEAR LUIS BOLÍN TELL IT, “Spain had much to gain from being known. We had nothing to hide, and there was no conceivable reason why we should not welcome visitors who would pay in foreign currencies for an experience which it had become my business to make pleasurable . . . I was anxious to prove that war and travel were not incompatible.” This is how Bolín, head of the National Tourist Board and undersecretary of the Ministry of the Interior during the civil war, recounts his idea for creating tours of battlefields during the Spanish Civil War in *Spain: The Vital Years*. In this apologia for the Franco regime, Bolín includes a short chapter outlining how and why he organized these tours, how successful they were, and how they dispelled any rumors of Nationalist atrocities during the war.²⁵

Nationalist leader Francisco Franco announced his first cabinet on January 30,

²¹ Seaton, “From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism,” 236–237, 238.

²² Ibid., 237.

²³ Lennon and Foley, *Dark Tourism*, 7–8. Dean MacCannell makes this same point in *The Tourist*.

²⁴ Anthony Aldgate, *Cinema and History: British Newsreels and the Spanish Civil War* (London, 1979).

²⁵ Bolín, *Spain*, 302, 303. Bolín published this work in both English and Spanish in 1967, at the height of Spain’s new tourist boom. Francie Cate-Arriés makes a compelling argument that Bolín’s work functions (1) as a “kind of travel manual for foreigners” because of the way his recollection of the civil war is “suffused throughout with the friendly tones of a tourism brochure,” and (2) as “one of several concurrently published ‘official’ texts that sought to commodify for sale to an English-speaking audience—and potentially future tourists—palatable images and acceptable messages regarding various facets of the Franco regime, including the Nationalist version of the Spanish Civil War.” Cate-Arriés, “Frontline

1938, and appointed Bolín as the head of the National Spanish State Tourist Department. His choice of Bolín for that role was not accidental. Bolín had been a regional delegate of the National Tourist Board during the 1920s. More important, he had displayed his logistical acumen by making all the travel arrangements for Franco's July 1936 insurrection. He chartered the airplane and pilot that ferried Franco out of the Canary Islands into Morocco, made arrangements to have people posing as tourists meet Franco on the islands in an attempt to take suspicion away from the rebellion, and personally met Franco in Morocco. Finally, at the beginning of the war, Bolín headed the foreign press services in the Nationalist headquarters at Salamanca, making him the chief contact for any foreign journalist who wanted to visit and report on details from the front.

This last point is the most germane to Bolín's tourism enterprise. As head of the foreign press services, he incurred journalists' ire for his self-important manner and the tight leash with which he held information about the war. Those who tried to write news even remotely critical of the Nationalists or to evade the strict censorship rules faced expulsion from Spain, incarceration, or death by shooting.²⁶ In his position he played a major role in creating and perpetuating the Francoist Crusade narrative, whereby the Nationalists spoke of reconquering in God's name a Spain that had been taken over by lawless, godless Communists. Bolín fed this trope to foreign correspondents, beginning with the story of the Siege of the Alcázar in Toledo during July 1936 and ending with his version of the destruction of Guernica in 1937.²⁷ His shift from foreign press manager to tour operator, therefore, was not as drastic as it might seem at first glance. In his new role, he could still perpetuate the Francoist mythos that he had begun crafting and feeding to foreign journalists.

Soon after Bolín's appointment as minister of tourism in early 1938, he announced that tours of the northern battle sites would be ready by July 1 of that same year. They would begin at the French frontier and end at Oviedo—"liberated four months before"—with "stops at San Sebastian, Bilbao, Laredo and Santander." His proposal met with skepticism, because when he made this announcement, "there were no buses and no guides, every bridge on the roads chosen had been blown up, hotels had to be refurbished and supplied." Complicating matters further, most of

Tours and Memories of the Civil War: Luis Bolín's *Spain: The Vital Years*," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 24, no. 2 (2000): 265.

²⁶ For the conditions facing foreign journalists and their attitudes toward Bolín, see Herbert Rutledge Southworth, *Guernica! Guernica! A Study of Journalism, Diplomacy, Propaganda and History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977), 45–49; Judith Keene, *Fighting for Franco: International Volunteers in Nationalist Spain during the Spanish Civil War* (London, 2001), 45–94; and José-Mario Armero, *España fue noticia: Corresponsales extranjeros en la Guerra Civil Española* (Madrid, 1976). One person who faced Bolín's wrath was the writer Arthur Koestler: "Bolín and another officer held pistols on Koestler, while a third tied his hands behind his back with wire. Koestler was sentenced to death but then freed in a prisoner exchange." Southworth, *Guernica! Guernica!*, 48.

²⁷ For varying accounts of Bolín's role in propagating the story of the July 1936 Siege of the Alcázar in Toledo, see Alfonso Bullón de Mendoza y Gómez de Valugera and Luis Eugenio Togores Sánchez, *El Alcázar de Toledo: Final de una polémica* (Madrid, 1997); Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* (London, 1986), 66; Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1986), 156–157; Southworth, *Guernica! Guernica!*, 46. In terms of the Guernica myth, in accordance with which the Republicans bombed themselves to make the Nationalists look bad, Southworth meticulously documents Bolín's role in its creation and perpetuation in his monograph *Guernica! Guernica!*

his staff from his days as a regional delegate under Primo were trapped in Madrid, which was still in the Republican Zone, leaving Bolín with only five assistants.²⁸

Despite the very real problems that Bolín faced in organizing these tours, he was confident he could succeed, because some infrastructure remained, he had the backing of military force, and the economic advantages of the tours outweighed the bureaucratic nightmares that might ensue. Bolín certainly did not need to create a tourist infrastructure from scratch. He admitted, "In our Zone, the *Paradores* [upscale hotels in renovated castles] and *Albergues* [inns] built in King Alfonso's time or later had continued to serve the public, and Tourist Information offices were also open, but both had to be reconditioned and cared for." Similarly, the path that tourists would follow in the War Route of the North overlapped in many places with seaside resorts that had been established in the late nineteenth century and that had continued to operate until the war broke out.²⁹

Bolín was keenly aware of the economic advantages of tourism. In his war memoir, he mentioned money five times, stating that he wanted to "welcome visitors who would pay in foreign currencies," and claiming that "we could even make money." He was confident that his mission would succeed: "because no country had ever opened its frontiers while fighting a war, I knew that my tours would sell themselves the moment they were announced." He planned his tours to coincide with the height of the tourist season in the French Riviera: "Biarritz and St-Jean-de-Luz . . . would be full of summer visitors. Some of them would respond to our appeals, and once they did this the news would spread rapidly. Free publicity would not be lacking." He readily admitted that the Nationalists accepted people without visas or passports in order to "sell more tickets."³⁰ Elsewhere he noted that visitors on this tour would not go through border control at Irún, as most foreigners did; instead they would enter at the Hotel Jaureguí in Fuenterrabia, because that place presented "another occasion for [tourists] to spend some money in Spain."³¹ Obviously, money trumped law and security.

Preparations for the tours began immediately. Bolín entrusted a man named Laureano de Armas Gourie to lay much of the groundwork for the northern tours. Sometime after late February and before April 20, 1938, Armas Gourie went on a fact-finding mission to the recently defeated northern front to learn about the land's "attractions, lodging, and diverse itineraries." Bolín then sent him on a month-long trip across Western Europe to "establish contact with the most important foreign tourist agencies [and] to arrange with them to send tourists on the 'War Route of the North.'" Bolín conveyed to Armas Gourie the need to promote the tours actively and to make alliances with governments sympathetic to the Nationalists' aims: "In

²⁸ Bolín, *Spain*, 302.

²⁹ Ibid. The seaside resorts in northern Spain are discussed in John K. Walton and J. Smith, "The First Century of Beach Tourism in Spain: San Sebastian and the *Playas del Norte* from the 1830s to the 1930s," in Barke, Towner, and Newton, *Tourism in Spain*.

³⁰ Bolín, *Spain*, 302, 303, 304.

³¹ Luis A. Bolín, "Proyecto para organizar la entrada en España de los turistas que visitarán la Ruta de Guerra del Norte a partir del próximo 1 de julio," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares. The *New York Times* also mentions the financial benefits of the tours: "It is admitted in official circles here that the foreign exchange brought into the Nationalist treasury by the tourists will, of course, be much appreciated." William P. Carney, "Battlefield Tours Started in Spain," *New York Times*, July 3, 1938.



MAP 1: The *Rutas de Guerra* operating during the civil war. Map by Geoff Maas. Sources: “Itinerario F,” 1938, Caja/Legajo 12028, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; “Itinerario de la Ruta de Andalucía o del Sur” and “Ruta de Guerra del Norte: Gráfico de las expediciones de 1 de julio a 1 de octubre,” 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (Madison, Wis., 2002), 185.

Germany and Italy, at least,” Bolín wrote, “you should visit the state organizations that develop tourism from a commercial point of view . . . , especially the organizations similar to the F.E.T. de las J.O.N.S. [the Nationalist political party], which surely welcome our project with interest and will give them a way to get to know their affiliates.” Bolín provided him with a list of contacts of both travel agents and Spanish officials allied with the Nationalists in these countries and told him to make sure that these officials gave this project their fullest support, but not to publicize the tours until the minister of the interior announced the project to the foreign journalists in Spain. Although it is not altogether clear why Bolín insisted on such secrecy, it was probably because he knew how audacious his project was—no insurgent government had subsidized tourism before—and because he wanted to control the publicity surrounding the tours.³²

Bolín’s secret did not remain such for long. Harold Callender of the *New York Times* announced the plans for the Tour of the War Route of the North on April 28, barely a week after Bolín had written his memo to Armas Gourie. The article promoted the tour by appealing to the intrepid traveler and acknowledged that some people found death sites compelling: “The fact that the region, the Basque provinces and Asturias, was a theatre of war less than a year ago and still bears in some places scars of bombs, bullets and fire *may add new interest for the tourist*” (emphasis mine). The article continues, describing the bombed-out sites that tourists might encounter, including graphic descriptions of Guernica, which had been razed by German carpet bombers. While the article was probably not intended as a promotional piece for the National Tourist Board, parts of it read that way. It reminds us of what attracted many tourists to battle sites in earlier times: the quest for authenticity. After describing the destruction wreaked on Eibar, Durango, Amorebieta, and Guernica, Callender writes, “These four places give a visitor a hint of what modern war is like.” Ending his piece on a more sinister note, he hints that the battlefield tours both sensationalized and ignored human misery: “At San Sebastián, it is said, there are 20,000 refugees from Republican Spain. But if the regime is determined to accommodate a few hundred tourists by preempting hotel rooms for them, it probably can do so.”³³

Remarkably, Bolín succeeded in realizing his vision in a mere four and a half months, despite the real obstacles he faced in organizing these tours during wartime. The final touches for the tours were put in place by the end of June 1938. Fifteen guide-interpreters were hired;³⁴ Republican POWs rebuilt some of the areas that had been destroyed by battles in the previous year;³⁵ twenty yellow school buses were ordered from the Chrysler Corporation in the United States;³⁶ travel agencies across

³² Luis A. Bolín, “Letter from Minister of Interior to D. Laureano de Armas Gourie,” 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

³³ Harold Callender, “Rebel Spain Seeks Visits by Tourists,” *New York Times*, April 28, 1938.

³⁴ “Rebels Seek Tourist Guides,” *New York Times*, May 22, 1938.

³⁵ William P. Carney, talking about the tourist itinerary, says, “Then they will inspect Oviedo, Asturias’ mountain capital, a mere shell of its former self, but already being rebuilt by 2,000 war prisoners.” Carney, “Battlefield Tours Started in Spain.”

³⁶ A series of mishaps and financial power struggles threatened to delay the start of the tours. The buses arrived only three days before the tours were to begin. In late April and early May of 1938, the Spanish auto import company managing the bus imports for the Nationalists—S.E.I.D.A.—negotiated and renegotiated the price for the buses from the Chrysler Corporation. Misunderstandings about the

Europe distributed tourist brochures; and international newspapers publicized the upcoming events. On July 1, 1938, the first bus picked up its passengers at the International Bridge in Irún, on the French-Spanish border. Depending on the source one wants to believe, there were ten tourists, seven of them from Britain;³⁷ or four, "three French nuns and a left-wing English journalist";³⁸ or "the majority [of them were] English or Swiss."³⁹

Now came the necessary task of solidifying a series of Nationalist narratives that legitimated the uprising of July 18, 1936, and conformed to the Nationalists' vision of Spanish national identity while still providing tourists with the comforts of home and the recreational benefits of Spanish resorts. The Nationalists worked to accomplish this by sacralizing the battle sites and controlling tourists' access to information. This process can be seen most clearly in the brochure that went out to many tourist agencies and in the scripts that the guides read to tourists.

THOSE WHO ADVANCED BATTLEFIELD TOURISM during the interwar period, including during the Spanish Civil War, always straddled a fine line between good taste and crass commercialism. Marketing the horrors of war without offending people's sensibilities required a certain deftness. Promoters of this form of tourism often tried to present their tours as an educational forum for honoring a people's history or heritage.⁴⁰ Most organizations sold their tours as sober excursions meant to commemorate soldiers' great sacrifices to the nation. Organized tour operators expected their customers to ante up large sums of money to partake in a collective remembrance of the war, but they tried to take the commercial edge off these ventures by promoting them as a form of pilgrimage, by sacralizing particular secular sites. They used religious language to revere the fallen soldiers and issued warnings against vandalizing any part of the battlefield. Scholars such as George Mosse, however, suggest that organized battlefield tourism trivialized both the idea of pilgrimage and the wartime sacrifices of the dead, because tourists were inoculated against and distanced from the wretchedness of wartime conditions, often staying in luxurious accommodations and eating fine food near places of previous suffering. Although scholars and contemporaries of these travelers might have seen the incongruity between the tourists' and warriors' experiences, many tourists did not, and tour promoters, by emphasizing the sacredness of the wartime experience, made sure that tourists would not.⁴¹ Following in the footsteps of World War I battlefield tourism

price of the buses, as well as about the Nationalists' bank credit limits, slowed down the importation of the buses and almost delayed the start of the tours for about two weeks. See "Copias de los telegramas cruzados entre la S.E.I.D.A. y la Chrysler Corporation"; Bolín, *Spain*, 304.

³⁷ Carney, "Battlefield Tours Started in Spain."

³⁸ Bolín, *Spain*, 304.

³⁹ "Los primeros turistas por la Ruta de Guerra del Norte," *ABC*, July 7, 1938.

⁴⁰ Seaton, "From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism," 244.

⁴¹ Scholars of the Great War have tried to make distinctions between battlefield pilgrims and battlefield tourists, privileging the former over the latter, but as David Wharton Lloyd points out, the distinction between the two terms may be blurrier than one might imagine: "The language of the sacred and the act of pilgrimage both infused and were in conflict with battlefield tourism. The interaction between the two modes of travel was a product of the concurrent development of a tourism industry and the renewal of the practice of pilgrimage in the years prior to and after the war." Lloyd, *Battlefield*

promoters, Spanish Nationalists tried various ways to invest the Spanish battlegrounds with holy and heroic qualities. All claims to sacredness were tied to place via names, frames, and dead bodies, and all served to justify the righteousness of the Nationalist cause.⁴²

The Nationalists began staking their sacral claims via the process of naming. Naming requires that a place is deemed worthy of special significance and preservation and is meant to evoke particular sentiments when called forth.⁴³ In the case of Nationalist Spain, naming included subsuming the names of numerous battles by regions of conquest—thus tours centered around the “War Route of the North” and the “War Route of the South.” By naming the tours and circumscribing them geographically, the Nationalists symbolically legitimized what they had already accomplished by force of arms. But naming also occurred on a smaller scale. The buses that shuttled the tourists around the war routes were all named after battles that the Nationalists had already won: Badajoz, Oviedo, Huesca, Río Ebro, and Málaga. They thereby displayed their military victories both to tourists on the buses and to those people living in Spain who saw the buses wending through their cities and countryside.⁴⁴

Nationalists also sacralized the tourist spots by framing and elevating places along the tour, that is, by displaying or creating official boundaries around their “sacred objects.” Because battle sites are less tangible to behold than holy relics, other means are necessary to make concrete the significance of these places. Therefore, tour guide commentaries framed particular narratives orally so as to define and elevate a lo-

Tourism, 4. In the same vein, Suzanne K. Kaufman, who studies religious pilgrimages, argues against the binary opposition of “tourist” and “pilgrim.” She says, “Scholars of tourism need to move beyond an idealized view of Christian pilgrimage that depicts it as a premodern act immune to change. In fact, this definition of pilgrimage is itself a nineteenth-century creation. It emerged at the exact moment when pilgrimage and tourism were becoming indistinguishable.” Kaufman, “Selling Lourdes: Pilgrimage, Tourism, and the Mass-Marketing of the Sacred in Nineteenth-Century France,” in Baranowski and Furlough, *Being Elsewhere*, 80. See also Eksteins, “War, Memory, and the Modern”; Harp, *Marketing Michelin*; Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*.

⁴² Scholars do not agree on how tourist sites become sacred, since many different factors contribute to the process. Certainly, not every tourist site is consciously consecrated. I am indebted to MacCannell, Seaton, Fine, Haskell, and Verdery for their analysis of sacred sites and sacred bodies. According to MacCannell, the five stages occur in this order: naming, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical reproduction, and social reproduction. For a detailed explanation of those stages, see MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 44–45. A. V. Seaton has explored MacCannell’s stages of sacralization in connection with his own work on Waterloo as a tourist destination and has concluded that only two of the five stages are necessary to sacralize a site: naming and mechanical reproduction. Seaton, “War and Thanatourism,” 152–153. Fine and Haskell argue that oral commentaries during a tour also help to sacralize a site and can be an oral substitute for MacCannell’s idea of framing and elevation. Elizabeth Fine and Jean Haskell, “Tour Guide Performance as Site Sacralization,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985): 73–95. For the use of dead bodies as markers of sacred sites, see Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, esp. 44–53.

⁴³ Of course, names are multivalent, and their sacred function can differ. Witness, for example, the different meanings of the Alamo among Anglos, Tejanos, and Mexicans.

⁴⁴ “Autocares,” in *Archivo General de la Administración*. See *Sección Cultura: Caja/Legajo 12026* (Alcalá de Henares, ca. 1939); Bolín, *Spain*, 304. Interestingly enough, the use of conquered place names as political signifiers reappears with the words “Saarland,” “Bohemia,” and “Sudetenland” painted on armored vehicles used by the Danzig SS to attack the Polish post office in the disputed city on September 1, 1939. See the early Nazi propaganda films *Campaign in Poland*, *Baptism of Fire*, and *Victory in the West*. For a discussion of these films, see Thomas Sakmyster, “Nazi Documentaries of Intimidation: Feldzug in Polen (1940), Feuertaufe (1940) and Sieg im Westen (1941),” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 16, no. 4 (1996): 485–515. A special thanks to Ray Canoy for alerting me to this reference.

cation's importance for Spanish history.⁴⁵ Maps reinforced the meaning behind the speakers' scripts by providing a pictorial representation and reification of the sites' geographical limits. Tour guides told people why these places were sacred and why it was necessary to fight over them, and the maps provided tourists with a representation of the boundaries worth fighting for.

The Nationalists also used mechanical reproduction effectively to sanctify their tours. According to MacCannell, "*mechanical reproduction* of the sacred object: the creation of prints, photographs, models or effigies of the object which are themselves valued and displayed" is "the phase of sacralization that is most responsible for setting the tourist in motion on his journey to find the true object."⁴⁶ The Nationalists applied mechanical reproduction in numerous ways. They printed more than 100,000 tourist brochures, with approximately seventy pictures of the places that tourists would see, some of which had already been reproduced in newsreels shown around the industrialized world. By "precoding" what tourists would see before they visited Spain, the Nationalists had already begun to shape how people *should* view the *Rutas de Guerra*.⁴⁷ Additionally, when tourists began the War Route of the North tour, they were handed a short pamphlet explaining how the "reconquest" occurred. It showed travelers a detailed route that they would follow. Also included was a transparency with arrows on it that tourists could superimpose on the map they had been given. That way, they could "easily and rapidly see the advances of the columns that reconquered the Cantabrian provinces."⁴⁸ Through mechanical reproduction, the Nationalists staked their claims to place and visually reinforced the narratives found in the tourist scripts. Additionally, they sanctioned some journalists to follow, interpret, and mechanically reproduce the tours in newspapers and magazines for their readers at home. They provided a tantalizing glimpse of what many of their readers might not be able to see on their own, created a desire in others to visit the sites, and increased the social cachet of those who had been able to witness them.

Finally, dead bodies provided the Nationalists with the right to occupy these spaces in Spain. As Verdery explains, the "corporeality [of dead bodies] makes them important means of *localizing* a claim." Through the tourist brochures, maps, tourist scripts, and on-site visits to the places where Nationalist soldiers had recently been buried, the Nationalists concretely drew attention to their bodily sacrifices in their struggle to reclaim the land. Just as the Nazis looked to the heroic fallen German soldiers at Ypres (1914) as a foundational myth of Nazi Germany, so Spanish Na-

⁴⁵ Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 140–143. For the importance of tour guides for oral framing, see Fine and Haskell, "Tour Guide Performance as Site Sacralization."

⁴⁶ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 45. Here is where MacCannell is at his most original, turning Walter Benjamin's thesis about mechanical reproduction on its head. Whereas Benjamin argues that an object's aura diminishes the more times it is mechanically reproduced, MacCannell contends that an object's mystique and desirability actually increase as a result of reproduction. For example, in MacCannell's model, Picasso's *Guernica* has gained its aura through reproductions in textbooks around the world. See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. and with an intro. by Hannah Arendt (New York, 1968). It is possible to argue that mechanical reproduction serves both purposes—sacralization and commodification. The media attention given to "Ground Zero" in New York City produced both pilgrims and thanatourists, as witnessed by both solemn memorials for the dead and vendors selling "I Survived Sept. 11th" t-shirts.

⁴⁷ For the idea of "precoding," see Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 152.

⁴⁸ Bolín, "Letter from Minister of Interior to D. Laureano de Armas Gourie."

tionalists valorized their own heroic blood-spilling in the war to claim leadership of Spain. Nationalist deaths were the necessary price for Spanish redemption.⁴⁹

In the case of the Spanish Civil War, turning the battlefields into sacred ground did more than just shield tourists from the commercial nature of the venture; it provided a context for crafting narratives about Spain's national identity.⁵⁰ Given that the Nationalists had rebelled against the Spanish Republic, their political legitimacy, both nationally and internationally, was at stake. Tourism, and the publicity that came with it, provided a way for them to alter the political discourse. Their tourist narratives built on and crystallized many thematic elements that the Nationalists had already introduced during the civil war into the foreign and domestic press, in the schools, and on both radio and film. The Nationalist narratives maintained that the Republicans had destroyed Spain's national unity and the Spanish social order. Therefore, the Nationalists were justified in staging the military coup that brought about civil war.

Before the war and during the traumatic years of the Second Republic (1931–1936), politicians, intellectuals, and activists contested the nature of Spanish national identity. For many supporters of the Republic, Spanish national identity had its roots in liberalism and the Enlightenment, in the belief in individual rights, a constitution, representative government, and the separation of church and state. For these people, Spanish society was pluralistic; the Spanish nation could still be strong, even if Basques and Catalans achieved regional autonomy within the Spanish state. Opponents, however, viewed many of the laws promulgated under the Republic as illegitimate. Those who would later support the Nationalist cause believed that the Republicans had turned their backs on Spain's history and culture. This Spain, ruled by a strong monarchy closely allied with the Catholic Church, brooked no regional nationalisms, promoted an imperial foreign policy, and functioned organically, with all members of society knowing their place within the social and political hierarchy.⁵¹

But the Republic, riven by many competing interests and visions, eventually broke down. Street fighting, assassinations, waves of strikes, and attempted revolutions increased in the years preceding the war, feeding a credible fear that Republican officials could not maintain public order. Therefore, on the pretext of restoring public order, the Nationalists began their rebellion in July 1936, and on this claim and others having to do with Spanish national identity, they founded their myth that the Republicans were illegitimate leaders. Also, as scholar Paloma Aguilar points out, the Nationalists declared the Republicans illegitimate because they were unable “to defend Spanish interests, to preserve the legacy of the Catholic tradition

⁴⁹ Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 27–28. For the Nazi “concept of heroism as a form of national identity,” and the relationship of Ypres to that identity, see Jay W. Baird, *To Die for Germany* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990), esp. xi–xii and 1–12.

⁵⁰ Most historians agree that Spanish national identity was weak throughout the nineteenth and at least the first third of the twentieth century. For discussions of Spanish nationalism in this period, see Sandie Holguín, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain* (Madison, Wis., 2002); José Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa: La idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 2001); Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875–1975* (Princeton, N.J., 1997); Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith, eds., *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Ideologies* (Washington, D.C., 1996).

⁵¹ For a discussion of the culture wars and national identity during the Second Republic and the civil war, see Holguín, *Creating Spaniards*.



FIGURE 1: Front of brochure advertising the *Rutas de Guerra*. Reproduced courtesy of the Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

and protect the sacred unity of the *Patria*.” This narrative, which the Nationalists used to establish the legitimacy and necessity of their revolt, in combination with another one that eulogized the Nationalists’ sacred struggles on the battlefield, dominated the discourse of Nationalist battlefield tourism. In fact, the two narratives permeated both the tourist brochure and the tourist scripts for the *Rutas Nacionales de Guerra*. They would also continue to be the reigning narratives of the Franco regime.⁵²

A POORLY DESIGNED BROCHURE OF MORE THAN SEVENTY IMAGES—a razed Guernica placed below bucolic pictures of sheep—would seem destined to deter tourists from entering the country. (See Figures 1–2.) But Luis Bolín thought that the tourist brochure his office produced for travel agencies was “the best advertisement to attract the tourist to our grounds.”⁵³ Aesthetics aside, the brochure is important because the text and images conveyed to national and international tourists highlighted the

⁵² Paloma Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*, trans. Mark Oakley (New York, 2002), 46. Aguilar also adds, “This need to delegitimize the political adversary had been felt even before the war began, although it became stronger during the course of the war itself and even more intense during the postwar period.” Ibid., 46. Other works dealing with Francoist propaganda during and after the war include Gonzalo Santonja, *De un ayer no tan lejano: Cultura y propaganda en la España de Franco durante la guerra y los primeros años del Nuevo Estado* (Madrid, 1996), and Herbert Rutledge Southworth, *Conspiracy and the Spanish Civil War: The Brainwashing of Francisco Franco* (London, 2002).

⁵³ Luis A. Bolín, “Letter from Minister of Interior to D. Laureano de Armas Gourie.” This brochure was the one originally sent out to travel agencies across Europe. As the tours grew, individual tourist



FIGURE 2: Back of brochure advertising the *Rutas de Guerra*. Reproduced courtesy of the Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

themes that would preoccupy the Franco regime: the Spanish Civil War as Crusade and the exaltation of Spain's Catholic and medieval past. These narratives, however, were strangely juxtaposed against the backdrop of a recreational tourist narrative. This conflation of wartime propaganda and old-fashioned tourism is one way that Spanish battlefield tourism differed from battlefield tourism in other countries that preceded it.

The tour organizers' attempts to sacralize civil war battles and glorify the Nationalists' struggles begin immediately in the brochure, under the heading "The Path of War in Spain," where they link the Nationalists' recent battles with exalted ones of the past. The brochure opens with reverent descriptions of sacred battle sites: "Battlefields are places where the tourist lays aside mere curiosity and pays homage to the heroic deeds of the fallen. Thus, the Thermopylae, Rocroy and Waterloo; thus the hills, trenches and fields of the Somme and Verdun still preserved and shown by France with legitimate pride." The next paragraph then links the present conditions in Spain historically and rhetorically to these older, sacred sites: "National Spain is the first country that has organized visits in Wartime to battlefields which are not only the scenes of recent strife but famous in a struggle that has filled the world with its echoes." Sprinkled throughout the text are reminders of the Nationalists' tribulations, the price they paid to defend Spanish soil: "It is now impossible to stand in the midst of its wild scenery without remembering the epic incidents of

agencies created their own brochures, which were decidedly less political than the ones disseminated by the National Spanish State Tourist Department.

this War in which Spanish heroes have surpassed themselves." Amid descriptions of the marvelous "golf, flyfishing and chamois stalking" awaiting the participants, the brochure exalts Oviedo, the "invincible city which by resisting a desperate siege of fifteen months' duration did so much to decide the war in the North." The land of fallen Nationalists, then, merits visits from tourist-pilgrims.⁵⁴

One of the striking aspects of this brochure is the subtle appearance of a "Crusade narrative." During the civil war, and until Franco's death, Franco and Nationalist sympathizers characterized their part in the war as a reprise of the medieval Crusades; only this time the Nationalists were fighting a Holy Crusade against godlessness, Communism, and regional nationalisms. It was the Nationalists' duty to stamp out these evils in order to restore Spain's former imperial glory, and the narrative underlying parts of the tourist brochure's text and many of its photographs bears the mark of this "Holy Crusade."

The top row of pictures in the brochure looks innocent enough: there are numerous scenic vignettes that sightseers might find attractive, but other surrounding photographs negate such a placid reading. The brochure's front cover, a picture of the bombed-out Simancas barracks, where Asturian miners laid siege to and eventually killed Nationalist soldiers in August of 1936, invokes the Nationalists' suffering. Under the map, the next row begins a series of photographs representing conquest and humiliation. The first picture, titled "Red fortifications," demonizes the enemy by linking it with Soviet Russia. The next picture depicts the small town of Guernica razed by bombs. Of all the destroyed places the Nationalists could have picked to display for their tour, this was the most cynical choice, given that unarmed civilians were the target of German bombs there. Guernica was also seen as the heart of Basque nationalism. It housed the "Tree of Liberty," the symbolic representation of Basque traditional, sovereign rights. If one missed the point in this particular photograph, a picture in the next row also emphasized this particular reading of the narrative. Standing on each side of the "Tree of Liberty" are two *Requetés*—Carlist soldiers from the Basque country who fought with the Nationalists—placed as if to declare the conquest of this bastion of separatism.

Out of eighteen small photos in the next row, eight deal with the violence of the war and imply that the "Reds" had no respect for history, art, or religion. They appear, at first glance, simply as objective pictures of Republican military fortifications that might interest battlefield tourists. But the next two rows then revert to what looks like a traditional tourist brochure, with pictures of the Spanish countryside and some of the landmarks that the tourists will visit. The other side of the brochure describes both a bucolic and a cosmopolitan Spain that could fulfill the fantasies of the leisure tourist. But surrounding the text is a militarized tableau that clashes tremendously with the typical tourist brochure chatter. At top and center is a portrait of Generalísimo Franco, and below him are photos of six Nationalist generals. There can be no doubt about who the victors and the vanquished are as the reader follows the pictures that border the text. The soldiers are everywhere, staking out their newly conquered territory: on the left, soldiers march through the Picos de Europa, and on the right, soldiers stop in a village by the roadside, while civilians

⁵⁴ "National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain."

look on. Soldiers sleep against walls in villages, they forge across rivers whose bridges have been destroyed, and they pose with youthful vigor. The victory is complete with civilian crowds of women gleefully walking while carrying a Spanish flag, lending civilian legitimacy to the Nationalist victory.

Whereas these photographs demonstrate total occupation of the north by Nationalist soldiers, others show Nationalist subjugation of the Republicans. Defeat is marked on the land by the destruction of Amorebieta, and on the people by the photographs of Republican POWs. One picture shows some Republican POWs behind bars; another displays hundreds of prisoners herded together like cattle in the Santander bullring. The Nationalists did not merely choose to “pay homage to the heroic deeds of the fallen.” They sought to demonstrate total victory in their Crusade against the left.

Related to the Crusade narrative is a medieval Catholic narrative, another theme that the Franco regime would later pursue, and one that is evident in the landmarks that tourists were supposed to visit. The Nationalists cast themselves as Crusaders in a new *Reconquista*, this time against the godless Reds and traitorous separatists. Although the Crusades made up a part of the medieval Catholic narrative, the narrative I am speaking of is broader, including such subjects as the exaltation of the *Reconquista* and religious pilgrimages. For example, tourists visited the castle of the Knights Templar in Castro Urdiales. The Knights Templar fought in the Crusades; both a military and a religious order, they combined the military prowess and religious piety that Franco so admired in his medieval heroes and in himself. Covadonga was also on their route. Covadonga held a special place for Franco—in fact, he often took his vacations there—for it signaled the birthplace of the *Reconquista*, whereby Pelayo, after receiving a vision of the Virgin Mary, repelled the Moors from the village. Franco often envisioned himself as a modern-day Pelayo or El Cid, ready to retake by force a Spain that had been tainted by foreign blood and ideologies.⁵⁵

Not all of this Catholic narrative was about modern conquest, however. Some of the points of interest consisted of holy places that formed part of the Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage route. Included here were San Vicente de la Barquera, Liébana, and Santillana del Mar, an important medieval pilgrimage center. Despite the sprinkling of sites of Spanish Catholic piety, most of the messages about Catholicism in this brochure and in the tourist scripts derived from a lexicon of embattled Catholicism. At the same time, the religious imagery gave the tour a patina of religious respectability; some tourists, at least, could see themselves as pilgrims visiting holy sites.

In sum, this tourist brochure provided a visual framework that emphasized military conquest at all costs while valorizing Nationalist soldiers' deeds. The text accompanying the array of photographs, however, undercut the visual messages. Whereas the images in this brochure were often brutal, the text relied on tired touristic clichés and described a soft and romantic landscape: “The whole of Northern Spain is an orchard. Its varied mountainous landscapes spread innumerable shades of green before the traveller . . . and display their manifold charms at all points of

⁵⁵ For the symbolic appropriations of the Covadonga site in modern Spain, see Carolyn Boyd, “The Second Battle of Covadonga: The Politics of Commemoration in Modern Spain,” *History and Memory* 14, no. 1/2 (2002): 37–64.

the road."⁵⁶ Such romantic imagery could almost make one forget that a war had been fought here less than a year before this tour, and that killing and destruction were still ongoing elsewhere in Spain.

Whereas the tourist brochure acted as propaganda to entice people to visit Spain, additional shaping of Nationalist narratives through framing and elevation occurred once people arrived in wartime Spain. For their narratives to appear authoritative, the Nationalists had to be perceived as legitimate rulers. The fact that they *could* organize tours during wartime, and that *they* (not the Republicans and not the French) were responsible for giving people safe passage across sealed borders, endowed the Nationalists with a certain credibility. With that basic legitimacy established, they used their guide-interpreters to reinforce the messages they wanted to convey to domestic and international tourists. Because the guides had passed rigorous tests on Nationalist versions of Spain's history and geography, they possessed a certain authority about how the war had unfolded and could project their knowledge confidently to tourists.

The tour scripts that survive contain the same odd assortment of "facts" that one sees in the tourist brochure. Many begin by outlining the Nationalists' battle strategies, but scattered among the descriptions of gunfire are tributes to magnificent architecture and antiquities, followed by descriptions of Republican wartime atrocities. Although the narratives are disorganized, the scattershot portraits begin to have a montage effect, revealing a Manichean world view that persisted throughout the Franco regime.⁵⁷ The Nationalists' strength lay in creating propaganda that included both truths and lies about Republican atrocities in order to make the Nationalists' reasons for starting the civil war appear warranted. The Nationalists demonized their Republican enemies as cowardly, stupid, and bloodthirsty, and presented the Nationalists as valiant, God-loving patriots who had been terrorized by their enemies but had managed to overcome all odds and reconquer Spain from the "Red separatists." They had saved Spain from those who tried to cause it irreparable harm. The Nationalists would use versions of this particular narrative in the postwar era to justify persecuting their Republican enemies. The Nationalists envisioned themselves as necessary avengers of the terror, real and putative, that the Republicans had unleashed on the civilian population, both before and during the war. According to them, the Republicans perpetrated terror in many ways: on the population, on history, on religion, and on infrastructure. Therefore, the scripts reflected the Nationalists' revulsion toward the Republicans, whom the Nationalists accused of foisting atheism on the population, dismantling Spain's supposed unified national identity, and committing acts of brutality.

The Nationalists directed their venom most fiercely against people in the Basque country, because, although many people in the region were devout Catholics, they chose to side with the Republicans over the issue of regional autonomy. Discussing

⁵⁶ "National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain."

⁵⁷ I call these documents "tour scripts" because they seem to be written instructions for what the guide should say. They also contain directions to the various sites. For the northern tour, I found guides for San Sebastián to Bilbao, Bilbao to Santander, and three versions for the "Iron Ring." I was aided by a report in the *New York Times* for the Irún section of the tour. For the southern tour, which was more sparsely represented in the archive, I found guides for Seville, from Ronda to Jerez de la Frontera, and for Cádiz.

Bilbao and the accommodation between Basque separatists and the forces of “anti-national, anticapitalist, and atheistic Marxism,” the narrative blames the “band of separatists and the hordes of fiends” for “the burning of Irún, Eibar, Amorebieta and Guernica” and for “the persecutions and mass shootings, sackings of cities and expatriation of children.” The narrative then begins to enumerate Republican atrocities: “Once the Red separatist conglomerate was achieved, then began the reign of terror . . . They resorted to the disgraceful act of taking people from their houses in the middle of the night and . . . between gulps of wine they made a decision about one’s life or death. They killed to kill . . . What did one more cadaver matter?” The tour scripts detailed how Republican sympathizers forced imprisoned priests to dress up in *miliciano* uniforms and sing the Internationale, or required them to march around naked in front of heckling audiences.⁵⁸ Republicans comported themselves no better in the south. Right before the war in Seville, representatives of the Popular Front government robbed and killed prominent members of the right. In Grazalema, between Ronda and Jerez, “the Reds committed nineteen assassinations.”⁵⁹ Indiscriminate killing and disorder reigned.

The severity of these particular atrocities is not disputed by scholars. However, all context is missing from these Nationalist narratives. The greatest Republican war crimes were committed at the beginning of the war, and much of the killing was done unsystematically by unorganized bands of people. After the September and October prisoner assassinations, the civilian Basque government tried to scale back the number of killings and took away control of the jails from the CNT, alienating many working-class radicals in the process.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Nationalist atrocities continued systematically throughout the war, and the highest officials ordered them. The tour scripts, however, make no mention whatsoever of Nationalist terror. This is not a debate about which side committed more acts of savagery; rather, it is a question of narrative shaping and of how those stories would be used to convince international tourists—and by extension, the international community—of the necessity for a Nationalist victory. Similarly, these tales, so carefully repeated during the tours, would haunt the defeated in very real ways until the end of the Franco dictatorship: people known to have sympathized with the Republic were often killed, jailed, denied jobs, or stripped of their pensions.

According to these scripts, the Republicans breached all limits of decency by committing acts of terror on history and art. Many of the tour guides emphasized the Republicans’ purported disdain of Spain’s culture and history. In Eibar, the Republicans were accused of destroying a religious sanctuary. In Durango, Republicans turned sacred churches and convents into profane military barracks and desecrated mummies in the church of San Pedro de Talvira.⁶¹ Republicans also robbed Spain of its cultural heritage by stealing paintings and moving them to Bilbao. They stood

⁵⁸ “Ruta del Norte: Bilbao,” 1938/1939, Caja/Legajo 12028, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁵⁹ Servicio Nacional del Turismo, “Ruta de Andalucía: Sevilla,” 1938, Caja/Legajo 12025, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁶⁰ See Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931–1939* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 285–286; Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (Madison, Wis., 2002), 93; Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, 308, 431 n. 1, 540.

⁶¹ “Ruta del Norte: De San Sebastián a Bilbao,” 1938, Caja/Legajo 12028, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

accused of looting and destroying the "national artistic treasure."⁶² Such desecration demonstrated that the Republicans could not be trusted to rule Spain.

Finally, according to the narrative fashioned by the National Tourist Board, the Republicans terrorized the people by destroying the infrastructure of towns and cities. Every tour script for the War Route of the North referred to bridges that the Republicans had blown up—the concern seems almost obsessive. But bridges were not a trivial matter, because the drivers could not take tourists to planned sites when makeshift bridges were washed out.⁶³ Arson, however, was the Republicans' worst violation. This particular charge best illustrates the technique by which the Nationalist narrative strove to blame Republicans for crimes they had not committed and to convince the international community that the Nationalists had started the war for very sound reasons. As tourists were taken to Irún on the first leg of their tour, Bolín told them, "All this destruction was not caused by artillery fire, but resulted from systematic incendiarism and dynamiting by the enemy."⁶⁴ At the beginning of the war, anarchists *did* burn down Irún, in a scorched-earth policy. But the Nationalists expanded on this fact to accuse the Republicans of setting fire to all the towns the Nationalists had conquered on the northern front. Journalists and religious figures sympathetic to the Franco regime who went on the tours then spread these stories to their international audiences.

For the bombing of Guernica, the most famous of the cases, the Nationalists claimed that the Republicans had set fire to and bombed their own houses and buildings, just as they had in Irún. In fact, Bolín was responsible for creating and perpetuating the Guernica myth and thus became the most important link between journalism, tourism, and Francoist mythmaking.⁶⁵ When tourists went through Bilbao and the guide told them about the real massacres of Nationalists that had occurred in Republican prisons in 1936 and the Basque government's subsequent cover-up, he then linked the massacres to Guernica: "It was much easier to blame the rebels" than those "truly at fault [the Basque government] . . . In Guernica they were going to give a similar case. What did it matter that the population of Guernica were left without a home! Blaming the rebels left everything solved; moreover, it served as propaganda abroad."⁶⁶ On the visit through Eibar, tourists would hear: "One hundred houses are fuel for the flames. Just as in Irún, just as in Guernica . . . ; it wasn't the war that caused these ruins! . . . It was international Marxism without God and without Patria."⁶⁷ The Nationalists therefore could claim that they had restored

⁶² "Itinerario turístico para el recorrido de la porción batida del Cinturón de Hierro de Bilbao," 1938/1939, Caja/Legajo 12028, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares. In fact, Republicans did disassemble art works when they acquired them. The Committee for the Requisition and Protection of Artistic Patrimony campaigned to save national cultural treasures. See Holguín, *Creating Spaniards*, 170.

⁶³ See logs from Servicio Nacional del Turismo, "Tour Log, September 9, 1938," Caja/Legajo 12030, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares. Because the bridge between Cangas de Onís and Arriondas was destroyed, they could not go to Covadonga, and therefore the tour guides changed the itinerary. At each wooden bridge, the tourists got off the bus so that it would be as light as possible when it was driven across. See also Servicio Nacional del Turismo, "Tour Log, September 6, 1938," Caja/Legajo 12030, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁶⁴ Carney, "Battlefield Tours Started in Spain."

⁶⁵ For a full discussion of Bolín's role in the Nationalists' campaign to blame the Republicans for bombing Guernica, see Southworth, *Guernica! Guernica!*

⁶⁶ "Ruta del Norte: Bilbao."

⁶⁷ "De San Sebastián a Bilbao." This myth is repeated in Bolín, *Spain*, 274–282.

order to Spain, even if their means of doing so had been illegal and brutal. Moreover, they had sacrificed their own blood for this greater good.

WORD OF MOUTH AND MASSIVE PUBLICITY CAMPAIGNS helped fill these tours almost immediately. Two days after the first tour began in Irún, an alternative route started in Tuy, Galicia, mainly to serve Portuguese tourists. The tours ran every other day from July through October, and the following year the tour season began in May. By December 1938, a War Route of the South, also known as the Route of Andalusia, began catering mostly to British and Italian tourists, who could enter Spain via Gibraltar. The tour buses for both the northern and southern routes departed as scheduled, and they often picked up tourists at stops along the route.⁶⁸ It is important to note, however, that foreign tourists could not travel around Spain by themselves; they had to take part in these officially sanctioned tours. Italian and British travel agencies were especially successful at sending tour groups to Spain. One Italian agency, in fact, counted on sending one tour every month.⁶⁹ The National Tourist Board also arranged special itineraries for large groups of tourists. Guides transported some 100 to 150 people from the Italian Societa Nazionale "Dante Alighieri" along the Southern Route, 264 Spanish conference-goers from the Congreso de Ciencias through parts of northern Spain, 53 pilgrims of the Bishopric of Calahorra along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, and 200 "Friends of Spain" from France.⁷⁰

Who were these tourists? Although we do not always know who they were or how many people went, journalistic accounts and archival evidence suggest that they came from all over Europe; at least some Australians also joined the tours.⁷¹ According to Bolín, most of the tourists were "writers, lecturers, and preachers," professionals who had access to large audiences to whom they could disseminate what they learned from the tours. Some tourists "came to ascertain how Spain was faring under the stress of civil war, some were genuine tourists eager for a bargain, and a few collected background material with which to substantiate lurid accounts, pub-

⁶⁸ Although it is not possible to determine exactly how many people actually participated in the tours (not all of the tour logs were saved), a small sampling of tour logs from the War Route of the North demonstrates that the numbers were respectable, especially when we consider that the war was still going on and that many Europeans were certain that another European-wide war was looming on the horizon. The logs report the following: July 10–19, 1938, Tuy–Santander, twenty passengers; September 6–15, 1938, Tuy–Santander–Tuy, four passengers; September 18–30, 1938, special tour of the pilgrims of Calahorra, fifty-three passengers; October 3–12, 1938, San Sebastián–Oviedo–San Sebastián, twenty-five passengers; October 11–19, Irún–Oviedo–Irún, four passengers. Servicio Nacional de Turismo, tour logs for July 10–19, September 6–15, September 18–30, October 3–12, October 11–19, 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁶⁹ British Overseas and Continental Travel, "Northern Spain," 1939(?), Caja/Legajo 12034, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; S. A. Chiari Sommariva, "Letter to Sr. Jefe del Servicio Nacional del Turismo, Castilla de Santa Catalina, Málaga," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁷⁰ Luis A. Bolín, "Letter to José María Torroja," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12030, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; Bolín, *Spain*, 304; Societa Anonima: Instituto Italiano e Propaganda Turisanda, "Letter to Bolín," Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; Servicio Nacional del Turismo, "Tour Log, September 18–30, 1938," Caja/Legajo 12030, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁷¹ For Australian participation, see Servicio Nacional del Turismo, "Tour Log, October 11."

lished later abroad, of repression and hunger behind our lines."⁷² Other evidence demonstrates that those who toured already sympathized with the Nationalist cause. They were most often Catholics, conservatives, or members of the radical right. For example, many Italians visited Spain, because Spanish Nationalists encouraged links to Italian fascists through official channels. A travel agent at Chiari Sommariva in Milan noted, "We have the pleasure to announce to you that our Agency has decided to organize, approximately each month, a trip to Spain with the purpose of visiting the Rutas de Guerra and to tighten still more the bonds of affection that unite the Spanish and Italian peoples."⁷³ Although Bolín asserted that the tours were a bargain, the price of the tours, the time required to take a nine-day vacation, and the accommodations provided ensured that the clients had to be relatively well-off.⁷⁴ This Nationalist desire for wealthy tourists with right-wing sympathies comes together explicitly in a letter from a man named Rafael Jorro, who had been hounding Bolín to get commissions for publicizing and selling tickets to people in Britain. He complained that he could not drum up much business in Scotland because Scottish Catholics were poor: "[T]here are very few people who have the means to undertake this trip among those who would like to. In Glasgow, the immense majority of our sympathizers come from the middle class to the poor, and the wealthiest are Protestants and, for the most part, are not our friends."⁷⁵ When the civil war ended and World War II began, Spaniards became the chief consumers of Spanish battlefield tourism, filling the vacuum left by other European tourists.⁷⁶

Although we have impressionistic sketches of who took the tours and where they came from, this information tells us nothing about how people experienced them. The few available eyewitness accounts come from journalists and/or intellectuals, and the timing of their articles—the first few weeks after the enterprise began—underscores the possibility that the Nationalists paid for their trips in order to get good publicity. In the case of a Portuguese delegation, there is no doubt that this happened. In July 1938, the ambassador of Nationalist Spain in Portugal invited twenty-two people to visit Spain, including seven journalists and the president of the Automobile Club of Portugal; and of those twenty-two people, fifteen belonged to the União Nacional, the only legal political organization of the right-wing, authoritarian Salazar regime.⁷⁷ Other accounts favorable to the Franco regime's point of view came from L. F. Auphan, who wrote for the French monarchist journal *L'Action Française*. He penned a series of articles called "Ten Days in the North of Spain

⁷² Bolín, *Spain*, 304.

⁷³ Chiari Sommariva, "Letter to Sr. Jefe del Servicio Nacional del Turismo, Castilla de Santa Catalina, Málaga."

⁷⁴ According to David Lloyd, "For most of the interwar period the average industrial wage for [British] men and boys was only £3 per week. A British Institute of Public Opinion Survey published in 1939 showed that only one-third of workers earning £4 per week or less could afford to go away at all . . . As late as 1937 only four million workers out of a workforce of eighteen and a half million earning £250 per annum or less were entitled to paid holidays." Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 38. See also John Stevenson, *British Society, 1914–1945* (Harmondsworth, 1984), 122.

⁷⁵ Rafael Jorro, "Letter to Luis Bolín," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁷⁶ Bolín said that "Spaniards, living in peace, wanted to know their country." Bolín, *Spain*, 306.

⁷⁷ See Beatriz Correyero Ruiz, "Las Rutas de Guerra y los periodistas portugueses," *Historia y Comunicación Social*, no. 6 (2001): 123–134; "Personalidades portuguesas en la Ruta de Guerra del Norte," *ABC*, July 12, 1938.



FIGURE 3: Cover of L. F. Auphan's series of articles translated from *L'Action Française*. Reproduced courtesy of the Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

Conquered by Franco.” (See Figure 3.) George Ravon, a writer for the French conservative paper *Le Figaro*, gave probably the most objective of the journalists’ accounts of the tours; and finally, the English reporter A. J. Cummings of the left-wing newspaper the *News Chronicle* managed to evade the Nationalist censors and wrote a piece critical of the tours.⁷⁸ The fact that many of these journalists may have been invited because of their pro-Francoist sympathies still makes it difficult to discern

⁷⁸ L. F. Auphan, “Diez días en el norte de España conquistado por Franco,” *L'Action Française*, August 1, 1938; George Ravon, “De los trágicos despojos del cura de Santillán al Martirio de Guernica,” *Le Figaro*, July 28, 1938, reproduced and translated in Armero, *España fue noticia*, 237–240; A. J. Cummings, “In Franco Spain,” *News Chronicle*, July 26, 1938; Cummings, “In Franco Spain: I Have Seen Guernica,” *News Chronicle*, July 29, 1938.

how "ordinary people" took in the scenery, but there are some conclusions we can draw about how people were supposed to receive information about Spain, especially when the journalists stray from their scripted parts.

All of these accounts agree on one point: that the Nationalists had restored order in places that had been theaters of war the year before. Everybody now labored constantly in factories and fields. The Nationalists provided food, even to their enemies. Despite the bombed-out buildings that remained, life in the Nationalist-controlled towns had "the appearance of normality."⁷⁹ Certainly, this was one of the Nationalists' primary goals and justifications for putting on the tours: to show the outside world that they were the only legitimate power capable of maintaining order. And to that degree, they succeeded in disseminating their message to international audiences through these journalists.

The journalists' experiences of the tours diverge somewhat after that. Those who shared the political leanings of the Franco regime parroted what Bolín's scripts have already told us. They spoke of "Red atrocities," of disorder, of Marxist blasphemers, and they lionized the Nationalist troops. Even the language the journalists used mimicked that of the scripts. About Guernica, Auphan wrote that the Basques had bombed their own city, "just like Irún, Eibar, and Durango."⁸⁰ On the other hand, Cummings, who knew that the Nationalists expected him to write favorable stories about them, regaled his readers with sardonic descriptions of his encounters with Bolín's tour guides. When a guide told him that the "Reds" had fired on the "shattered houses" in Guernica, he said, "again and again I had to point out with mild insistence the obvious signs of shelling and bombing."⁸¹ George Ravon refused to take sides in explaining the destruction of Guernica. He could conclude only that "the martyrdom of Guernica is not a work of whites nor of reds. The martyrdom of Guernica is the work of war."⁸²

How these journalists recounted "Red atrocity" stories demonstrates that some of them had already made up their minds about who the war's heroes and villains were. The Portuguese journalists and the French journalist Auphan repeated many of the horrific tales they had heard from the tour guides in order to justify the Nationalist takeover of Spain, and perhaps to lure more tourists across the border. Auphan recounted the numerous "summary executions" in Santander. What seems clear from accounts such as Auphan's and, by extension, those of the Nationalists is that they attempted to create a war martyrology to elevate the place of the Nationalists in Spanish history and to bring in pilgrims to these now-sacred atrocity sites. The best example of how a contemporary martyrdom site was created comes out of Auphan's extended description of brutal acts in Santander. He says that when the Republicans occupied Santander, they took the Nationalist suspects to a promontory for interrogation. If the suspects did not provide the Republicans with the proper information, they were thrown over the cliffs into the ocean. Auphan adds that after the Nationalists entered Santander, they saw hundreds of cadavers floating vertically in the water. A footnote written by the Spanish translator of this French

⁷⁹ Cummings, "In Franco Spain."

⁸⁰ Auphan, "Diez días en el norte de España conquistado por Franco," 13.

⁸¹ Cummings, "In Franco Spain."

⁸² Armero, *España fue noticia*, 240.

article adds yet another layer to the horror story by claiming that the writer forgot to mention that the cadavers were found with their mouths sewn together with wire. This detail, the translator says, was reported in *l'Oeuvre [sic] Latine de Paris* on October 1938, an issue that was dedicated to reviewing the pilgrimage of French Catholics to Nationalist Spain.⁸³ The atrocity sites of Santander became one more stop for Catholic pilgrims on the way to the biggest pilgrimage site of them all, Santiago de Compostela. The dead Nationalists could now be added to the pantheon of martyrs, and more important, the site now linked together the two pillars of the Franco regime—the Catholic Church and the Nationalist state.

In contrast, Cummings took a more jaundiced view of these horror stories. He said, “I was regaled with the usual stories of ‘Red atrocities’—one at least of which was demonstrably untrue—and of course the hundreds executed by Franco’s tribunals . . . were merely ‘Red’ criminals to whom stern justice had been meted out.” Instead of repeating those stories, he chose to take note of the concentration camp in Santander, which he was not allowed to visit. In a description dripping with sarcasm, he says, “[The prisoners] are treated so well . . . and set free so readily, if they are not ‘proved criminals,’ that I could not understand why 30,000 Basque men and women should still be in prison without trial and why 200,000 others should have fled from the paradise of Franco’s occupation.”⁸⁴ With those words, he undercut the Nationalists’ carefully controlled narratives and presented a less than legitimate picture of the regime to British audiences.

DESPITE THE MACABRE AND DANGEROUS NATURE OF THESE TOURS, the Nationalists succeeded in bringing tourists to war-ravaged Spain. The Nationalists accumulated more than seven million pesetas in profit from the venture, “almost nine times the money disbursed in the first instance of rolling stock and initial capital.”⁸⁵ Although there are no reliable statistics on the number of people who took the tours, one could estimate from a sampling of the tour logs that between 1938 and 1945, anywhere between 6,670 and 20,010 people traveled the *Rutas de Guerra*.⁸⁶ Foreign tourism declined at the beginning of World War II, but then Spaniards replaced the foreigners who could no longer occupy seats on the bus. The tours were extended to cover Madrid, Barcelona, “and other cities.” When World War II ended, Bolín turned over the government sponsorship of the tours “to allow private initiative a free hand.” He claimed that the revenue from the tours had “exceeded the most optimistic calculations.”⁸⁷ Between the end of World War II and the early 1950s, the

⁸³ Auphan, “Diez días en el norte de España conquistado por Franco,” 21, 22–23.

⁸⁴ Cummings, “In Franco Spain.”

⁸⁵ Bolín, *Spain*, 306.

⁸⁶ Using the dates of the tours projected by the National Spanish Tourist Board, I calculated that there were around forty-two tours in 1938 and eighty-eight tours each year from 1939 to 1945. Using a low of two passengers per tour to a high of thirty per tour (each bus actually accommodated thirty-three passengers), I came to the numbers stated above.

⁸⁷ Although Bolín is often unreliable in his interpretation of events, especially his interpretation of why the civil war took place, he is pretty reliable about more empirical data. For example, his discussions of the numbers of people on the specific tours from the Bishopric of Calahorra or the Congreso de Ciencias are verifiable from other archival sources. Because of this, I am taking his number of 7 million pesetas at face value. I am also willing to believe these figures because it is unlikely that he would have

Spanish tourist industry functioned in a limited capacity, because the Spanish infrastructure had been destroyed by both three years of civil war and postwar autarky. By the early 1960s, tourism to Spain began to be promoted forcefully by the new minister of tourism, Manuel Fraga, who lured tourists with his famous slogan "Spain is different."⁸⁸ Instead of focusing on the war, the Spanish state repackaged itself as a "fun" and unspoiled destination where European tourists could soak up sun and surf.

One cannot say with certainty whether the *Rutas de Guerra*'s negative propaganda about the Republicans truly persuaded large numbers of people to turn against Spain's Republic or, later, to affirm Nationalist legitimacy. But the Franco regime pursued these propagandistic strategies with the belief that they *would* work. Battlefield tourism became one of many entry points for Francoist propaganda campaigns that lasted until the 1970s. The tour script narratives mimicked the propaganda that Bolín had first served to foreign journalists at the beginning of the war, and these same narratives would later be found in newspapers, textbooks, and documentary films, and in war commemorations, ceremonies, and memorials.⁸⁹ All these devices served to construct a collective historical memory of the war as a Crusade, with the Nationalists representing the Christian warriors and Republicans cast as an updated version of the infidel Muslims. Spain's national identity was at stake, and the regime never stopped reminding Spaniards or foreigners of that fact. Indeed, one could claim that Spain became the first nation to use tourism *during* wartime to stabilize a national identity that was currently in flux.⁹⁰

The Spanish case confirms that thanatourism and its cousin heritage tourism are inextricably linked to interpretations of history, politics, and identity. Purveyors of these forms of tourism use them to politicize the past, and if successful, they create a collective memory of that past that helps to shape a group's understanding of a place's present and future. Thus, as media savvy has increased over the last hundred

continued to offer these tours after the initial season if they had not been profitable. Bolín, *Spain*, 304–306.

⁸⁸ Fernando Bayón Marín, ed., *50 años del turismo español: Un análisis histórico y estructural* (Madrid, 1999); Rafael Esteve Secall and Rafael Fuentes, *Economía, historia e instituciones del turismo en España* (Madrid, 2000).

⁸⁹ For a thorough recounting of how and why the Franco regime constructed these narratives in the post-civil war era, see Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*.

⁹⁰ Even though the National Spanish Tourist Board privatized the battlefield tours after 1945, and although tourism tended to focus more on recreation and heritage after the 1950s, one could still find the ideology of these tours repackaged in the late 1960s. A group known as *Le cercle historique et politique*, in conjunction with General Tours of Paris, advertised a tour for October 4–17, 1968, titled "Spain of the Reconquest." This tour covered the former northern and southern routes of the *Rutas de Guerra* with the addition of visits to battle sites in Madrid, Barcelona, and Teruel. Despite the name of the tour, it did not cover the medieval *Reconquista* but rather the Spanish Civil War. Besides being able to eat dinner with members of the Falange in Madrid, tourists could visit Córdoba, the place "where Nationalists resisted fiercely for eight months." In Málaga, they would tour the city "famous for its massacre of Nationalists." So although a private French tour agency was responsible for organizing the tours to Spain for French tourists and history buffs, the agency uncritically used the rhetorical language and historical narratives created in the 1930s by the Nationalists. "Le cercle historique et politique et l'agence de voyages 'General Tours' vous proposent l'Espagne de la reconquête," 1968, Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

years, groups in power have increasingly understood tourism as a way to limit undesirable interpretations of contested grounds.⁹¹

Only after the death of Franco did people in Spain begin to come to grips with the ghosts of the civil war and to dissect the narratives that various official channels had carefully constructed and repeated for more than forty years. Outside of scholarly works and newspaper accounts, this confrontation with the past has been slow in Spain, mainly because the architects of the new Spain consciously chose to avoid the type of response demonstrated by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Committee.⁹² Recently, the Association for the Recovery of History and Memory pushed José María Aznar's government to fund the exhumation of Republican mass graves, which had been hidden from the public since the end of the civil war, giving credence to the notion that "the politics of corpses is about reorienting people's relationship to the past."⁹³ They also called for the reburial of Republican soldiers and citizens in proper graves, giving the war dead the honors long due them, and withdrawing the Francoist symbols that still remain in public view.⁹⁴ At last, some sixty years after the Spanish Civil War ended, it may soon be possible to tour the battlefields and finally do what the Nationalists challenged tourists to do during the war: pay homage to the heroic deeds of the fallen.⁹⁵

⁹¹ For a sampling of works that look at the relationship between thanatourism or heritage tourism and politics, history, and identity, see Baranowski and Furlough, *Being Elsewhere*; Lennon and Foley, *Dark Tourism*; Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin, Tex., 1997); Koshar, "What Ought to Be Seen"; and Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II," *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 3 (1998): 616–638.

⁹² See Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*. See also Michael Richards, "From War Culture to Civil Society: Francoism, Social Change and Memories of the Spanish Civil War," *History and Memory* 14, no. 1/2 (2002): 93–120, esp. 102 and 116 n. 34: "There was never any homage to Republican veterans even to the modest extent of that paid by the Spanish parliament to International Brigade veterans in November 1996 on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of their arrival in Spain to aid the government."

⁹³ Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 112.

⁹⁴ In fact, the last public statue of Franco in Madrid was taken down on March 17, 2005. See <http://newswww.bbc.net.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4357373.stm> for the latest chapter of this story.

⁹⁵ As of this writing, there is discussion in Spain about using the Valley of the Fallen, the Franco regime's memorial to the Nationalist dead and Franco's burial place, as a "memorial to his victims," and as a "study and education center" to "explain to people the meaning of the dictatorship and its horrors." Elizabeth Nash, "Monument to Franco May Be Converted into Memorial to His Victims," *The Independent*, March 29, 2005.

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Stalinist Terror and Democracy: The 1937 Union Campaign

WENDY GOLDMAN

IN A PRISON CAMP IN THE 1930s, a young Soviet woman posed an anguished question in a poem about Stalinist terror:

We must give an answer: Who needed
The monstrous destruction of the generation
That the country, severe and tender,
Raised for twenty years in work and battle?¹

Historians, united only by a commitment to do this question justice, differ sharply about almost every aspect of “the Great Terror”:² the intent of the state, the targets of repression, the role of external and internal pressures, the degree of centralized control, the number of victims, and the reaction of Soviet citizens. One long-prevailing view holds that the Soviet regime was from its inception a “terror” state. Its authorities, intent solely on maintaining power, sent a steady stream of people to their deaths in camps and prisons. The stream may have widened or narrowed over time, but it never stopped flowing. The Bolsheviks, committed to an antidemocratic ideology and thus predisposed to “terror,” crushed civil society in order to wield unlimited power. Terror victimized all strata of a prostrate population.³

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¹ Yelena Vladimirova, a Leningrad communist who was sent to the camps in the late 1930s, wrote the poem. It is reprinted in full in Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism* (New York, 1989), 634.

² The period of Nikolai Ezhov’s tenure (September 1936–November 1938) is called the “Ezhovshchina” or “the Terror,” terms that encompass purge, repression, and the general climate of fear. The term “purge” or *chistka* refers to a process within the Communist Party in which members were periodically reviewed and sometimes expelled for corruption, passivity, moral laxity, political differences, or other reasons. In the mid-1930s, these purges turned deadly, and expulsion was often the prelude to arrest, imprisonment, or execution. “Purge” is also sometimes used to describe expulsions from an institution. The term “repression” refers to the larger phenomena of arrest, imprisonment, and execution affecting people within and outside the Party.

³ Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York, 1990); Stephanie Courtois, Nicolas Werth, Jean-Louis Panne, Andrzej Paczkowski, Karel Bartosek, and Jean-Louis Margolin, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago: An Experiment in Literary Investigation, 1918–1956* (New York, 1973); Marc Jansen and Nikita Petrov, *Stalin’s Loyal Executioner: People’s Commissar Nikolai Ezhov* (Stanford, Calif., 2002); Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Terror and Freedom in the Donbas* (Cambridge, 1999). Oleg Khlevniuk’s works, including *In Stalin’s Shadow: The Career of “Sergo” Ordzhonikidze* (New York, 1995) and *1937-i: Stalin,*

In the 1980s, a new interest in social history prompted a "revisionist" reaction to this view. Historians began to take a closer look at the fissures and tensions within the state. They charted sharp vacillations in policy, relationships among central and local authorities, conflicts between campaign-style justice and the rule of law, and the effect of foreign and internal social threats. They explored a dynamic dialectic between state policies and social responses in which state action produced unforeseen social and economic consequences, which in turn led to increasingly Draconian measures. They identified specific targets and episodes of repression.⁴ A few historians investigated institutions and groups, uncovering complex interactions between state initiatives and social or community interests. They began to explore "popular elements" in the terror, discovering that workers and peasants used its rituals and rhetoric to denounce managers and officials for abuse. But with a few exceptions, they did not fully develop these initial findings.⁵ Most recently, historians have begun to focus on individual subjectivities, charting the inner psychology beneath the public reaction to repression.⁶

In the 1990s, newly released archival materials provided important information

NKVD i sovetskoe obshchestvo (Moscow, 1992), are informed by a similar view of the state, but focus mainly on the *Ezhovshchina*.

⁴ See, for example, J. Arch Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933–38* (New York, 1985); Getty, "State and Society under Stalin: Constitutions and Elections in the 1930s," *Slavic Review* 50, no. 1 (1991); Getty, *Pragmatists and Puritans: The Rise and Fall of the Party Control Commission*, *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, no. 1208 (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1997); Getty and Oleg Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks* (New Haven, Conn., 1999); James Harris, *The Great Urals: Regional Interests and the Evolution of the Soviet System, 1934–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999); E. A. Rees, ed., *Centre-Local Relations in the Stalinist State, 1928–1941* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2002); Gabor Rittersporn, *Stalinist Simplifications and Soviet Complications: Social Tensions and Political Conflicts in the USSR, 1933–1953* (London, 1991); Peter Solomon, *Soviet Criminal Justice under Stalin* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁵ On workers, industry, and repression, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Workers against Bosses: The Impact of the Great Purges on Labor-Management Relations," in Lewis Siegelbaum and Ronald Suny, eds., *Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class and Identity* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 311–340; and David Hoffman, "The Great Terror on the Local Level: Purges in Moscow Factories, 1936–1938," Roberta Manning, "The Soviet Economic Crisis of 1936–1940 and the Great Purges," and Robert Thurston, "The Stakhanovite Movement: The Background to the Great Terror in the Factories, 1935–1938," all in J. Arch Getty and Roberta Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993). This collection included pioneering articles on repression in factories, villages, the military, and other places, yet only a few contributors developed their initial findings. See also Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935–41* (Cambridge, 1988); Thurston, "Reassessing the History of Soviet Workers: Opportunities to Criticize and Participate in Decision-Making," in Stephen White, ed., *New Directions in Soviet History* (Cambridge, 1992); and Thurston, *Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1934–1941* (New Haven, Conn., 1996). On peasant reactions, see Fitzpatrick, "How the Mice Buried the Cat: Scenes from the Great Purges of 1937 in the Russian Provinces," *Russian Review* 52 (1993), and *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization* (New York, 1994); Roberta Manning, *Government in the Soviet Countryside in the Stalinist Thirties: The Case of Belyi Raion in 1937*, *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, no. 301 (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1984). On institutional conflict, see William Chase, *Enemies within the Gates: The Comintern and the Stalinist Repression, 1934–39* (New Haven, Conn., 2001); Asif Siddiqi, "The Rockets' Red Glare: Technology, Conflict, and Terror in the Soviet Union," *Technology and Culture* 44, no. 3 (July 2003).

⁶ Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times—Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (Oxford, 1999); Veronique Garros, Natalia Korenevskaya, and Thomas Lahusen, *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s* (New York, 1995); Igal Halfin, *Terror in My Soul: Communist Autobiographies on Trial* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Jochen Hellbeck, "Fashioning the Stalinist Soul: The Diary of Stepan Podlubnyi, 1931–39," in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Stalinism: New Directions* (New York, 2000). This list does not include memoirists and novelists, who explore the reactions and psychology of the individual in great detail.

on Iosif Stalin's role and the targets of repression. The documents reinforced the earlier tendency to focus on a few highly placed leaders by providing incontestable proof of Stalin's close personal involvement in repression. Peppered with Stalin's signature and marginal notes, they revealed his hand to be quite literally everywhere. The archives also yielded new information about victims, substantially expanding the categories of people marked for repression beyond the economic managers, Communist Party and military leaders, former oppositionists, and foreign communists previously identified by historians. "Order 00447" for "mass operations" in July 1937 set target numbers for the imprisonment or execution of criminals, clergy, former kulaks, and other "hostile elements." It was followed by "Order 00485," which led to the mass roundup of Polish nationals, and "Order 00486," which mandated the arrests of wives of men convicted of counterrevolutionary crimes.⁷ These findings led to a new subset of research, termed "victim studies."⁸ The discovery of the "mass operations" encouraged some historians to conceptualize the terror more narrowly as "a series of centrally directed punitive actions." In attributing the terror almost solely to Stalin and his close supporters, they discounted the influences of local officials, social tensions, and institutional conflicts in spreading repression.⁹

Scholars working in newly available archives have thus taught us much about the role of central authorities and the victims targeted, but the issue of mass participation still remains relatively unexplored. The gap is particularly striking in light of the scrupulous attention that historians of Nazism have given to attitudes and actions of "ordinary" Germans. Their attention to the responses of women, workers, farmers, and the middle classes, to what people knew and how they understood what they knew—in short, to the social history of Nazi terror—still has no fully developed counterpart in the historiography of Stalinism.¹⁰ In posing questions about the social

⁷ On mass operations, see J. Arch Getty, "'Excesses Are Not Permitted': Mass Terror and Stalinist Governance in the Late 1930s," *Russian Review* 61 (January 2002); Paul Hagenloh, "Socially Harmful Elements and the Great Terror," in Fitzpatrick, *Stalinism: New Directions*; Oleg Khlevniuk, "The Objectives of the Great Terror, 1937–1938," in J. Cooper, M. Perrie, and E. A. Rees, eds., *Soviet History, 1917–1953: Essays in Honor of R. W. Davies* (London, 1995); and Barry McLoughlin, "Mass Operations of the NKVD, 1937–9: A Survey," Nikita Firsov and Arsenii Roginskii, "The 'Polish Operation' of the NKVD, 1937–8," and David Shearer, "Social Disorder, Mass Repression and the NKVD during the 1930s," all in Barry McLoughlin and Kevin McDermott, eds., *Stalin's Terror: High Politics and Mass Repression in the Soviet Union* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2003).

⁸ Barry McLoughlin and Kevin McDermott, "Rethinking Stalinist Terror," in McLoughlin and McDermott, *Stalin's Terror*, 3.

⁹ Oleg Khlevniuk, *The History of the Gulag: From Collectivization to the Great Terror* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), 140. See also Khlevniuk's review of Jansen and Petrov's *Stalin's Loyal Executioner* in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 4, no. 3 (2003), and J. Arch Getty's response in "To the Editors," *Kritika* 5, no. 1 (2004).

¹⁰ A sampling includes Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992); Norman Finkelstein and Ruth Birn, *A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth* (New York, 1998); Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 2001); Michael Geyer and John Boyer, eds., *Resistance against the Third Reich* (Chicago, 1994); Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996); Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945* (New York, 1992); Eric Johnson, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans* (New York, 1999); Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria, 1933–45* (Oxford, 1983); Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York, 1987); Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); and Marlis G. Steinert, *Hitler's War and the Germans: Public Mood and Attitude during the Second World War* (Athens, Ohio, 1977).

responses to terror, Russian historians can build on long-standing comparisons of the political and coercive elements shared by Nazism and Stalinism.¹¹ Both regimes were dictatorial states ruled by leaders with strong personality cults. Both mobilized wide popular support, destroyed civil liberties and judicial rights, established vast camp systems, relied on terror and coercion, and promulgated encompassing ideologies that sought to remake politics, culture, family, and the individual. They even shared “founding events” in mysterious conspiracies: the Reichstag fire and the murder of Sergei M. Kirov, the head of the Leningrad Party organization. And their historiographies, too, are marked by certain similarities. The “totalitarian” versus “revisionist” debate among historians of the Soviet Union has its parallel in the “intentionalist” versus “functionalist” controversy among historians of Nazism. The explanatory weights assigned variously to the power of the leader, to ideology, intention, political improvisation, and contingency shape both sets of debate. Both groups of historians have engaged in similar polemics, impugning the motives of the opposite camp. Just as “intentionalists” charged “functionalists” with “implicitly, unwittingly furnishing an apology for the Nazi regime,” so proponents of the “totalitarian” thesis accused “revisionists” of “fairly dripping with whitewash of Stalinism.” New work suggests that historians of both countries may be moving beyond earlier debates in an effort to integrate the ideology and deliberate intentions of the state with contingent social pressures and responses.¹²

Of course, similarities between Hitler’s Germany and Stalin’s Russia can easily be overstated. In the Soviet case, an older Cold War emphasis on facile similarities may have discouraged a deeper exploration of institutional and social responses to the terror. Soviet leaders never promulgated a racist eliminationist ideology; on the contrary, they insisted, at least officially, on the broad principles of internationalism. Unlike Nazi terror, which was directed externally and sought to unite Germans around the demonization of Jews, Gypsies, and the conquered peoples of the east, the terror in the Soviet Union was directed internally in ritualized exposures and expulsions that affected every workplace and institution. The initial perpetrators of purge often became victims of the very processes they had initially promulgated, and unions and local Party organizations devoured themselves. This internal dy-

¹¹ Comparative approaches include Omer Bartov, “Review Forum: Rewriting the Twentieth Century—Extreme Opinions,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 3, no. 2 (2002); Alan Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* (New York, 1992); “Special Issue on Denunciation,” ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick and Robert Gellately, *Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 4 (1997); Fitzpatrick and Gellately, eds., *Accusatory Practices: Denunciation in Modern European History, 1789–1989* (Chicago, 1997); Gellately and Ben Kiernan, *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective* (New York, 2005); Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin, eds., *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison* (Cambridge, 1997); Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999); and Eric Weitz, *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation* (Princeton, N.J., 2003.)

¹² Tim Mason, “Intention and Explanation: A Current Controversy about the Interpretation of National Socialism,” in Jane Caplan, ed., *Nazism, Fascism and the Working Class: Essays by Tim Mason* (Cambridge, 1995), 212; Martin Malia, “To the Editors,” *Kritika* 2, no. 4 (2001). See also Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* (London, 1993); “From the Editors: Really-Existing Revisionism?” *Kritika* 3, no. 3 (2002); Christopher Browning, “Beyond ‘Intentionalism’ and ‘Functionalism’: A Reassessment of Nazi Jewish Policy from 1939 to 1941,” in Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds., *Reevaluating the Third Reich* (New York, 1993). On “revisionism,” see *The Russian Review* 45, no. 4 (1986) and 46, no. 4 (1987), and more recently Martin Malia, “Judging Nazism and Communism,” *National Interest* 69 (Fall 2002); Michael David-Fox, “On the Primacy of Ideology: Soviet Revisionists and Holocaust Deniers (In Response to Martin Malia),” *Kritika* 5, no. 1 (2004).

namic, with its complicated organizational, psychological, and political mechanisms of self-destruction, clearly differs from the mobile killing squads and genocidal death camps of Nazism. If the rhetoric of Nazism was aimed at the “enemy” without, the rhetoric of the Soviet terror centered on “unmasking” the “enemy” within.

This article shifts attention from the machinations of top Party leaders to the mechanisms by which repression engulfed Soviet society. The Kirov assassination, the rise of fascism, and the threat of war fueled widespread fears of foreign enemies, “wreckers” (saboteurs), and spies.¹³ Party leaders presented the murderous abrogation of civil rights that we presently term “the Terror” as patriotic “anti-terror” measures, stressing that vigilance and denunciation were duties of all loyal citizens. Moreover, they couched these “anti-terror” measures in the language of anti-bureaucratization, socialist renewal, and mass control from below, appeals with strong popular resonance. Repression was a mass phenomenon, not only in the number of victims it claimed, but in the number of perpetrators it spawned. The Stalinist leadership played a key role in launching and directing the terror, yet *repression was also institutionally disseminated*. People participated as perpetrators and victims, and sometimes both, through their membership in factories, unions, schools, military units, and other institutions. The complex issues and rivalries unique to these organizations helped fuel the political culture of repression. This article also examines repression in the unions, a network encompassing almost 22 million members. It maps the spread of repression as it flowed downward and outward through the hierarchical layers of a mass institution that reached from a central governing council of unions to committees in factories and shops.

In the unions, the slogans of repression were intimately intertwined with those of democracy. Nowhere is this astounding, puzzling pairing more evident than in the campaign for union democracy (*profdemokratiia*), a mass movement to revitalize the unions that coincided with the sharpest period of political repression in 1937 and 1938. Superficially, these two phenomena appear in sharp contradiction. What could spy mania, mass arrests, extralegal trials, and executions possibly have in common with secret ballots, new elections, official accountability, and the revitalization of union democracy from below? Historians have placed so much emphasis on “terror” during the Stalin era that it is difficult to see a mass campaign for union democracy as anything but a cynical propaganda ploy from above. Yet the campaign was a complex movement in which the interests of many groups—top Party leaders, union officials, and workers—combined, collided, and ignited. It had important intentional and unintentional consequences for the unions, and it refocused attention, albeit briefly, on working and living conditions. Most importantly, the campaign sparked a power struggle within the unions that fueled repression.

This article is the first to examine these tumultuous events. Drawing on new

¹³ A disgruntled former Party member, Leonid V. Nikolaev, assassinated Kirov in December 1934. The murder led to mass arrests of former oppositionists and the abrogation of civil liberties. On the Kirov murder, see Amy Knight, *Who Killed Kirov? The Kremlin's Greatest Mystery* (New York, 1999), and Robert Conquest, *Stalin and the Kirov Murder* (Oxford, 1989). John Scott, *Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989), 197, notes that newspapers, radio, and theater constantly encouraged Soviet citizens to be vigilant about spies. *Ochnaia Stavka* (The Confrontation) was one of several spy plays popular in the late 1930s. The movie *Velikii Grazhdanin* (Great Citizen) taught audiences how to “unmask” hidden oppositionists.

archival documents, it traces the devolution of democracy and repression from the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the central governing body of the unions into more than 160 unions and thousands of factory committees. Within a year, democratic elections from union central to factory committees had routed the old leadership and stirred up a frenzy of denunciation and slander. This article seeks to answer the poet's cry, "Who needed the monstrous destruction?" by exploring not only the interests of Stalin and top Party leaders, but those of union officials and members as well.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC) OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY held its "historic" plenum from February 22 to March 5, 1937, amid an intensifying hunt for enemies in Party circles and an escalating climate of fear within industry. Nikolai Ezhov, appointed head of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in September 1936, had already arrested more than 1,000 officials in industry for "wrecking" and "industrial sabotage."¹⁴ In January, former members of the left opposition, including Iurii Piatakov, the deputy commissar of heavy industry, were charged with industrial wrecking and espionage for fascist Germany. They were tried in the second of the famous "Moscow show trials," and subsequently shot. The commissar of heavy industry, Grigorii (Sergo) Ordzhonikidze, unable to protect his employees from arrest, foresaw his own fate and committed suicide on the eve of the CC plenum. Parallel to the quickening tempo of arrests, the new "Stalin Constitution" had recently been adopted after broad discussion and a national referendum. It lifted previous voting restrictions on priests, white guards, former aristocrats, and other *byvshie liudi* (former people of the old tsarist regime), mandated multi-candidate, secret-ballot, direct elections, and provided equal weight to rural and urban votes. Party leaders were more than a bit nervous about how Party candidates would fare in such elections. The lead editorial of the main union journal queried anxiously, "Are we ready for this?"¹⁵ The hunt for enemies among industrial and Party leaders was thus accompanied by great fanfare trumpeting "the most democratic constitution in the world."¹⁶

The CC plenum, too, was shaped by the striking duality of terror and democracy. Much of the plenum was devoted to the "anti-Party activities" of Nikolai Bukharin and Aleksei Rykov. The discussion, marked by rude accusations and piteous defenses, ended with the CC's vote to expel Bukharin and Rykov from the Party, arrest them, and march them directly from the plenum to prison. Ezhov and other Party leaders delivered lengthy speeches on the threats posed by a new terrorist bloc of Trotskyists and rightists who aimed to assassinate Soviet leaders. At the same time, Stalin and Andrei Zhdanov, secretary of the CC and the Leningrad Party organization, criticized the Party purge in 1935–1936, which had permitted the "heartless and bureaucratic" expulsions of "little people" or lower Party cadres while failing

¹⁴ Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, 282.

¹⁵ "Informatsionnoe Soobshchenie ob Ocherednom Plenum TsK VKP (b)," *Voprosy profdvizheniia* 5–6 (March 1937): 2. Elections to the Supreme Soviet were held in October 1937, but single-candidate elections were substituted for the promised multi-candidate form at the last minute. See Getty, "State and Society under Stalin."

¹⁶ *Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (Moscow, 1938).

to eliminate former oppositionists. They focused on the need for greater internal Party democracy, presenting a vision of a new, revitalized Party purged of oppositionists. The Party needed to eliminate the noisy boasting, servile flattery, and empty sloganeering that characterized its activities.¹⁷

The Party plenum, and Zhdanov's speech in particular, served as a type of "action text," studded with set phrases that were in turn disseminated from the CC to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (VTsSPS) to the unions themselves.¹⁸ Using the same phrases that had marked the earlier nationwide discussion of the Stalin Constitution, Zhdanov linked the coming elections to the Supreme Soviet to the need for greater democracy within the Party itself. He called for "multi-candidate, secret-ballot elections from top to bottom," "an end to appointments (*kooptatsiia*) in place of elections," "mass participation in government," "activation of the Party masses," "criticism and self-criticism," and "greater accountability of Party leaders before their members." Zhdanov held that elections within the Party had become "a mere formality": heads of local Party committees were chosen and confirmed by rote elections, or appointed and removed "from above," practices that "deprived members of their legal rights to control the party organs." The Party had to be rebuilt "on the basis of unconditional and full realization of internal party democracy."¹⁹

What did Party leaders mean by "democracy"? The answer here is fairly clear-cut: secret ballots, multi-candidate elections, increased involvement of the rank and file, greater accountability of leaders, and an end to the "mini-cults" surrounding local and regional officials. This definition, which was applicable to both the general electorate and the Party, shared much with the classical liberal conception, yet differed from it in two crucial respects. First, although Party leaders encouraged the rank and file to speak out against bosses and officials, they never endorsed the abstract principle of free speech. They placed limits on speech and policed them. Second, although they insisted on secret ballots and multi-candidate elections, they considered the ballot only one element in the ideal of social and economic democracy. Placing greater emphasis on active participation, they organized various forms of control from below to oversee, for example, prices in stores, disbursement of funds, housing construction, and the regendering of industrial jobs. These control organizations often wielded real power to redress problems. Yet like elections, they could easily be transformed into empty performative rituals.

What did Party leaders intend in their invocation of democracy? This question

¹⁷ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma TsK VKP (b) 1937 Goda," *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1993), contains Zhdanov's speech; *Voprosy istorii* 7 (1993) contains resolutions on Zhdanov's speech; *Voprosy istorii* 3 (1995) contains Stalin's speech; and *Voprosy istorii* 11–12 (1995) contains Stalin's concluding words. For many years, knowledge of the February–March 1937 Central Committee plenum was based on rumors and reminiscences. The full stenographic report was published in sections in *Voprosy istorii* between 1992 and 1995. An excerpt in English, dealing with the purge of Bukharin and Rykov, and discussion can be found in Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, 364–419.

¹⁸ I am indebted to J. Arch Getty for the phrase "action text," which describes how key speeches set the agenda for action in a much wider arena. He writes, "The role that such speeches played as action-texts was certainly different than the roles speeches play in other countries. It's almost as if the texts had power in themselves and were used at many levels in different ways as power deployments. The most graphic example, of course, was the physical display of Mao's Little Red Book where, quite literally, the text was a tangible weapon." Personal correspondence, October 2003.

¹⁹ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1993); 7 (1993).

is more complicated. Party leaders believed that the practice of *koopatsiia* fostered resentment, widened the gap between leaders and the rank and file, and hindered removal of oppositionists. Regional and local leaders staffed the posts beneath them with their own loyal appointees, creating an atmosphere of *semeistvennost'* or "family-ness" based on circles of mutual protection. Not beholden to an electorate, wielding vast power to hire and fire, they built up personal fiefdoms and cults. A. I. Ugarov, former secretary of the Leningrad City Committee, complained that "parades, clamor, boasting, glorification of leaders, and toadyism" had replaced honest, direct relations. When a newspaper sycophantically described how "the working class listened with great love" to a Party secretary's speech, Ugarov noted with disgust, "This is obviously false and distorts our relationship with workers."²⁰ At the same time, the Kirov murder provoked deep fears among Stalin and his supporters that oppositionists might mobilize the social discontent created by collectivization and rapid industrialization.²¹ Party leaders thus had several interests in democracy. They wanted to revitalize the links between the Party and its base, eliminate the creeping apathy in the lower ranks, mobilize those ranks to break up the "family circles" around the regional leaders, and remove former oppositionists or "enemies." Most importantly, in their promotion of democracy, *they viewed these aims as complementary, not contradictory.*

Nikolai Shvernik, the head of the VTsSPS, delivered the main address on the unions to the CC plenum. Although a number of speakers had prepared their texts in advance for review by the Politburo, Shvernik's speech seemed to surprise Stalin and other CC members.²² When Shvernik mentioned that wreckers had seized leadership posts in the unions, Stalin called out, "Who seized these posts?" Shvernik replied that Gil'burg, the head of the Coke and Chemical Workers' Union, had been arrested, and Stalin interrupted again, "He seized a post?" His bewilderment suggested that he was not aware which union leaders the NKVD had arrested. Shvernik also surprised the delegates with his announcement that the unions were as badly in need of democratic overhaul as the Party. "I should say here directly and with all frankness that the unions are in even worse shape." He casually tossed out the suggestion that the unions, too, might benefit from democratic elections. The suggestion clearly startled the plenum delegates. Lazar Kaganovich, a Politburo member and one of Stalin's staunchest supporters, called out in surprise, "By secret voting?" Shvernik shook his head doubtfully: "I don't know about secret voting." There was general laughter in the hall as one CC member blurted out, "It's frightening!" Shvernik replied thoughtfully, "I think this wouldn't be too bad."²³

The campaign for union democracy thus appears to have begun on Shvernik's recommendation, without planning by Stalin, the Politburo, or the Central Com-

²⁰ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1993); 10 (1995).

²¹ These fears were among the main subtexts of the first Moscow show trial in August 1936. See *The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Center: Report of Court Proceedings* (Moscow, 1936). See also the speeches of Stalin, Ivan Kabakov, Robert Eikhe, A. S. Kalygina, and Stanislav Kosior in "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 6 (1993); 7 (1993); 3 (1995).

²² The Politburo met on February 17 to review the draft resolutions to be adopted at the upcoming plenum, and the key speeches to be delivered by Zhdanov, Stalin, Ezhov, Ordzhonikidze, and Kaganovich. Shvernik's speech, along with many others, does not appear to have been reviewed by the Politburo. See Khlevniuk, *In Stalin's Shadow*, 126–127, 145–146.

²³ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 10 (1995).



FIGURE 1: Nikolai M. Shvernik (1888–1970) was head of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions from 1930 to 1944. He launched the campaign for union democracy in 1937. *Voprosy profdvizheniia* 9–10 (May 1937): 6.

mittee. The key speeches at the plenum were used to formulate its resolutions, which in turn set the future program of the Party. The plenum resolutions also became the new marching orders for the unions. Calling for "mass control from below," direct voting, individual candidates in place of lists, secret ballots, and "the unlimited right to criticize candidates," the resolutions mandated new elections by May at every level of the Party hierarchy, from the primary party organizations to the central committees of the republics, and set terms of office not to exceed eighteen months.²⁴ J. Arch Getty and Oleg Naumov note that Zhdanov's speech and others unleashed "serious insurrections" within the Party against the entrenched regional leadership.²⁵ Within less than three weeks, the CC plenum was followed by a plenum of the VTsSPS, the central governing council of the unions, which was followed in turn by meetings within individual unions at every level. From the VTsSPS to the shop floor, union leaders disseminated the themes of the CC plenum. Recycling discrete "language pieces" or slogans from Stalin's and Zhdanov's speeches, they set a new course. The March issue of *Voprosy Profdvizheniia*, the main journal of the VTsSPS, paired publication of the resolutions with a searing editorial that excoriated the unions and the VTsSPS from top to bottom. The editors wrote, "The insufficiencies characterizing the Party characterize the unions to an even greater degree." Their critique echoed Zhdanov's precisely: violations of union democracy, *koopatsiia*, "bureaucratic perversions," "weakening ties with the masses," "arrogance," "toadying," and suppression of criticism.²⁶

In the unions, too, the call for democracy was wedded to the politics of purge. VTsSPS leaders claimed that former oppositionists occupied numerous posts. Mikhail Tomskii, a former head of the VTsSPS, and Nikolai Uglov, a former head of the Commissariat of Labor, had been key figures in the right "deviation" of the late 1920s. When the Commissariat of Labor was eliminated in 1932, the VTsSPS incorporated its functions along with hundreds of former "rightists" on its staff. The Department of Social Insurance, for example, which provided support to sick and disabled workers, moved from the Commissariat of Labor to VTsSPS. Union leaders now claimed that the department "was riddled with embezzlers and enemies of the people" who had stolen millions of rubles and "systematically disrupted pensions." Skillfully blending anti-oppositionist rhetoric with an appeal to workers' needs, VTsSPS leaders charged that "enemies of the people" had organized accidents, violated safety rules, poisoned the air in the mines and copper-smelting works, embezzled union funds, and wrecked housing construction and social services. The NKVD had arrested leading officials in the chemical, agricultural machine-building, and blooming metallurgical industries, among others, yet the unions had failed to identify and stop "wrecking."²⁷

Echoing Party leaders at the CC plenum, VTsSPS leaders made the same link

²⁴ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 7 (1993); "Informatsionnoe Soobshchenie," 2-3.

²⁵ Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, 358-360. Although the resolutions ostensibly called for more democracy, Getty and Naumov contend that the real aim of Stalin, Zhdanov, and other leaders was not to empower the lower ranks, but to use them to weaken the regional leadership, thus strengthening power at the top. See also Getty, "Pragmatists and Puritans," 25-26.

²⁶ "Itogi Plenuma TsK VKP (b) i Zadachi Profsoiuzov," *Voprosy profdvizheniia* 5-6 (March 1937): 4-8.

²⁷ Ibid.

between terror and democracy: wreckers flourished because democracy had withered. "Enemies," they argued, were "able to pursue their dark, traitorous affairs because the unions did not encourage self-criticism and did not heed the complaints and declarations of the workers." Production meetings in the factories had "turned into occasions for empty speechifying." Union and Party leaders discussed every possible topic "except the suggestions of the workers, masters, and technicians." The unions abandoned occupational health and safety and ignored dangerous work environments.²⁸ The solutions proposed by VTsSPS leaders were identical to Zhdanov's program for the Party: to revive democracy, criticize the "union 'hats' who overlooked wreckers," and bring in "fresh blood" through democratic elections. Invoking a return to "the authentic Bolshevik Leninist spirit," they urged their members to sweep out the bureaucrats, take power back into their own hands, and bring important issues such as safety, housing, and health to the fore.²⁹

This message resonated strongly with union members. Millions of peasants had flocked to the cities during the first Five-Year Plan (1929–1932), real wages had dropped by half, and living and working conditions were very difficult. When the Party purged the "rightists" and forced the unions to "face toward production" in 1929, they largely abdicated defense of working-class interests.³⁰ Although VTsSPS leaders were disingenuous in blaming accidents and poor living conditions on "wrecking," they were accurate in their assessment of the unions. The call for revitalization was guaranteed to appeal directly to workers by linking the hunt for enemies to a new workers' democracy. It was quickly translated into action. Within less than one month, the VTsSPS convened its own plenum to promulgate the new approach. Its double-edged message of democratic revival and repression was in turn disseminated through the unions and into factories.

THE VTsSPS HELD ITS 6TH PLENUM IN APRIL 1937, its first since 1931. The long hiatus figured prominently in Shvernik's keynote address, which charged that the unions had fallen apart after the purge of Tomskii and the rightists in 1929. Shvernik, who had first floated the idea of union democracy, now vigorously promulgated the new campaign. He sharply criticized union leaders for violating democratic principles, omitting elections, and entrenching themselves in posts without a popular mandate. Many unions, in fact, did not have legally elected central, regional, or factory com-

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 8–9.

³⁰ The "rightists" were branded as "capitalist trade unionists" for suggesting that unions should defend workers' interests against managers and the state. After they were purged, the unions' main role was to encourage worker productivity. On living conditions and the wage crisis, see Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 40–66, 89–114; Wendy Goldman, *Women at the Gates: Gender and Industry in Stalin's Russia* (Cambridge, 2002); Elena Osokina, *Our Daily Bread: Socialist Distribution and the Art of Survival in Stalin's Russia, 1927–41* (Armonk, N.Y., 2001). On unions and workers in the 1930s, see Donald Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization: The Foundation of Modern Soviet Production Relations, 1928–1941* (New York, 1986); Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Stalin's Industrial Revolution, 1928–1932* (Cambridge, 1988); Kevin Murphy, *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Class Struggle in a Moscow Metal Factory* (Oxford, 2005); Jeffrey Rossman, *Worker Resistance under Stalin: Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Kenneth Straus, *Factory and Community in Stalin's Russia: The Making of an Industrial Working Class* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1997).

mittees.³¹ Officials were dismissive of the people they were supposed to serve, “insensitive toward complaints,” and cavalier about safety rules, labor laws, housing, and occupational health.³² Shvernik’s repeated invocations of workers’ rights were interspersed with references to wrecking, “enemies of the people,” and loss of “class vigilance.” Union officials had allowed enemies, Trotskyists, wreckers, and diversionists to flourish at every level.³³ Leaders of the Department of Social Insurance, the VTsSPS Information Bureau, the Teachers’ Union, the Coke and Chemical Workers, the Oil Refinery Workers, and the Oil Workers of the Caucasus had been arrested as “enemies of the people.” Shvernik broadened the attack further to include those “impermissibly politically blind, sluggish, and careless” union officials who failed to help the NKVD in its hunt for enemies.³⁴ He urged union officials to participate actively in identifying and denouncing the enemies in their midst.

The delegates, prominent union and VTsSPS officials, listened carefully to Shvernik’s speech. Attentive readers of the Party and union press, they were not surprised by his message. Yet this was the first time they had responded publicly, as a group, to the change in course. Their reactions, initially defensive, spanned the gamut from fear to enthusiasm as they took up the new slogans to advance their own hopes and interests. In fact, the delegates’ responses foreshadowed the range of reactions that would be replayed with growing intensity as the campaign spread. Some took advantage of the new course to advance the interests of their workers and expose conditions in the factories; some scrambled to blame their bosses; others publicly distanced themselves from union colleagues who had recently been arrested. Delegates fired criticism in every possible direction, including at Shvernik himself. Not even the head of the VTsSPS was off limits.³⁵

Voronina, an older woman from Elektrozavod, a large Moscow electrical factory, and a member of the VTsSPS presidium, pressed the claims of her fellow workers. A factory worker for almost forty years, Voronina understood conditions well. Railing against everything from lack of ventilation in the shops to the recent prohibition of abortion, she roundly criticized union officials for ignoring the plight of the very people they were supposed to be representing. Although Voronina was uneducated, her strong commitment had brought her to the attention of union and Party officials, who appointed her to the VTsSPS presidium in 1933. Yet Voronina was in many ways a token appointment, unsure of her role. She complained that no one ever told her what to do. She had tried to meet with Shvernik, N. Evreinov, and other VTsSPS leaders, but “was not able to have a proper conversation with a single secretary.” Shvernik had visited her factory only once since 1931. Voronina argued that VTsSPS

³¹ Each union was headed by a central committee, with regional (*oblast’*), factory, and shop committees, and the *profgrup*, the smallest unit, at the base. Some unions also had district (*raion*) committees.

³² “Ob otchetakh profsoiuznykh organov v sviazi s vyborami poslednikh,” Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF), fond 5451, opis’ 21, delo 1, 68.

³³ “Rezoliutsiia VI plenuma VTsSPS ‘Ob otchetakh proforganov v sviazi s vyborami poslednikh’ po dokladu tov. Shvernika,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 1, 126–129.

³⁴ “Ob otchetakh profsoiuznykh organov,” 58–59.

³⁵ “Stenogramma VI plenuma VTsSPS,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 1–6, contains the stenographic report of the plenum in six volumes.

leaders passed and recorded endless resolutions, but were disconnected from the real problems of workers.³⁶

Voronina's deepest concern, however, was not the useless paper generated by the VTsSPS, but the 23,000 workers in her plant. If VTsSPS leaders genuinely cared about workers, they would address stoppages, low wages, and living conditions. "The factory is a scandalous mess!" she said with disgust. In three years, the factory committee had had five different chairmen, and not a single one was elected. She contrasted conditions in the lamp department, which was 90 percent female, with the promises of the state. "We know that according to the Stalin Constitution, everyone has the right to work, to education, and to rest. But what do we have in the lamp department? As a result of stoppages, women workers with two or three kids and no husbands earn 150 rubles a month. They swear at the Party and the government, but the Party and government are not to blame. The unions and managers who don't struggle with these stoppages are guilty. And as a result, women receive miserable pay!"³⁷

Voronina complained that conditions were deplorable. After the 1936 decree prohibiting abortion, the factory director had promised to build a crèche for 180 infants. "Due to the decree, we have 500 women on maternity leave, 300 more ready to take maternity leave, and 200 women bringing their babies to the factory committee. Did we build crèches? No."³⁸ Housing had not kept pace with the massive influx of new workers from the countryside. People slept in the factory or in make-shift huts. Older workers who had lost the strength and energy to work were afraid to retire on pensions of 75 rubles a month. They deserved better. Sick workers were deprived of rightful insurance awards in an attempt to "economize" on funds. And working mothers received little help. "On this you should not economize," Voronina declared angrily. Her words rushed out, building to a crescendo of criticism. There were no ventilators in many shops, and temperatures reached over 130 degrees. When Voronina exclaimed in frustration, "We have been talking about this for five years now, and we still have no ventilators," the entire plenum burst into spontaneous applause.³⁹

The response to Voronina's speech showed that an auditorium of union officials could still be moved by a heartfelt appeal to workers' interests. Yet their applause was also strangely displaced. For who, if not union and VTsSPS leaders, was responsible for the lack of ventilation in the shops? Voronina's critique of VTsSPS leaders revealed the dangerous dilemma that Shvernik's speech posed. If union leaders recognized that conditions were bad, why had they not done anything to rectify them? Voronina herself was a member of the VTsSPS presidium. Many officials at the plenum struggled to escape this trap by shrugging off responsibility and casting themselves as victims of *other* "bureaucrats." Several repeated Voronina's excuse

³⁶ Ibid., d. 1, 195. See also the comments of Diachenko, the chairman of the factory committee of "Serp i Molot" in Ukraine, 224.

³⁷ "Stenogramma VI plenuma VTsSPS," d. 1, 197, 198.

³⁸ Ibid., 198. After a tightly scripted national debate and much opposition from women, the Soviet state prohibited abortion in 1936. The decree led to considerable hardship, particularly among working mothers. Wendy Goldman, *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (New York, 1993), chap. 7.

³⁹ "Stenogramma VI plenuma VTsSPS," d. 1, 199, 200, 201, 202.

that “no one told us what to do.” The VTsSPS leaders came in for a drubbing by plenum delegates, who themselves held leading posts. At times it appeared that every delegate was looking for someone a little higher in the *apparat* to blame. Aleksandra Artiukhina, head of the Cotton Textile Workers in Moscow and Leningrad, blamed Shvernik, the head of the VTsSPS; Evreinov, its secretary and the editor of its journal; and all thirteen members of its presidium for their failure to establish closer contact with the union central committees.⁴⁰ “Every time I come to see Evreinov about work, I receive the same answer, ‘Solve it yourself.’” She asked indignantly, “Where is the collective? Where are Abolin, Evreinov, and the other secretaries?” Artiukhina noted that she represented a union with 350,000 members and a paid staff of 42. Echoing Voronina’s critique, she stated, “We want help, not papers.” She, too, was furious about the abortion decree and the lack of childcare facilities. “Why doesn’t the VTsSPS concern itself with this?”⁴¹

S. Bregman, a member of the VTsSPS presidium and head of the Shoe Workers’ Union, also cast himself as a powerless victim: “We have no help, we have no oversight, we have no controls.” He complained so much about the VTsSPS leaders that one exasperated voice in the audience finally burst out, “But you’re a member of the VTsSPS presidium!” Yet Bregman refused to take any responsibility, retorting quickly that it was all Shvernik’s fault: “The secretariat and presidium of the VTsSPS are in the position of an orchestra without a conductor.” Critiquing the leaders of the VTsSPS, he righteously declared, “It is much better to sit in an office, to give orders, to defend the paper barricades.” Bregman especially targeted VTsSPS secretary Evreinov: “It’s a great event when the secretary goes to a factory,” Bregman sneered. “In two years, Evreinov went to the Urals once. What kind of leadership is this?”⁴² While Bregman cast himself as a bold and outspoken fighter against the “bureaucrats,” his own position on the VTsSPS presidium and as head of the Shoe Workers undercut his blameless, heroic pose.

The delegates’ alacrity in shifting blame was also prompted by fear. Party expulsions and arrests were occurring all around them, and even casual contact with “an enemy of the people” was grounds for investigation. The head of the Union of State Beet Farm Workers, Radianskii, noted that the union’s secretary had proved to be a “Trotskyist” who had been excluded from the Party several years before for participating in the left opposition. Radianskii anxiously explained that the members of the union presidium had been unaware of its secretary’s past, but once they realized that the Party had expelled him, they fired him immediately, and asked the VTsSPS to affirm their decision. The secretary was thus placed in an untenable position shared by thousands: excluded from the Party, he also lost his job. He appealed to the Party Control Commission, which overturned his expulsion, reinstated him in the Party, and ordered the Beet Workers’ Union to rehire him. Radianskii, eager to prove his “vigilance,” objected and pressed for further investigation, but Evreinov refused, and hired him onto the staff of the VTsSPS. He was arrested soon thereafter

⁴⁰ The presidium of the VTsSPS had thirteen members and candidates as of March 1937, according to “Protokol zasedaniia prezidiuma VTsSPS ot Marta 1937,” f. 5451, o. 21, d. 12, 1.

⁴¹ “Stenogramma VI plenuma VTsSPS,” d. 1, 209–210, 214–215.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 204, 206.

“within the walls of the VTsSPS.”⁴³ This story of expulsion, appeal, reversal, reinstatement, and arrest was common, as thousands of desperate people attempted to save their Party standing, their jobs, and their very lives by pushing for review of their cases at higher levels. Radianskii, terrified that he would be associated with his arrested colleague, painted himself as a scorned crusader who had tried repeatedly to bring an “enemy” to the attention of the VTsSPS. Yet Radianskii also revealed the problems that union officials faced when last week’s colleague became yesterday’s enemy, today’s exonerated victim, and tomorrow’s enemy again. Radianskii’s behavior was typical, if not honorable. Fearing guilt by association, he severed contact with his former colleague and shifted blame to the VTsSPS. “I was vigilant, comrades,” he implied. “The problem is yours now.” Shvernik’s speech forced the delegates to explain why they had ignored conditions and failed to encourage union democracy. Some spoke out on behalf of the workers, seizing on “union democracy” as a long-awaited opportunity to alleviate real problems. Yet in an attempt to escape blame, the delegates also searched for scapegoats. The small winds of recrimination and denunciation were kicking up. They would gain greater power and speed as the delegates brought Shvernik’s message back to their own unions.

THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE 6TH VTsSPS PLENUM added up to nothing short of a bold new charter for union democracy. The unions were to be recast by a newly activated membership in secret-ballot elections from the central to the factory committees. Voting by lists was to be replaced by individual candidates, and union members would have the “unlimited right” to reject and criticize candidates. These were not vague principles for some unspecified future. Elections for factory and shop committees were to be held in June and July, followed immediately by regional conferences, union congresses, and elections for higher-level union organizations in July, August, and September. The VTsSPS would hold its own capstone congress composed of newly elected officials on October 1, 1937. Voting was to be accompanied by accountability. Before the elections, every union central and factory committee was to submit a report on its activities to its members, begin a process of “criticism and self-criticism,” and actively solicit suggestions, which would serve as “commands” for the newly elected leadership. The VTsSPS plenum instructed *Trud*, its daily newspaper, to investigate various unions to ensure compliance. Control of funds was to be decentralized and democratized. The factory committees in the larger enterprises (three hundred workers or more) were instructed to organize soviets of social insurance (*sotsstrakha*) of fifteen to thirty people to oversee disbursement of money, study occupational safety and health, and ensure that managers observed labor laws on overtime, rest days, and holidays. The unions were to stop managers from withholding workers’ wages to meet other pressing expenses and to ensure that workers were paid on time. Finally, permanent committees of union volunteers were to be attached to soviets at every level of government to guarantee

⁴³ Ibid., 218–219.



FIGURE 2: Women workers in the Kauchuk rubber factory at an accountability election meeting, listening to union officials report on their activities on behalf of their members. *Trud*, June 9, 1937, 2.

that workers' issues, including housing, food, consumer goods, and working conditions, were at the forefront of local and regional policies.⁴⁴

Taken together, the resolutions promised workers real, albeit limited, power over the unions. Multi-candidate, secret-ballot elections offered the possibility of new leadership. Workers' control over social insurance funds encouraged fairer and prompter distribution. And the new emphasis on occupational safety and health promised elimination of the more flagrant violations. The campaign fell considerably short of workers' control of the factories, but it offered the possibility of genuine improvement. For mid-level officials, the campaign portended no good. Blamed for poor working and living conditions, and faced with the possibility of dismissal, they scrambled to retain their posts. The impulse to shift blame intensified, creating new turmoil at every level of the union hierarchy.

OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS, THE UNIONS WENT THROUGH A MAJOR SHAKE-UP. Immediately following the 6th Plenum, the VTsSPS and *Trud* sent investigators into factories and unions throughout the country to expose abuses, publicly shame officials,

⁴⁴ "Rezoliutsiia," 130–137; "Ob otchetakh profsoiuznykh organov," 62–64. See also "Resheniia VI plenuma VTsSPS," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 69–82.

and jump-start change. VTsSPS investigators reported that the factory committees, once the soul of the revolution, had become little more than purveyors of pyramid schemes, enrolling new members in organizations that did nothing but enroll members.⁴⁵ Two workers in a Moscow gas factory summed up the role of union officials: "They sit in the factory committee like some kind of clerks, they never go to the shops, and they don't work with the active workers (*aktiv*)."⁴⁶

Union leaders, now held responsible for accidents and safety violations, were charged with "wrecking" and arrested by the NKVD. Leaders of the Metallurgical Workers' Union of the East became embroiled in frightening accusations when the managers and factory committee of a Cheliabinsk factory were charged with constructing a ferrous molybdenum shop without regard for technical safety, and for spending 400,000 rubles over budget on equipment. The shop was shut down after numerous accidents, and several officials were arrested for "wrecking."⁴⁷ The Cement Workers' Union sent a labor inspector to the Amvrosievskii factory in Briansk to investigate conditions after the director and the main engineer were accused of wrecking in a series of accidents that they attributed to technical defects. The inspector found "mass accidents," "dilapidated housing," no clean drinking water in either the factory or the nearby workers' settlement, temperatures over 125 degrees in some shops, and constant fires in the factory and the settlement. The factory committee had done nothing. The union sent the inspector's report to the procurator, urging him to bring criminal charges against the director if the problems were not fixed within one month.⁴⁸ The Party's single-minded emphasis on production, coupled with newly imported technologies and a young, untrained work force, was sufficient to explain most accidents. Yet accusations of "wrecking" rapidly replaced any rational assessment of fault.

The concentrated attention of VTsSPS and NKVD investigators jolted union officials out of their long torpor. Terrified of public censure and arrest, they began to address the more egregious violations. The Metallurgical Workers' Union of the South discussed and drafted new safety rules for the industry to be disseminated in all factories by September.⁴⁹ The Union of Machine Instrument Workers addressed the large number of accidents and eye injuries in the Stankolit factory, ordered management to provide safety goggles, special boots, work clothes, and other items in short supply, and pledged to investigate every accident in the future.⁵⁰ Factory com-

⁴⁵ "Zavod 'Proletarskii Trud,'" GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 103, 48–51. The membership process was cumbersome and time-consuming. A new worker would write an application and submit it to the union group (*profgrup*), the primary organization in the plant. After a cursory background check, the *profgrup* would make a recommendation and pass the application to the shop committee, who would in turn make their decision and send it to the factory committee for final approval. In most cases, these reviews were *pro forma*; yet the large size of factories coupled with high labor turnover and poor records meant that many shop and factory committees did little more than process applications. In the metal factory Proletarian Labor, for example, the factory committee plenum discussed thirty or more applications every time they met. Turnover in the factory was so great that the number of workers quitting exceeded the number hired in certain months. The factory committee kept no records of its meetings, but it appeared to be occupied solely with membership.

⁴⁶ "O perestroike raboty profsoiuznykh organizatsii v sviazi s sokrasheniem platnogo apparata," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 11, 12.

⁴⁷ "TsK soiuzov metallurgov vostochnykh raionov," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 1.

⁴⁸ "TsK rabochikh tsementnoi prom.," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 1–3.

⁴⁹ "TsK metallurgov iuga," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 3.

⁵⁰ "Prezidium TsK soiuza stanko-instrumental'noi prom.," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 9.

mittees everywhere began taking minutes and forwarding their records to VTsSPS headquarters. The days of lax attendance and fiddling with membership applications seemed to be over.⁵¹ The accusations of “wrecking” were patently false, but they did concentrate attention on health and safety issues that had long been overlooked.

THROUGHOUT THE SUMMER OF 1937, the unions held multi-candidate, secret-ballot elections at every level from the factory to the central committees. The workers took up the campaign for union democracy and swept out the old *apparat* in one election after another. A report from the Woolen Workers' Union to the VTsSPS optimistically noted, “Work in the factories has completely changed its face.” For the first time in years, woolen workers actively participated in large, noisy “accountability” meetings. Of the more than 1,300 people elected to 195 factory committees in the woolen industry, 65 percent were new, and 43 percent had never participated in union activities. They voted out about half of the old factory committee chairmen, and elected more than 1,000 people to shop committees and another 1,000 as shop organizers. The sheer numbers of new participants pointed to a major overhaul of the union. In the Red Weaving Factory, about one-sixth of the 4,400 workers were elected to shop committees, an unprecedented level of voluntary participation. Paid officials were eliminated from the shops and replaced with volunteers. The factory committee began meeting regularly to discuss living conditions. In August, the Woolen Workers held their first congress, with 245 delegates. After sharply criticizing the members of the union's central committee for their phony performances, poor leadership, and “deep violations of union democracy,” the delegates voted them out of office. Only four previous members were reelected. Stakhanovite workers from the shop floor composed almost half of the new 41-member central committee. It promptly created labor protection commissions to improve ventilation, record accidents, provide work clothes, and monitor overtime work.⁵²

The electoral shake-up in the Woolen Workers' Union was replicated in other unions. Through the fall of 1937 and into the winter, 116 unions held congresses attended by more than 23,300 delegates. They were turbulent affairs. Using the language of democracy and purge, the delegates strongly criticized the existing central committees and “unmasked an entire series of individuals in leadership positions who were politically blind and careless, as well as a number of corrupt elements, idlers, and bureaucrats.” The blame game spread like wildfire. At the congresses, each layer of leadership criticized the one above it: delegates from the Railroad Construction Union criticized their central committee; the central committee of the Union of Central Cooperative Employees criticized its presidium. Union members from electric power stations, peat bogs, schools, and dining halls denounced their

⁵¹ The unions also launched investigations in the barracks and dormitories that housed hundreds of thousands of new workers who had migrated to the cities during the industrialization drive. See “Piatidnevnaia svodka o praktike raboty profsoiuzov,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 22.

⁵² “Dokladnaia zapiska o perestroike prof. raboty na osnove resheniia VI plenuma VTsSPS,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 211–224. Of the people elected to the factory committees, 40 percent were Party members, and 17 percent were engineering or technical employees.



FIGURE 3: Workers cast secret ballots in multi-candidate elections to the factory committee in the Moscow machine-building Chicherin factory. *Trud*, June 15, 1937, 3.

officials for “bureaucracy, separation from the masses, and ignoring the needs of their members.”⁵³

Workers embraced the campaign for union democracy, but they did not control it. Regardless of the rhetoric spouted at the podium, workers constituted only about one-quarter of the total number of delegates at the union congresses; the remainder included union officials, white-collar employees, engineering/technical personnel, and more than six hundred directors of trusts and enterprises and their deputies. About two-thirds of the delegates were Party members. The congresses, aimed at revitalization from below, were still dominated by paid union officials and managers.⁵⁴ Along with genuine efforts by workers, the congresses thus replicated the delicate exercise that the VTsSPS plenum delegates had performed earlier, in which “bureaucrats” trumpeted against bureaucracy.

By the end of 1937, more than 1,230,000 people had been elected to positions in 146 unions in hundreds of thousands of union groups (*profgrupy*) and shop committees, almost 100,000 factory committees, and 1,645 regional committees. Elections at every level and in hundreds of workplaces were nullified for violating “the principles of union democracy” by not offering secret ballots and more than one candidate. Final election returns showed a serious shake-up of personnel. More than 70 percent of the old factory committee members, 66 percent of the 94,000 factory committee chairmen, and 92 percent of the 30,723 members of the regional committee plenums had been replaced. The election results, however, were mixed in

⁵³ “Dokladnaia zapiska o khode vyborov tsentral’nykh komitetov profsoiuzov i vydvizhenii bespartiiinykh na rukovodiashchuiu profsoiuznuiu rabotu,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 12–13.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

terms of putting workers into positions of power. At the lower levels of the union organizations, many of the new people were workers or “people from production”: in the *profgrupy* (the primary organization), 65 percent of those elected were Stakhanovites or shock workers; in the shop committees, 62 percent; in the factory committees, 45 percent, and in the regional committees, 25 percent. These figures indicated strong participation from “leading” workers in the factories, but they also revealed an inverse ratio between the level of the union organization and the percentage of workers: the higher the level, the lower the percentage of workers elected to it. From the *profgrupy* to the regional committees, for example, the representation of workers dropped by 40 percent.⁵⁵ People who did not work in the industry represented by the union still occupied most of the positions at the upper levels. The wave of renewal weakened as it rolled toward the upper reaches of the unions.⁵⁶

In elections for the highest level of union leadership, the central committees, union members also returned strong votes of no confidence. Electoral returns from 116 union central committees showed that more than 96 percent of 5,054 plenum members, 87 percent of presidium members, 92 percent of secretaries, and 68 percent of chairmen had been replaced. Here, too, officials at the apex of the hierarchy retained a greater share of posts than those immediately below them: 96 percent of central committee members were replaced, but only 68 percent of chairmen. Moreover, the new chairmen and secretaries often transferred from other important Party, managerial, or union posts. In about one-third of the central committees, they were former heads of factory committees.⁵⁷ The new electoral shake-up provided the greatest benefits to this group, catapulting them from leadership of the factories into positions of national prominence.

Party and VTsSPS leaders pointed with pride to the fact that many newly elected officials were *not* Party members, evidence that “new people,” “the best Stakhanovites,” were becoming active in union affairs. Far more non-Party members could be found at the lower than at the upper reaches of union leadership. Fully 93 percent of *profgrup* members did not belong to the Party, in contrast to 19 percent of the central committee presidium members.⁵⁸ Just as the percentage of workers steadily decreased from the bottom to the top of the union hierarchy, so the percentage of Party members increased.

Party leaders’ active endorsement of non-Party people stood in sharp contrast to their usual policy of promoting Party candidates. What was their motivation? Union leaders officially presented the elections as a means “to liquidate stagnation in the unions and root out the entrenched Trotskyist-Bukharinist agents of fascism and their supporters.”⁵⁹ The aims were thus an exact replica of Stalin and Zhdanov’s

⁵⁵ Ibid., 10–14.

⁵⁶ There was a similar pattern in the May 1937 Party elections: the regional (*oblast’* and *krai*) first secretaries retained their positions, while the district (*raion*) and primary party officials were voted out. Getty, “Pragmatists and Puritans,” 28.

⁵⁷ “Dokladnaia zapiska o khode vyborov,” 10–14.

⁵⁸ The percentage of non-Party members decreased as one moved up the unions’ hierarchies: 84 percent of shop committee members, 80 percent of factory committee members, 66 percent of factory committee chairmen, 47 percent of regional committee members, 34 percent of regional committee presidiums, and 33 percent of central committee members did not belong to the Party. “Dokladnaia zapiska o khode vyborov,” 16.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 11.



FIGURE 4: Winners of the election to the pendulum shop committee in the 2nd State Clock Factory in Moscow reviewing the election results. *Trud*, July 24, 1937, 2.

program for the Party itself: to renew democracy from below and to remove former oppositionists. In the campaign for union democracy, “non-Party” served as a signifier for workers, just as “Party,” especially among unionists in leading posts, signified a greater likelihood of oppositional activity. Top Party and union leaders may have viewed mid- and upper-level union officials as the analog to the regional leaders they denounced at the February–March CC plenum. By mobilizing workers to remove these officials, top Party leaders were able to target former oppositionists and gain working-class support in much the same way they sought to use the rank-and-file Party cadres against their regional leaders.⁶⁰

UNION ELECTIONS BROUGHT THE MESSAGE OF RENEWAL AND REPRESSION into every workplace. Workers voted out the overwhelming majority of old officials, but did they succeed in replacing them with workers? Salary data show that more than half of the newly elected officials did not receive a pay increase in their new posts. In other

⁶⁰ Getty argues that regional leaders were targeted for removal by Stalin and his supporters not only because they represented a threat to centralized power, but because they were a likely pool of oppositionists. The process of mobilizing the lower ranks against the regional leaders involved several advances and retreats between the June 1936 and February–March 1937 Central Committee plenums. See Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, 263–268, 322–333, 357–361, 576–583.

words, they did not move up from lower positions, and certainly not from the shop floor. In 1938, there were 5,484 salaried positions within the unions. Of the people elected to these posts, 59 percent either took a pay cut or stayed at the same level. Of the remaining 41 percent who increased their salaries, the overwhelming majority did not make a big jump: they gained less than 200 rubles per month. Union elections thus encouraged leading officials to play a type of leapfrog. The union “pots” began to boil, but unlike the proverbial frogs that remained in hot water, leading officials began leaping laterally. The newly elected chairman of the Oil Refinery Workers’ Union, for example, had previously been the head of a shop. As head of the union, he earned 1,000 rubles a month, 100 rubles *less* than he had earned as shop boss. The new chairman of the Coalminers’ Union of the East had previously been the head of the Cadre (Personnel) Department of the Eastern Coal Transport Trust. He, too, took a pay cut, from 1,200 to 800 rubles. The new chairman of the Construction Workers’ Union of Heavy Industry in the Far East earned 880 rubles, in contrast to 1,540 rubles in his previous job as head of the energy sector in the eastern town of Komsomol’ka. The new chairman of the Medical Workers’ Union (Medsantrud) had previously been director of a shoe workshop; the chairman of the Fish Workers’ Union had been the deputy chairman of the Murmansk town soviet; and the head of the Iron Ore Workers’ Union had been director of the Liebknecht mine.⁶¹ These newly elected chairmen of the union central committees were not workers; they were managers in powerful local and regional posts. They earned high salaries in comparison to workers.⁶² Leading officials stubbornly defended their privileges even through the unpredictable vagaries of “revitalization.” Managers moved into unions, and former union officials were most probably appointed to management posts. Lateral leapfrog was one way that regional and local cliques protected each other. If these men were representative of the newly elected officials, the higher union *apparat* appeared to have been “renewed” by the bosses!

Analysis of the elections suggests that many interests were in play. Stalin, Shvernik, and other Party leaders aimed to gain workers’ support and root out former oppositionists. The workers hoped to remove corrupt and complacent “bureaucrats.” And regional and local leaders sought to preserve their standing by moving members of their own “family circles” from one leading post to another. The elections were not an unalloyed victory for any of these groups. Party leaders were circumvented by lateral leapfrog from breaking up “family circles” and rooting out oppositionists. The workers did not succeed in removing “bureaucrats.” And regional and local leaders continued to be arrested even after assuming new posts. More than ten members of the new union central committees were arrested as “enemies of the people”

⁶¹ Salaried posts included chairmen and secretaries of union central and regional committees, and chairmen and secretaries of their respective presidiums. The study covered 1,349 paid elected officials, or about one-quarter of the total paid elected union *apparat*. “O zarabotnoi plate shtatnykh vybornykh rabotnikov v tsentral’nykh komitetakh i oblastnykh komitetakh profsoiuzov,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 75, 2–4.

⁶² The average monthly wage in industry in 1935 was 185 rubles, with a range from 129 rubles for workers in the linen industry to 223 rubles in the oil industry. Women textile workers were frantic when machine stoppages further reduced their small paychecks, because they could scarcely feed their children on their regular wages. Highly skilled workers in heavy industry might earn up to 500 rubles. Yet union officials earned considerably more than workers even at the highest end of the pay scale. *Trud v SSSR: Statisticheskii spravochnik* (Moscow, 1936), 97.

soon after the elections. In the Railroad Workers' Union alone, nineteen newly elected officials were "unmasked" and arrested.⁶³ Throughout 1937 and 1938, the NKVD continued to cull their ranks. These arrests encouraged union officials to denounce each other, which in turn prompted ever-widening circles of arrests.

The new elections opened a Pandora's box of grudges, charges, and grievances. In fact, the real struggle in the unions began *after* the elections. Expulsions from the Party, VTsSPS investigations, and arrests kept union officials in a state of churning uncertainty. Fear raised the stakes: even a casual comment could result in disgrace, job loss, arrest, and even execution. Officials charged with "indifference to the needs of the workers" lashed back with countercharges, tarring their accusers to discredit the attack. *Everyone* cloaked criticism or complaints in the language of democracy, using the same phrases to advance differing interests. Just as delegates to the VTsSPS plenum used the new slogans to various ends, so did union officials and members. As the message of democracy and repression percolated down through the unions' hierarchies, the meanings attributed to the slogans multiplied along with the number of people using them. Events in the Timber Cutters' and Floaters' Union were typical of what happened in many unions in the wake of elections.⁶⁴ Union officials used Zhdanov's phrases to advance their own interests in the struggle for local power. Terror and union democracy mixed with charges of corruption and personal resentments to create a toxic brew.

IN THE FALL OF 1937, after elections in the Timber Cutters' and Floaters' Union, *Trud*, the national labor newspaper, published an unflattering article about the new leadership, which was headquartered in Sverdlovsk. The article spurred one Nifetov to write a lengthy denunciation of the presidium of the union's regional committee to the newspaper's editor, who promptly forwarded it to the VTsSPS. Nifetov accused the newly elected presidium of abusing its position by not meeting regularly. As Nifetov explained, the seven-member presidium was in disarray. Rubel', its new chairman, had recently been expelled from the Party and the union for "a tie with an enemy of the people," another member for "systematic drunkenness and scandal," and a third for "drunkenness and beating his wife, who also happened to be a Stakhanovite." A fourth member was sent to supervise prisoners in an NKVD timber camp, and another was not in Sverdlovsk. Although the two remaining members continued to meet, they were hardly a substitute for the full presidium. Members of the larger regional committee, including a labor inspector and a physical culture instructor, had also been arrested. Nifetov bore a serious grudge against Vatolin Pestov, one of the remaining members, who had become the presidium chairman. He complained that Pestov held three positions, including instructor of the regional

⁶³ "Dokladnaia zapiska o khode vyborov," 23.

⁶⁴ See, for example, the Plywood and Matches Workers' Union, "Sekretariu VTsSPS, tov. Shverniku, N.M., tov. Bregmanu, S.," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 204–204 ob.; the Glass Workers' Union, "Dokladnaia zapiska o rezultatakh proverki raboty TsK soiuzu rabochikh stekol'noi promyshlennosti," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 187–193; the Cotton Textile Workers' Union, "Material k protokolu prezidiuma VTsSPS ot 10/V/38: O polozenii del v TsK soiuzu khlopchatobumazhnoi promyshlennosti," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 11, 241–276; and the Coal and Slate Workers' Union, "V sekretariat VTsSPS: Dokladnaia zapiska," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 93–94.

committee, a post that paid him 700 rubles a month to read the newspaper aloud to workers. (Pestov may have picked up these additional jobs when members of the union's paid staff were arrested.)⁶⁵

According to Nifetov, Pestov was also guilty of "violations of union democracy." He had tried to rig the union elections by convening the Sverdlovsk delegates to prepare a list of candidates in advance. Pestov had allegedly told the delegates, "We must discuss and decide who we will put up for candidates to the plenum and who we will vote for." And Pestov had attempted to stack the union's congress by instructing a workers' committee to organize a by-election to overturn the results of an earlier vote for delegates. Nifetov wrote furiously, "The regional committee was transformed in a back-room deal."⁶⁶

Nifetov was not the only person hurling accusations. A safety inspector also accused Pestov of violating election rules, and demanded that he write up an honest report of the union's congress. Pestov refused, and promptly fired him for "political mistakes." The safety inspector demanded an explanation; Pestov refused to provide one. When Nifetov stepped in to defend the safety inspector, Pestov withdrew the charge, rehired the safety inspector, and sent him on a vacation. Nifetov promptly charged Pestov with "suppression of criticism." After pages of charges, Nifetov ended his denunciation: "Considering the adverse state of the leadership of the regional committee, I want to interest and involve the central committee of the union and the VTsSPS in this business and publish this material in *Trud*, and also to end Pestov's scorn for the officials of the regional committee and end violations of union democracy and consider the possibility of terminating Pestov's tenure in the union regional committee."⁶⁷ Thus Nifetov built his denunciation of Pestov, layering each charge between handy slogans of union democracy.

In his second denunciation, Nifetov's rhetoric became even harsher. "When will Pestov, the chairman of the Sverdlovsk union regional committee, finally be unmasked?" he demanded impatiently. "This swindler, double-dealer, and lickspittle has trampled on union democracy, and surrounded himself with a collection of swindlers, aliens, and degenerates, including that counterrevolutionary physical culture instructor." He went on to describe Pestov as the "main lickspittle" of Rubel', the former chairman of the union regional committee, who had been thrown out of the Party for a counterrevolutionary conversation about Stalin. Pestov knew about this conversation! Pestov tried to defend Rubel'! Pestov had written Rubel' a recommendation, which claimed that such a conversation had never occurred! Nifetov recounted with rising hysteria that he had exposed everything, informed on them all. The letter ended with a barely veiled threat to the VTsSPS: "Don't you think that nothing has changed. Comrade Stalin is teaching us to work in a new way." Phrases from the Central Committee and VTsSPS plenums splattered Pestov's denunciations: "violations of union democracy," "toadies, lickspittles, corrupt degenerates," "gross political mistakes and violations of secret-ballot elections."⁶⁸ Yet the letters were also fueled by what appeared to be a deep personal grudge.

⁶⁵ "Otvettstvennomu redaktoru gazety 'Trud' tov. Popovu," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 122, 123, 125.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 123, 124.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 126. For the charges, see 122–126.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 127, 129. For the entire denunciation, see 127–129.

Aleksei Sholmov, the head of the Timber Cutters' and Floaters' Union, tried to put an end to the affair in a reasonable letter to Bregman, the former head of the Shoe Workers' Union, who had vaulted into the post of a VTsSPS secretary. He explained that the newly elected presidium of the regional committee had been decimated over the fall. It was left with four people, two of whom were not in Sverdlovsk. It had been difficult to meet regularly, but elections had been held again, and Pestov had been fairly elected as chairman. A local union investigation had cleared him of all accusations. According to Sholmov, Pestov was a reliable and able official.⁶⁹

It is difficult to understand exactly what motivated the charges and counter-charges, but they seem to have emerged from a local struggle for power around the elections. The old union leaders had tried to protect their positions by organizing bloc voting and overturning unfavorable election results. They were successful to a limited extent. The NKVD then moved in, made arrests, and ensured the removal of Rubel', the regional committee chairman. Pestov, one of the few officials associated with the old leadership who were reelected, took on several vacated positions. Accused by Nifetov of various misdeeds, he fought to clear his name and maintain his position. Both sides in this ugly fight claimed to be representing union democracy. Which side was the true defender of democratic principles, however, was far from clear. Was Nifetov an honest man trying to reform the regional committee and eliminate abuses of power? Was he a member of a rival clique for power, in league with the safety inspector and others, eager to unseat Pestov in order to install his own people? Or was he a deranged individual irrationally obsessed with Pestov for personal reasons? And what about Pestov? Did he cynically collect four salaries while union members stood hip-deep in icy rivers, rafting logs to the lumber mills for a paltry 250 rubles a month? Or did he try hard to keep the union functioning, assuming extra jobs after the union staff was decimated by arrests? Who was Sholmov, a quiet man of reason or a "lickspittle" protecting Pestov? And what of the outcome? Did the NKVD eventually arrest Pestov and his circle, and laud Nifetov for advancing "union democracy" in Sverdlovsk? Or did Nifetov end up raving about the "alien clique" from the locked ward of a mental asylum? The shifting, subjective perspectives of the drama's actors obscure the "objective" truth. Yet regardless of where "truth" lay, Nifetov's ability to couch his obsessions in the language of the day ensured that he received a full hearing. His charges, real or imagined, had consequences, and ultimately launched a serious investigation of the regional committee.

The Party, the VTsSPS, the unions, and the NKVD were flooded with denunciations such as Nifetov's. On countless stages from Kiev to Khabarovsk, local actors played in petty dramas packed with political accusations, trivial details, personal grudges, and grubby entanglements. Charges and countercharges flew back and forth, dense with the rich trivia of daily life: who drank with whom, who earned more than he was worth, who had made an improper political remark. This was not a story of one villain and many victims, but a far richer drama in which political repression became a convenient expression for resentment toward officials, organizational rivalries, and personal ambitions. Daily workplace gossip turned deadly, creating an ugly mess that the NKVD was all too eager to "investigate" under the watchword

⁶⁹ "Sekretariu VTsSPS, tov. Bregmanu," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 120.

of democracy. There was no dearth of villains or victims: officials in every union were soon caught up in the deadly game.

THIS ARTICLE HAS TRACED THE INSTITUTIONAL DISSEMINATION OF REPRESSION through the campaign for union democracy. From the beginning, democracy and terror were both part of the vision of a revitalized Party purged of oppositionists that Stalin and Zhdanov had articulated at the February–March 1937 Central Committee plenum. Zhdanov's speech on Party democracy served as an "action text" that created ever-widening circles of disruption. Shvernik picked up the theme and applied it to the unions. The VTsSPS amplified it into a mass campaign, which brought elections into every union. Yet as the campaign spread, various groups refashioned its message to serve different ends. For Stalin and his supporters, democracy was a way to rebuild working-class support, and to forge a united Party, purged of opposition and corruption. They viewed the personal fiefdoms that had developed around regional elites as obstacles to these aims. For workers, the campaign for union democracy offered the opportunity to elect officials who would address accident rates, working conditions, housing, food supply, and wages. They voted the old leadership out, especially at the lower levels, in the hope of creating unions that would represent their interests. For union officials, the campaign initiated a desperate struggle to maintain their standing. And they were largely successful in preserving control, especially at the higher levels.

In the wake of elections, events in the Timber Cutters' and Floaters' Union (and other unions) reveal that the central authorities had lost control of the campaign. By 1938, thousands of union leaders had picked up the double-edged sword of terror and democracy and were slashing each other to ribbons. The new leaders attacked the old, and everyone scrabbled frantically to find someone to blame for problems in the factories. It became impossible to disentangle the knot of charges and countercharges. The leaders all portrayed themselves as avatars of democracy and defenders of the working class. In less than eighteen months, the interests of top Party leaders had been subsumed by those of mid-level union officials and workers, who were in turn engulfed by chaotic mudslinging at the local level.

After the Kirov murder in 1934, Stalin and his supporters were increasingly convinced that silent yet stubborn oppositionists still lurked in the Party and union *apparatus*. They believed that many Party members, once active in the left or right oppositions, had never fully accepted Stalin's program, no matter how hardworking and loyal to the Soviet project they appeared to be. They were biding their time, quietly encouraging young people in vaguely oppositional sentiments, building circles of power and protection, and waiting for a more propitious political climate. By 1937, Stalin was bent on rooting out this silent "opposition," destroying anyone who might doubt his own leadership and program. The campaign for union democracy targeted both former oppositionists and corrupt officials. Yet once the slogans of democracy became the *lingua franca* of struggle within the unions, there was no way to distinguish the true Stalinist from the oppositionist, the honest from the corrupt, or even the sane from the mad. In the end, the Party lost control of the "action text" as its

phrases and intentions were twisted to serve a variety of personal, political, and class interests. Repression was not something done to the Soviet people by an evil "other." It was actively supported and spread by people in every institution, who used it to pursue their own ends. The campaign for union democracy not only paralleled the mass repression of 1937–1938, it became the very means by which groups with different aims were transformed into the willing, even enthusiastic, proponents of purge and repression. And herein lies the painful answer to the question posed by the young communist poet so many years ago.

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The King of Controversy: History and Nation-Making in Late Colonial India

KUMKUM CHATTERJEE

THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES witnessed the emergence and definition of nation-states across much of Asia and the Middle East. History was widely pressed into the service of this phenomenon in regions such as China, Japan, Turkey, Iran, and Algeria.¹ After all, as Eric J. Hobsbawm remarked, “nations without pasts are contradictions in terms. What makes a nation *is* the past.”² In India, too, history became a public passion during this period. It came to be seen as a major site through which and on which critically important issues of Indian nationhood and tradition were articulated. In most of these regions, public debates about history and nationalism also generated intense discussions about the nature and function of history, the definition and nature of community and culture, and other related issues. A public debate among Indian intellectuals in the early twentieth century underscores the critically important role played by history in the articulation of nationhood, highlighting the sharp debates and contestations about the definition and function of history in colonial civil society. It points to the need to conceptualize history not just as a rational-positivist discipline, but also in terms of how practices that are used to commemorate the past can be located within a broad range of cultures.

The debate took place in Bengal, among the Bengali literati. While most of the issues that arose in the course of this debate were framed in regional Bengali terms, they can be viewed as a subset of a broader concern with Indian nationhood and the perceived urgency to determine the type of history that could serve it. Similar con-

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¹ David C. Gordon, *Self-Determination and History in the Third World* (Princeton, N.J., 1971); Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, *Historians of the Middle East* (New York, 1962); Margaret Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (New York, 1998); Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1995); Patricia M. Pelley, *Postcolonial Vietnam: New Histories of the National Past* (Durham, N.C., 2002).

² Eric J. Hobsbawm, “Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe,” in Gopal Balakrishnan, ed., *Mapping the Nation* (London, 1996), 255.

cerns with defining and underscoring the relationship between history and nationalism were apparent among the nationalist intelligentsia in other parts of the Indian subcontinent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The specific forms assumed by such regional conversations and arguments were frequently couched in regional idioms, and the spectrum of views behind such expressions ranged from positions that advocated the region-as-nation (for instance, in certain types of Tamil nationalist ideologies and debates in southern India)³ to those that valorized the region and its identity and culture as essential components in a broader Indian nation.

The controversy took the form of an intense and acrimonious debate about a king named Adisur, who was believed to have reigned several centuries ago.⁴ The resulting dispute divided a segment of Bengal's scholarly world into two mutually antagonistic camps during the 1920s and 1930s. This debate was not a discreet disagreement among scholars, but rather a public airing, conducted primarily through the medium of print, and therefore accessible to a literate middle-class reading public. The controversial King Adisur thus serves as an entry point into a dispute that reveals the connections between history and nation-making in a colonized society, on the one hand, and engages with the relationships among different visions of history, on the other.

In the Indian nationalist culture of the early twentieth century, there was a strong perception that knowledge of the past was indispensable for the building of a modern nation. The Bengali literati acknowledged that their British colonial masters had taken the first step toward presenting India's history in a format and manner suited to modern sensibilities, but they were convinced that a proper telling of the narrative of India's past could be accomplished only through the agency of Indians, since they were the natives of the land. There was a sense of urgency and excitement about the collective endeavor to (re)construct a connected account of Bengal's and India's past. The heated charges and countercharges that were traded among the scholarly protagonists in the debate underscore the point that the controversy can be understood only in the context of the passion, excitement, and collective stakes that were perceived to be associated with this historical project.

In addition to being one of the central figures in this controversy, King Adisur also served as a key to some associated issues, the most important of which revolved around the historicity of a mass of genealogical materials called *kulagranthas*, *kulajis*, or *kulapanjis*. Genealogical literature is one of the most well-known and most ubiquitous forms in which historical documents appear in most of the world. In India, a strong genealogical tradition with specific regional variations and significations had existed since very early times.⁵ Royal dynasties took great care to create and update their own genealogies, as did many socially and politically eminent families. Kulajis

³ Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891–1970* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), http://www.ces.purdue.edu/henv/care_maintenance.htm.

⁴ Gautam Bhadra, "Itihase Smriti, Smritite Itihasa," *Biswabharati Patrika*, Sraban–Ashwin 1401 B.S., 134–142, contains a brief reference to this debate. Note: Dates followed by B.S. denote the year according to the Bengal calendar. The Gregorian equivalent for B.S. 1401 is 1994. Hereafter, any citation of a Bengal year will be followed by its Gregorian equivalent in square brackets.

⁵ Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, *Preliminary Report on the Operation in Search of Bardic Chronicles* (repr., Calcutta, 1963); Romila Thapar, "Genealogy as a Source of Social History," in Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History* (New Delhi, 1990).

belong to the Bengali tradition of genealogical literature. In its most commonly understood sense, the term *kula* meant “family” or “clan”; the terms *grantha* (book) and *panji/panjika* (chronicle) indicate that these materials recorded the generational descent of a patrilineal Hindu family and clan over many centuries. Kulagranthas also claimed to commemorate the story of developments that were believed to have shaped the social structure and normative structure of Hindu Brahmanical society in Bengal over hundreds of years.

Along with the general sense of a clan or lineage, the term *kula* had an additional, unique meaning in Bengal, in that *kula* status was indicative of an elite position within what is commonly understood as the caste system. A person possessing this elite status was described as a *kulin*—literally, one who belonged to a high-status *kula*. This elevated status was believed to derive from spiritual and ritual purity, as reflected in the practices and inner qualities of those who were deemed to be qualified to be *kulins*. Kulinism needs to be understood in the context of the *varna* and *jati* arrangements and hierarchies that had characterized the caste system in South Asian society for many centuries.⁶

Kulagranthas told how the institution of kulinism came to be created in Bengal and tracked its development over several centuries. King Adisur figured frequently as the hero in these genealogies, because he was represented as the founding father of kulinism. He was believed to have invited five ritually and spiritually purer Brahmans from Kanauj in northern India to migrate to Bengal and settle there. Some of their descendants came to be designated as *kulins*, as did some descendants of the five Kayasthas who, according to many of the genealogies, had accompanied the five original Kanaujiya Brahmans to Bengal. The institution of kulinism was subsequently modified and regulated by kings, and later by potentates with varying degrees of power and authority and sharply varying social and political jurisdictions.⁷

Bengal’s society was believed to have been dominated for many centuries by three *varnas* (castes): the Brahmans, the Kayasthas, and the Baidyas.⁸ Each of these broad

⁶ For an analysis of the caste system, see Murray J. Milner, Jr., *Status and Sacredness: A General Theory of Status Relations and an Analysis of Indian Culture* (New York, 1994); for an analysis of the system of kulinism in Bengal, see Ronald B. Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture: A History of Caste and Clan in Middle Period Bengal* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976). For a fuller discussion of the *kulagranthas*—including their features and their political and ideological functions during the period from approximately the tenth and eleventh until the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—see Kumkum Chatterjee, “Communities, Kings, and Chronicles: The Kulagranthas of Bengal,” forthcoming in *Studies in History*.

⁷ The principal features of this account are mentioned in actual genealogies—for instance, the Sanskrit manuscript of “Rajabali,” housed in the Dhaka University library (Accession no. K577A); or in family chronicles that were edited and published in the modern period—for instance, Kedar Nath Datta, *Datta Vamsavali* (Calcutta, 1282 B.S. [1875]); Jnanendranath Kumar, *Vamsa Parichay* (Calcutta, 1350 B.S. [1943]); Mahimachandra Guha-Thakurta, *Kayastha Kulachandrika* (Barisal, 1915); as well as in secondary literature concerned with debating the historical value of such genealogies, such as Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra* (Calcutta, 1973); Umesh Chandra Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Baidyakayastha-moha-mudgar* (repr., Calcutta, 1912), vol. 2: *Ballal-moha-mudgar* (Calcutta, 1905); and especially Nagendranath Basu’s multivolume *Banger Jatiya Itihasa* (Calcutta, 1318–1340 B.S. [1911–1933]). For details of individual volumes, see note 17.

⁸ The Brahmans, whose occupational specialization was supposed to be the priesthood and scholarship, represented the topmost group in the status hierarchy of the caste system; the Kayasthas (specializing in scribal/literate occupations) and Baidyas (medical practitioners) were supposed to be “mixed” *jatis* or subcastes. For explanations, see Nagendranath Basu, comp., *Bishvakosh* (repr., Delhi, 1988), and Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*. For British colonial ethnographical explanations, see H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (repr., Calcutta, 1981).

categories was broken up into innumerable jati subdivisions. Kulinism created a stratum of elite lineages within these groups, who came to represent the pinnacle of status, prestige, and respect within their respective groups and in the region's society at large. The institution of kulinism, with its associated modifications and shifts, continued to exert a fair amount of influence over politics and the "reality" of status and power in Bengal even into the middle of the nineteenth century—and in some cases beyond it as well.⁹

A view that was generally articulated in the kulaji literature was that the strengthening and formalization of kulinism by the kings Ballal Sen and Lakshman Sen of the Sen dynasty in the twelfth century ushered in the practice of compiling and maintaining genealogies of the kulin lineages associated primarily with the Brahman, Kayastha, and Baidya jatis. These genealogies did not merely track male generational succession within each kulin family; they paid special attention to recording the family's history of social interaction—particularly its marriage practices. A kulin Brahman family, for example, was expected to arrange marriage alliances for its sons only with other kulin Brahman families. Failure to observe this principle could result in the lowering of kula status, or even total expulsion from kulin society, which effectively meant a loss of social rank and prestige.

The Sen monarchs are believed to have appointed learned men to serve as *kulacharyas*. Well versed in the principles of kulinism and the histories of kulin families, these men were charged with the important task of creating and maintaining elaborate genealogical accounts of the various kulin lineages with the intent to build a fund of social and communal memory about their social behavior (especially intermarriage). Thus was born the practice of composing kulajis or kulapanjis, the genealogies that would generate so much heat and acrimony in the twentieth century. Almost always composed in verse (*sloka*), the kulajis were also recited or sung at public occasions, typically at weddings. The kulacharyas, also known as *ghataks*, functioned as the chroniclers and archivists of different kulin communities, and they also occupied positions of leadership. With the demise of a paramount Hindu kingship following the Turkish Muslim conquest of Bengal in the early thirteenth century, smaller Hindu landed potentates and Hindus who held high administrative offices under the Muslim rulers of Bengal assumed the role of presiding over kulin society—often through kulacharyas whom they appointed or supported. Thus, through many centuries of Muslim rule in Bengal, the office of the kulacharya and the practice of writing kulagranthas continued unabated.

Although these genealogies had circulated in Bengal for centuries, there was a renewed interest in them during the late nineteenth century—particularly in recovering "ancient" kulagranthas, preserving them, and interpreting them in order to arrive at conclusions regarding the history of Bengali society. This new interest was in part a consequence of a general enthusiasm for history that was evident among the colonial bourgeoisie in Bengal during this period. When the colonial census was conducted with an aim to create a permanent record of varna, jati, and kula hierarchies, some saw it as a move that would foreclose whatever opportunities for upward social mobility were possible within these classifications. The resulting anxieties

⁹ Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta, 1978), 86–94.

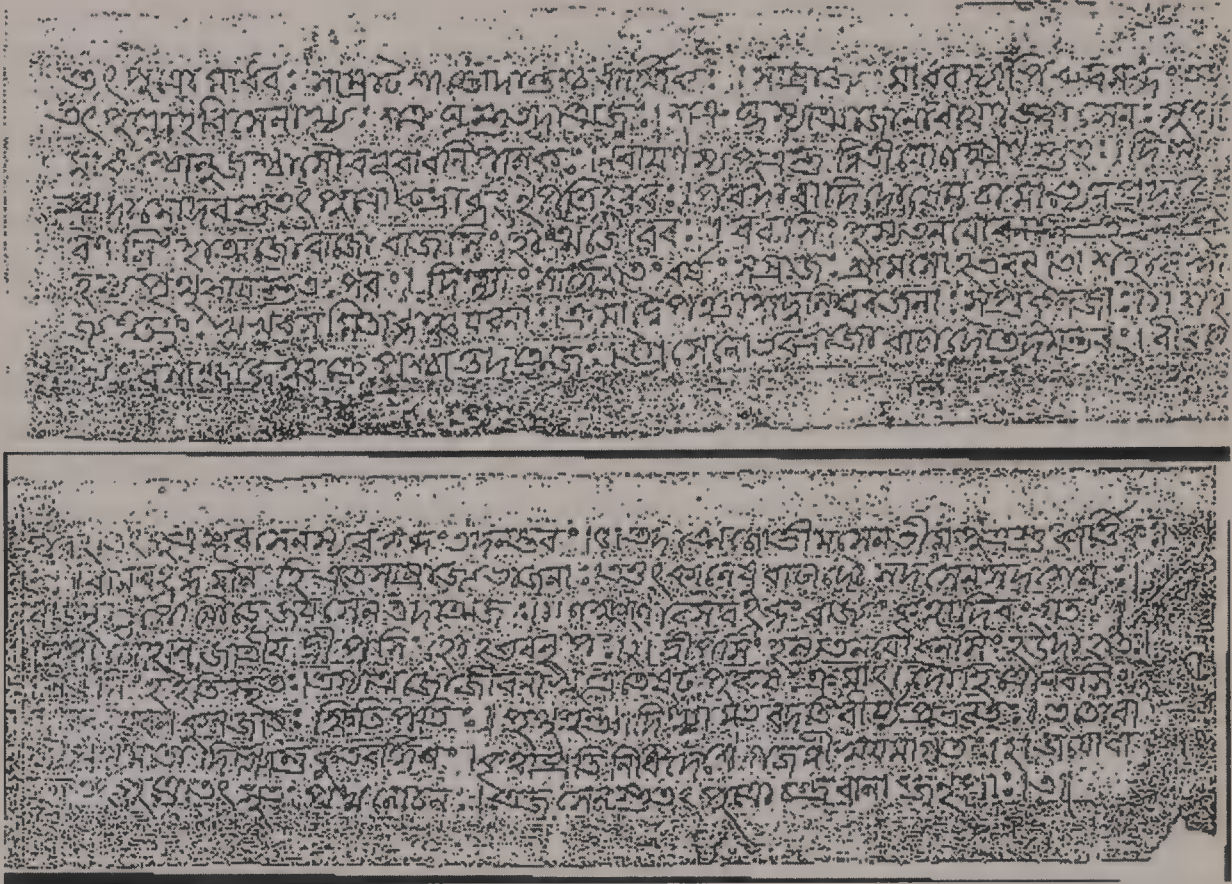


FIGURE 1: Left (top) and right sections of a page from “Rajabali,” a handwritten kulagrantha housed in the Dhaka University Library. Manuscript number: K577A.

were largely instrumental in producing a spate of what are called caste movements in various parts of India, in which certain groups lobbied the census authorities to assign a higher status to their caste or subcaste.¹⁰ The renewed interest in recovering old genealogies and editing and publicizing them thus became an integral aspect of caste politics in Bengal.

This new surge of interest in “caste affairs” among middle-class Bengalis was probably at its strongest from 1850 until about 1930.¹¹ During this period, numerous caste associations were founded for the ostensible purpose of producing contemporary accounts about the past history of specific varnas and jatis.¹² Individual fam-

¹⁰ Sekhar Bandyopadhyaya, *Caste, Politics and the Raj: Bengal, 1872–1937* (Calcutta, 1990). For caste movements in other parts of India triggered by census operations, see Eugene Irschik, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969); Gerald N. Barrier, ed., *The Census in British India: New Perspectives* (New Delhi, 1981); Bernard S. Cohn, “The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia,” in Cohn, *An Anthropologist among Historians and Other Essays* (Delhi, 1988), 224–254; Rosalind O’Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict and Ideology: Mahatma Jyotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India* (Cambridge, 1985); and Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J., 2001).

¹¹ Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture*, 4.

¹² Examples of caste associations include the Bangiya Tili Samaj and Mahisya Samaj. Publications directly or indirectly commissioned or encouraged by these associations include Harakishore Adhikary, *Rajbansi Kulapradip* (Calcutta, 1314 B.S. [1907]), and Narendranath Laha, *Subarnabanik Katha O Kirti*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1940–1941).

ilies also took the initiative to publish chronicles detailing their lineage histories.¹³ Many Bengali scholars, professional academics as well as public intellectuals, joined in the quest for kulagranthas, often traveling to remote villages in search of them.¹⁴ The print medium, including popular journals and scholarly publications, was flooded with pieces on Bengal's history generally and the kulagranthas specifically.¹⁵ Kulajis were now being viewed as artifacts from the past that could be pressed into the service of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century agendas. The protagonists in the kulagrantha debate represented a spectrum of opinions. The majority of them, no matter what stand they took, were not attempting to use these chronicles for the primary purpose for which they historically had been composed, since such jati- and kula-based considerations—a subset of broader considerations of caste categories—had largely died out and become irrelevant by this time in the marriage practices of the urban, educated middle class.¹⁶ The participants in this debate, as well as its audience, were all essentially drawn from just such an urban bourgeois milieu. Historically, the kulajis also served as records of pride and honor for particular lineages vis-à-vis others. This dimension of their use surfaced occasionally during the twentieth-century controversy among Bengali intellectuals, thus serving as a reminder that past sensitivities about jati- and kula-related status had not been totally obliterated.

Nevertheless, the debate in the twentieth century was not focused primarily on such questions, but rather on whether the kulagranthas qualified as history. One group of scholars adopted the position that these materials did not meet the necessary qualifications. They elaborated what in their opinion distinguished history from other modes of commemorating the past as well as the appropriate methodologies that were requisite for its construction.

Among those who were strongly skeptical about the historicity of the kulagranthas were Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Ramaprasad Chanda, Akshay Kumar Maitra, and Rakhal Das Bandyopadhyaya (who is also referred to here as R. D. Banerjee, which is how he sometimes referred to himself). Majumdar warned of the need to be wary of basing conclusions about Bengal's past on information found only in kulagranthas, because these materials contradicted each other so frequently. Many of the issues that figured into the controversy—including whether there ever was a king named Adisur, the exact dates of his reign, the dates and chronology of the kings of the Pal and Sen dynasties, the dates and authenticity of the actual Kulaji texts, and their authorship—were purportedly based solely on evidence from the kulagranthas, and thus it was important to try to disentangle the glaring inconsistencies among the genealogical texts themselves regarding these subjects.

The milieu in which the genealogies had been produced and circulated inevitably contributed to the situation that Majumdar found so problematic. The print medium

¹³ For instance, see Datta, *Datta Vamsavali*, and Kumar, *Vamsa Parichay*.

¹⁴ Basu, *Banger Jatiya Itihasa*, vol. 1, pt. 2: *Barendra Brahman Bibaran* (Calcutta, 1334 B.S. [1927]), 1–4; Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*, 2: 381–382.

¹⁵ The five articles on kulagranthas by Majumdar published in the journal *Bharatbarsha* in 1346–1347 B.S. [1939–1940] are a good example of this, as are Dinesh Chandra Sarkar, “Adisurer Kahini,” *Bishwabharati Patrika*, Kartik–Paus 1371 B.S. [1964], 131–134, and Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, “Alochana: Adisurer Kahini,” *Bishwabharati Patrika*, Baishakh–Ashadh 1372 B.S. [1965], 337–340.

¹⁶ Rochona Majumdar, “Looking for Brides and Grooms: Ghataks, Matrimonials and the Marriage Market in Colonial Calcutta,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 4 (2004): 911–935.

did not catch on in Bengal until the very beginning of the nineteenth century. Any textual materials prior to that were necessarily produced under the conditions prevailing in a pre-print, manuscript culture. One of the foremost aspects of the debate was determining precisely when the kulagranthas were composed, but there was unanimous agreement that they had been composed or copied well before the advent of print. Thus, whatever the disagreements regarding the dating of the kulajis, their production and circulation were governed by conditions characteristic of any manuscript economy.

The texts of the genealogies were copied and recopied repeatedly by scribes, so discrepancies in copies made from the “original” manuscripts were common. Composers sometimes claimed to be reproducing a preexisting kulaji but in fact inserted new materials into it or, either unintentionally or deliberately, omitted to incorporate sections from the “original.” They also did not always mention that changes had been made in the work being copied. Of course, also in keeping with the norms of a pre-print culture, it was not the convention for the composer or compiler of a kulapanji to inform readers about such things as the “sources” on which the work was based or why some materials had been incorporated and not others. But it was what I call the “porousness” of manuscript texts—the tendency for segments of particular works to migrate into other texts without explicit acknowledgment that it was being done—that appeared to pose the biggest problem for skeptics such as Majumdar.

The interpenetration of materials from one manuscript into another took place quite unrestrictedly; the notion that authors had the right of exclusive ownership and proprietorship of their compositions, and that no other author or compiler should be able to make use of them without permission or acknowledgment, was practically unknown before the advent of print culture.¹⁷ Most of these features relate to the absence of what Michel Foucault described as the “author-function”:¹⁸ the attribution of a proper name to a work. In the case of the Bengal kulajis and much of the literature produced prior to the introduction of a print culture, there were indeed cases in which a specific author or compiler laid clear claim to the authorship or compilation of a particular text. But it was equally true that in many other cases, no clear author-function could be constructed. These characteristics stemmed from the prevailing culture, in which the individuality of the author was often subordinated to the perceived need to adhere to the conventions and stylistic and other traditions

¹⁷ My statements regarding the nature of manuscript culture are based on the study of actual genealogical chronicles in both manuscript form (for instance, the Dhaka University “Rajabali”) and printed form (for instance, Datta, *Datta Vamsamala*), as well as on genealogies excerpted in Basu, *Banger Jatiya Itihasa*; Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*; and Lalmohan Bidyanidhi, *Sambandha Niraya*, 4th ed., 5 vols., including appendix volumes (Calcutta, 1355 B.S. [1964]). An excellent discussion is also to be found in Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, “Sanskrita Rajabali Grantha,” *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* 4 (1346 B.S. [1939]): 233–239. For a general description of manuscript culture, see M. T. Clancy, *From Memory to Written Records: England, 1066–1307* (Oxford, 1979).

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, “What Is an Author?” in Donald F. Bouchard, ed., *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 113–138. See also Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 27–33; Martha Woodmansee, “The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the ‘Author,’” *Eighteenth Century Studies* 17, no. 4 (1984): 425–448; Mark Rose, “The Author as Proprietor: Donaldson v. Becket and the Genealogy of Modern Authorship,” *Representations* 23 (1988): 51–85; and Carla Hesse, “Enlightenment Epistemology and the Laws of Authorship in Revolutionary France, 1777–1793,” *Representations* 30 (1990): 109–137.

governing the production of certain types of works.¹⁹ These features frustrated and confounded scholars such as Majumdar, who considered the credibility of any historical material to be in doubt if its author-function and sources could not be clearly established. As a distinguished body of scholarly work associated with Jack Goody, Jan Vansina, Roger Chartier, Robert Darnton, and many others indicates, Majumdar's frustration actually reflects a much wider tension between oral traditions and the written word, on the one hand, and between manuscript culture and print culture, on the other.²⁰

Kulajis were typically owned by individual families and by ghataks and kulacharyas. The decreasing importance and relevance of kulacharyas meant that by the mid-nineteenth century they were functioning purely as matchmakers, and they no longer maintained and updated kulagranthas with as much care as before. Because of the relative decline in the social relevance of kula-based distinctions among Bengali Brahmans, Kayasthas, and Baidyas by the nineteenth century,²¹ families sometimes did not take good care of the kulaji manuscripts in their possession. Thus, the hunt for genealogies around the turn of the century frequently turned up only fragments of kulaji manuscripts, which often showed evidence of damage from insects and water. Professional historians such as Majumdar came to the conclusive view that kulajis were unstable materials and thus did not qualify as rational history, which he and other scholars considered to be the only proper definition of history. "True history," he wrote with devastating bluntness, "has only one version, but imaginary history [which to Majumdar was not history at all] has several."²²

The problems stemming from kulaji texts' having been produced in a pre-print milieu formed an important plank in the critique of the genealogies as works of history in themselves. But the centerpiece of this critique was associated with much more substantive methodological issues. This methodology, which Bonnie Smith characterized as "history professionalized in the nineteenth century west as a science of facts and details,"²³ was transmitted to India via the colonial connection. By the late nineteenth century, the institutions of colonial education had produced a generation of Indian scholars—typified by Majumdar and Banerjee—for whom the practice of history was inexorably associated with rational-positivist history grounded in verifiable facts. For them, not to hold history to these new, modern standards meant

¹⁹ I reiterate that there are numerous examples from premodern Bengal of individual authors who claimed sole authorship of a text—for instance, Mukundaram Chakrabarty in his celebrated work *Chandimangal* (see Sukumar Sen, ed., *Kabikankan Birachita Chandimangal* [repr., Calcutta, 1993]). But there were many other cases in which authors either did not reveal their identities or presented themselves as following earlier writers of the same genre or tradition.

²⁰ Some selective examples include Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wis., 1985); Jack Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge, 1987); Goody, *The Power of the Written Tradition* (Washington, D.C., 2000); Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World* (London, 1988); Roger Chartier, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the 14th and 18th Centuries* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1994); and Robert Darnton, *Revolution in Print: The Press in France, 1775–1800* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

²¹ Majumdar, "Looking for Brides and Grooms."

²² Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 106.

²³ Bonnie Smith, "Facts, Politics and the Gender of History," in Suzanne Marchand and Elizabeth Lunbeck, eds., *Proof and Persuasion: Essays on Authority, Objectivity and Evidence* (Turnhout, Belgium, 1996), 60. See also Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

to relapse into the state of history-writing in precolonial India, which they now regarded not as history at all, but rather as a collection of uncritical myths and stories. Together with this faith in rational analysis, this group of scholars also came to be united by a common faith in the primacy of “hard (material) evidence”—archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence—over textual evidence for purposes of historical analysis.²⁴ Hard evidence was supposed to be far more reliable than textual or oral evidence, and a resort to it came to characterize the brunt of the attack on the historical value of the genealogies.

Archaeology represented a new knowledge discipline in the late nineteenth century, and it was being pressed into service in emergent nation-states in different parts of the world as a resource that was indispensable to the practice of rational-positivist history. As Ian Hodder points out, in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, nationalism and identity provided a self-evident context for the study of cultural sequence through archaeology. Japan, Hispanic South America, and Indonesia provide good examples of this, as do parts of Europe that were characterized in this period by struggles of nation-states and ethnic groups.²⁵ In Egypt and in the Ottoman territories, archaeology and its “auxiliary sciences,” including numismatics and epigraphy, were being deployed to produce histories that were different from what were now perceived as medieval narratives about the past that had not had the benefit of being based on the probings of science and reason.²⁶ The value of archaeology for the reconstruction of India’s past had recently been validated by many important discoveries, foremost among them probably being the discovery in 1924 of the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa.²⁷ Many of the scholars who were skeptical about the historical value of the genealogies, including Banerjee and Chanda, were professional archaeologists. For them, archaeology naturally held pride of place among the multiple tools available (including textual analysis) for the reconstruction of history. During the early twentieth century, Majumdar and other professional historians in India showed a clear preference for evidence furnished by archaeology and by other related “hard evidence” over textual evidence.

The principal argument in favor of privileging “hard evidence” as an accurate reflection of historical conditions at the time when the kulagranthas were produced ultimately came down to the issue of what was described as “authenticity.” These scholars were firm in their conviction that inscriptions and coins did not fabricate or exaggerate facts, whereas genealogical texts associated with sensitive issues such as social rank and status were clearly vulnerable to exaggeration or to gross misrepresentation of the past. Some critics of the kulagranthas were willing to concede the value of certain kinds of historical texts—for instance, Sanskrit biographies of kings such as Bilhana’s *Vikramankadevacharita* or Sandhyakar Nandy’s *Ramcharita*,

²⁴ I use the term “hard (material) evidence” following Tapati Guha-Thakurta in “Archaeology as Evidence: Looking Back from the Ayodhya Debate,” Occasional Paper no. 159, Center for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta (Calcutta, 1997).

²⁵ Ian Hodder, “Archaeological Theory,” in Barry Cunliffe, Wendy Davies, and Colin Renfrew, eds., *Archaeology: The Widening Debate* (Oxford, 2002), 81.

²⁶ Lewis and Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, 417.

²⁷ Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *A History of Indian Archaeology from the Beginning to 1947* (New Delhi, 1988); Chakrabarti, “Indian Archaeology: The First Phase, 1784–1861,” in Glyn Daniel, ed., *Towards a History of Archaeology* (London, 1981), 169–185.

or the well-known Persian histories of India and Bengal²⁸—which were also receiving attention from modern scholars at the time.²⁹ They gave some credence to those materials because there was relatively credible information about the authors, their backgrounds, and the circumstances in which they had composed their works.³⁰ According to this line of thinking, if textual materials were to be used for reconstructing the past, they had to be materials such as these—not disorganized, mutually contradictory genealogies characterized by textual instability and disarray. Thus the kulagranthas clearly did not fall into the category of texts that could be seriously accorded the status of history.

Much of the “hard evidence” on which the history of Bengal and India was reconstructed in accordance with modern sensibilities was being unearthed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Stone inscriptions, copper plate inscriptions, coins, and sculptural pieces were among the many objects that were brought to light. The inscriptional evidence found in Bengal for the period from roughly the eighth and ninth to the tenth and eleventh centuries was used by scholars such as Majumdar, Banerjee, and Chanda to write the chronological political and dynastic history of Bengal during that time.³¹ As practically every one of these scholars pointed out, none of the recently discovered objects included any kind of reference to a king named Adisur. The conspicuous absence of even a single mention of this ruler dealt a blow not only to any value that the kulajis might have possessed as history, but also to the entire narrative that they told about the origins of Bengal’s social structure. Thus every major critic of the historicity of the kulagranthas took the position that because no epigraphic, numismatic, or archaeological data or other textual sources could corroborate the existence of King Adisur or the veracity of certain facts that the genealogical discourse presented as key to the story of Bengal’s social history, there was every reason to reject, or at least be skeptical about, these traditions.³²

Indeed, this emphasis on corroborative evidence formed an important part of the methodological critique of the genealogies. As Chanda wrote in his *Gaudarajamala*, the two most important methodological steps in historical research were a meticulous search for “sources” and the use of the right kind of scrutiny to sift out elements

²⁸ Persian histories refer here to a large body of Indo-Islamic chronicles that were produced in India from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries until about the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These texts were often in Persian, the official courtly language of many of the Muslim dynasties that ruled India, and embodied features reminiscent of classic Islamic historiography produced in the Middle East. These features included careful attention to chronology, identification of authorities on whose testimonies the work was based, and clearer identification of authors. For the nature and character of Indo-Islamic historiography, see, for example, Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India: Studies in Indo-Muslim Historiography* (repr., Delhi, 1997), and Harbans Mukhia, *Historians and Historiography during the Reign of Akbar* (New Delhi, 1976).

²⁹ Akshay Kumar Maitra, *Antiquities of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1879), 1: 1–2, 11; Ramaprasad Chanda, *Gaudarajamala* (Rajshahi, 1319 B.S. [1912]), 1–4, and see also the preface to this work by Akshay Kumar Maitra (n.p.); Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 3, 5–6, 8–9, 92–93.

³⁰ Haraprasad Shastri, ed., *Ramacharita* by Sandhyakar Nandy (repr., Calcutta, 1910; revised, with English trans. and notes by Radhagobinda Basak).

³¹ Representative examples include Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyaya, *Banglar Itihasa*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1324 B.S. [1924]), and Chanda, *Gaudarajamala*.

³² Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 49, 88–89, 91–97; Chanda, *Gaudarajamala*, 56–59; Bandyopadhyaya, *Banglar Itihasa*, 1: 117–124, 186–187, 188–189.

that could not be verified as true facts.³³ The tendency to take at face value the claims made by a body of discourse such as the kulagranthas and accept them as factual history was not viewed by historians as proper methodology. Akshay Kumar Maitra asserted that historians needed to maintain professional objectivity and detached impartiality from the subjects of their research. He believed that a historian was required to be a disinterested judge of the sources of history at his or her disposal; there could be no room for feelings and emotions in the process of historical analysis.³⁴ Maitra felt that the current public controversies about such things as the origins of Bengal's social structure and King Adisur did not qualify as appropriate scholarly historical discussion because, in his view, they were sometimes emotionally charged and tainted by caste rivalries and chauvinism and came nowhere close to being an impartial, detached quest for the truth.

Finally, the fact that the kulagranthas were written in verse condemned them in the eyes of rationalist scholars, who deemed them unworthy of being considered serious history as they understood it. As Suzanne Marchand and Elizabeth Lunbeck write, "style was a crucial element by which authority was asserted and readers badgered to assert the authors' claims,"³⁵ and in this case the verse style was identified as yet another important element that precluded the kulajis from the realm of proper history. As scholars have shown, written prose narratives were associated with a certain sense of dialogue, and with the problem of gaining readers' assent to the text. The methodological concerns of some objectivist historians about evaluating and critically questioning evidence gave the author the right to claim authority for the text by representing "the process of research"³⁶ on which it rested. A poet or storyteller, by contrast, was believed to give much greater weight (particularly in oral performance) to the effort to "suspend his hearers' disbelief and engage them in his created world."³⁷ The verse form of the kulagranthas deepened the unease with which they were regarded by objectivist historians. As Maitra described it, they were "imperfect annals of civilization."³⁸

In contrast, for a fairly large group of intellectuals of the time, including Lal-mohan Bidyanidhi, Nagendranath Basu, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Kshitindranath Thakur, and Durgacharan Sanyal, not only were the kulagranthas not objects of dubious historicity, they constituted an invaluable trove of indigenous social history of the region.³⁹ This point of view was obviously derived from a concept of history fundamentally different from the one discussed above. To almost all of these scholars, history was understood as far more than a systematic, dry marshaling of verifiable facts related to the past and objective, analytic scrutiny of them. Dinesh Sen and

³³ Chanda, *Gaudarajamala*, 1–4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, preface (n.p.).

³⁵ Marchand and Lunbeck, *Proof and Persuasion*, x1.

³⁶ S. C. Humphreys, "From Riddle to Rigor: Satisfactions of Scientific Prose in Ancient Greece," in Lunbeck and Marchand, *Proof and Persuasion*, 5, 9. See also Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 53–98.

³⁷ Humphreys, "From Riddle to Rigor," 7.

³⁸ Maitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. 1.

³⁹ Durgacharan Sanyal, *Banglar Samajik Itihasa* (Calcutta, 1317 B.S. [1910]); Basu, *Banger Jatiya Itihasa*; Basu, "Bangiya Purabritter Upakaran," *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* 1 (1314 B.S. [1907]): 1–24; Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Brihat Banga*, 2 vols. (repr., Calcutta, 1999); Bidyanidhi, *Sambandha Nirnaya*; Kshitindranath Thakur, *Adisur O Bhattacharyayan* (Calcutta, 1933); Umesh Chandra Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*.

other like-minded scholars tended to understand history in its broadest possible sense to denote what I call impressions of the past. These impressions were manifest in and in turn also drawn from a wide range of things, including myths, legends, ballads, genealogies, architectural relics, sculpture, craft traditions, customs, and material culture (e.g., clothing styles, language, and food). In other words, history was a product of culture—not any culture, but the culture of the “people.” Such culture was perceived to constitute an important seedbed of tradition and heritage, from which ordinary people derived their perceptions regarding their traditions. History was thus synonymous with tradition rather than a circumscribed academic discipline that was preoccupied with the application of a rational-positivist methodology to artifacts and texts from the past. History was to be discovered in impressions or essences of the past, as cherished and valued by a specific people—in this case, the people of Bengal. Sen claimed that his ambitious project embodied by the two volumes of *Brihat Banga* symbolized his effort to capture this concept of history through telling the story of the past experiences of the Bengali people.⁴⁰ According to this view, the genealogical literature that had evoked a firestorm of arguments and name-calling among scholars deserved to be regarded as history precisely because the “people” viewed it as a pool of trustworthy accounts that explained the evolution of the region’s social organization over many centuries.

This concept of history as the story of the traditions and culture of a people was intimately associated with an ethnographic dimension: this was an indigenous Bengali view, rooted in the land and culture of Bengal, and it was therefore distinctively different from other concepts of history. Its validity derived from the fact that it was a native tradition and therefore uncompromisingly authentic. Other historical traditions could not be accepted primarily because they had been formed by what were viewed as “outside influences.” The Persian histories were to be rejected first, because they were perceived to have been composed by Muslims, who as “outsiders” could not understand the indigenous Hindu Bengali view of history.⁴¹ The modern rational-positivist concept of history was to be avoided, too. It was seen unambiguously as a “Western” concept that had been brought to India by a colonial regime. Its acceptance would therefore lead to the alienation of Indians and Bengalis from their own traditions and ways of thinking.⁴²

In a manner not uncharacteristic of colonial intellectuals who had developed the tendency to use Europe and European traditions as a constant reference point, some of the scholars who articulated this folk-oriented tradition of history chose to deliberately position such endeavors in the German Romantic tradition associated with Johann Gottfried von Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte. In fact, however, these Bengali intellectuals were also participating in practices of indigenous and in some cases nationalist ethnography that were evident during the same period and later in emergent and modernizing nation-states across Asia and elsewhere. Japan and Vietnam, for example, provide excellent comparative perspectives on the connections between ethnography, nationalism, and history. In Japan, the ethnographic and folk-

⁴⁰ Sen, *Brihat Banga*, 1: preface (n.p.).

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Sen, *Brihat Banga*. This idea runs like a recurrent theme through both volumes of this work; representative samples can be found in 1: 26, 460–461.

loric studies of Yanagita Kunio, Origuchi Shinobu, Yanagi Soetsu, and others underline the immense need felt by a segment of Meiji intellectuals to capture and commemorate the customs and beliefs of the “real” Japanese people⁴³ in an effort to rescue what Harry Harootunian describes as a “submerged authenticity”⁴⁴ under pressure from the hectic pace of modernization. To many of these intellectuals, the history of Japan was to be found in the practices and customs of ordinary rural people, because they reflected older cultural practices and were believed to still be capable of communicating “an authentic experience of the people.”⁴⁵ In post-1945, and especially post-1952, Vietnam, ethnographic explorations into the culture of the rural and presumed “real” people were also aimed at resuscitating genuinely Vietnamese cultural traits perceived to still be in circulation among them. This, in turn, would illuminate a truly *national* culture—untouched by Chinese or French cultural influences—which could then serve as the foundation on which a national history of Vietnam could rest.⁴⁶

This nexus between ethnography, nationalism, and history in places such as India, Japan, and Vietnam draws further attention to theories of nationalism,⁴⁷ particularly to Benedict Anderson’s notion that a modular formula of nationalism had been developed and tried in the Western world during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and that it then became available to anticolonial nationalisms in Asia and Africa.⁴⁸ The processes of nation-making and history-writing in colonial and formerly colonial regions such as India and Vietnam underline instead Partha Chatterjee’s rebuttal of the Andersonian model and his refusal to concede that anticolonial nationalisms in Asia and Africa were derivative and based on a conscious emulation of modes and methods that had been tried out in the West. As Chatterjee demonstrates, anticolonial nationalisms in many parts of the world drew strength from articulating their own cultural distinctiveness and authenticity vis-à-vis their colonizers.⁴⁹ The proclivity among groups of intellectuals in Japan (here the tension was not with colonialism per se, but rather with the phenomenon of modernity and its uneasy association with what was perceived to be the “West”), India, or Vietnam to identify value and authenticity with what was supposedly distinctive and unique to a particular language, culture, or history underscores the tendency of these nationalisms to attempt to articulate their indigenous distinctiveness vis-à-vis colonial and Western traditions. The propensity among a certain group of Indian and Bengali

⁴³ Ronald A. Morse, *Yanagita Kunio and the Folklore Movement: The Search for Japan’s National Character and Distinctiveness* (New York, 1990); Alan S. Christy, “The Making of Imperial Subjects,” in Tani E. Barlow, ed., *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham, N.C., 1997), 141–169; Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan*; Gerald A. Figal, *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Durham, N.C., 1999).

⁴⁴ Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), xxvi.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Pelley, *Postcolonial Vietnam*, 69–112.

⁴⁷ For example, Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1944); John Plamenatz, “Two Types of Nationalism,” in Eugene Kamenka, ed., *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea* (London, 1976), 23–26; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁴⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991).

⁴⁹ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 1–13.

intellectuals to emphasize “colonial difference” produced a strongly nativist theory of history accompanied by an explicit disavowal not of universalist, but rather of “Western” notions of scientific history.

In this indigenous Bengali concept of history, the community or *samaj*—the civil institution of society—was upheld as the primary locus of interest and attention, in contrast to both the Islamic or Indo-Persian tradition and the modern Western notion of history as a rational-positivist discipline. The Persian histories were devalued by the proponents of a Bengali indigenist vision of history as “histories of the state (*rashtra*)” rather than a history of the “people.” The modern rational-positivist concept of history associated with the “West” was also characterized as preoccupied mainly with accounts of governmental regimes and their activities rather than commemorating the life and customs of the people. As Kshitindranath Thakur remarked, Europeans had taught some Indians to believe that only books in which past wars and conquests were discussed deserved to be regarded as history. Thakur supported a broader, holistic concept of history that was distinctively different from king- and war-centric histories. He also linked the absence of a tradition of war-centric histories in Bengal to the superior cultural values and attributes possessed by the Bengali people, including an aversion to warfare and violence.⁵⁰ Bengalis instead emphasized the importance of social institutions such as the jati- and kula-based *samaj*. The kulajis, the ostensible subjects of the controversy, were valuable histories, recounting the story not of warmongering governmental regimes, but of the social entity represented by the *samaj*. “I proclaim with pride,” wrote Basu, “that hundreds of Xenophons and hundreds of Thucydideses were born in Bengal”;⁵¹ but these Bengali Xenophons concentrated their geniuses more on writing about the development of the community and its customs than on battles and military exercises. In fact, some of the discomfort that scholars such as Banerjee and Majumdar exhibited toward these views may have derived from the very deliberate turn away from chronological, dynastic history of monarchical governments to narratives about the languages, crafts, and poetic traditions of the people. Inherent in the ethnographic, nativist impulse in Japan was a tendency to valorize the Japanese folk and the rural communities that provided a framework for their culture vis-à-vis the centrality of the emperor and the state as the primary sources of Japanese nationhood.⁵² But the implications of a people- and community-oriented vision of nationhood and history meant different things in different contexts. In Vietnam, the quest for a genuinely indigenous community and culture as embodied by the peasantry also highlighted traditions of political corporatism and opposition to a centralized state that were important components of peasant or folk culture, and these were of course not palatable to a state-supported project of national history.⁵³

In the case of colonial Bengal, the romantic nativist concept of history generated an impulse for what Sumit Sarkar describes as a “precocious” agenda to write the social history of the land, which came to be regularly counterposed to the *rashtra* or

⁵⁰ Thakur, *Adisur O Bhattanarayan*, 113–116.

⁵¹ Nagendranath Basu, “Bangiya Purabritter Upakaran,” *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* 1 (1314 B.S. [1907]): 1–24.

⁵² Christy, “The Making of Imperial Subjects”; Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan*; Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*.

⁵³ Pelley, *Postcolonial Vietnam*.

rajshakti (the state, the political domain).⁵⁴ The primacy of the civil sphere in recounting the past experiences of a people was reiterated in the writings of public figures and intellectuals such as Satish Mukherjee and especially Rabindranath Tagore at the turn of the twentieth century. Both insisted that the privileging of the community over tales of war and conquest as the main subject of history distinguished the quintessentially Bengali world view of history, as opposed to the then-preoccupation of rational-positivist academic history with dynastic narratives of territorial expansion and wars.⁵⁵ These scholars did not acknowledge the possible existence of links between the community and the state (the latter was conceived of here as a military and administrative apparatus). Instead, they sought to idealize the *samaj* as a sphere of peaceful quotidian activities that they ideologically isolated from the state as a governmental regime preoccupied with wars and conquests.⁵⁶

A powerful idea shared among scholars advocating the nativist concept of history was to be found in their critiques, both explicit and implicit, of Western education in India. They felt that by teaching adherents to believe that the Western style of writing history was the only true history, this education had succeeded in alienating some Bengali intellectuals from their own cultural traditions.⁵⁷ Banerjee, Majumdar, and others were taken to task for allegedly becoming alienated from the indigenous Bengali way of commemorating the past. Dinesh Sen, in particular, hypothesized that the only people in Bengal who had not suffered cultural alienation from their own traditions were the ordinary poor people living in the rural areas.⁵⁸ Thus the strictly professional rational-positivist view of history propagated by Majumdar and others created a gulf between the Bengali upper class and the poor, humble people of the region. The latter, according to this point of view, were the real custodians of Bengal's past. Those hypothesizing an "indigenist" Bengali concept of history thus made a very important claim: that history was not the exclusive academic preserve of professional archaeologists and historians, but rather a sphere to which nonspecialists had an equally strong claim. Much of the methodological criticism leveled by the professionalists at those espousing a more romantic, nativist concept of history was deemed irrelevant by the latter group. Sen, for example, stated clearly in his preface to *Brihat Banga* that he had written the work not for professional historians but for ordinary people, and in so doing he had deliberately chosen not to use detached scientific language or to separate myths and legends from facts.⁵⁹ The need to analyze and scrutinize evidence, to look for corroboration from other sources, and to evaluate the "truth" versus the "mythic" nature of information related to the past—these either were declared to be unnecessary or at best were assigned a fairly low priority by the indigenists. Interestingly enough, the proponents of this concept of history, while eschewing positivist history because they identified it as being non-Western in

⁵⁴ Sumit Sarkar, "The Many Worlds of Indian History," in Sarkar, *Writing Social History* (Delhi, 1997), 20–26.

⁵⁵ Satish Mukherjee's advocacy of a communitarian ideology is cited in *ibid.*, 28–29. For Tagore's views, see Tagore, *Rabindra Rachanabali*, ed. R. K. Dasgupta et al. (Calcutta, 1990), 12: 37–39, 40–43, 43–60.

⁵⁶ I am grateful to Dipesh Chakrabarty for drawing my attention to this point.

⁵⁷ Sen, *Brihat Banga*, 1: 251–252; Thakur, *Adisur O Bhattanarayan*, 113–116; Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*, 2: preface (n.p.).

⁵⁸ Sen, *Brihat Banga*, 1: 252, 262–263, 274.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, preface (n.p.).

origin, betrayed a lack of awareness of and interest in classical Indian intellectual traditions, particularly those pertaining to theories of verifying evidence and the criteria for ascertaining the truth of a statement or a story.⁶⁰

In effect, the notion of history extolled by Sen and others rebelled against formal methodology, whether Western (this they made explicit) or indigenous (this they implied with their total silence on the subject). What these scholars valorized was rather an instinctive, nonformalized manner of recovering the past, unfettered by structured methodology or criteria and evaluation. In taking such a stand, these Bengali intellectuals were echoing the distinction between history and memory articulated by Maurice Halbwachs, and more recently by Yosef Hayim Yarushalmi and Pierre Nora.⁶¹ In the context of the kulagrantha debate, Sen and Basu expressed their preference for spontaneous, free-form memory as a mode of retrieving the past over professional history with its preoccupation with “abstract frameworks of chronology and factual detail.”⁶² Memory was to be further reinforced by conjoining it to emotion. Instead of being a deterrent to research about the past, emotion was in fact its underlying bedrock.

Many of the ideas discussed above had in fact been reinforced by the antipartition Swadeshi agitation (1905–1910/1911) in Bengal. The association of emotionalism with patriotism and the celebration of the people’s culture as the true substance of history was in full flower during and after the antipartition turmoil. The kulagrantha controversy antedated the Swadeshi movement, but many of the core ideas and concepts that characterized it—particularly the arguments and ideas articulated by the proponents of an emotional, nativist vision of history—were invigorated and actualized by it. The strongly emotive, romantic conceptualizations of the land as mother and as goddess in popular patriotic poetry, plays, and visual representations, which had been in evidence since the late nineteenth century, peaked during this period. The embodiment of the land as mother also provided a matrix of bonds based on love, affection, and familiarity that bound together the people with the land as well as with each other.⁶³

The Swadeshi years were also instrumental in strengthening the already strong interest in and awareness of history among the Bengali literati. The celebration of the “people’s culture”—an integral feature of the Swadeshi movement and of the

⁶⁰ The literature on classical Indian intellectual traditions is very large. Representative examples of standard surveys of Indian intellectual and philosophical traditions include Surendranath Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1922–1925), and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, 2 vols. (London, 1923–1927). Gautam Bhadra, *Jaal Rajar Katha: Bardhamaner Pratapchandra* (Calcutta, 2002), contains an insightful discussion of Indian theories of verifying evidence. See also Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *Truth: A History and a Guide for the Perplexed* (New York, 1997).

⁶¹ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York, 1980); Yosef Hayim Yarushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish Memory and Jewish History* (Seattle, Wash., 1982); Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–25. The literature on history and memory is a large one. Here I refer to only those works mentioned directly in the text.

⁶² Susan A. Crane, “Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory,” *AHR* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1372–1385.

⁶³ Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903–1908* (New Delhi, 1973); Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New “Indian” Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c. 1850–1920* (Cambridge, 1992); Sugata Bose, “Nation as Mother: Representations and Contestations of ‘India’ in Bengali Literature and Culture,” in Bose and Ayesha Jalal, eds., *Nationalism, Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India* (New Delhi, 1997); Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism* (Delhi, 2001).

kulagrantha controversy—was embodied in the collection and systematization of folk ballads, folktales, and fairytales, a process that was pioneered in Bengal by Sen and Dakshina Ranjan Mitra-Majumdar.⁶⁴ This trend was reminiscent of the efforts of Japanese folklorists such as Yanagita Kunio during the same period. It represented efforts to valorize folk traditions as indigenous and untouched by “outside” or “new” influences—whether colonial, Western, or industrial.

Another important manifestation of the urge to preserve the people’s culture was the huge number of local histories written during this period by the Bengali gentry.⁶⁵ Studies of local places, however defined, were often far more typical of the romantic, nonprofessional historical impulse than the larger transcendental entity of the nation. Yet, as Celia Applegate points out, the tendency to place exclusive emphasis on the modern nation-state as the subject of history has resulted in the neglect of conceptualizations of the region or the locality both in terms of their relationship to the nation and as subjects of history.⁶⁶ Prasenjit Duara’s work demonstrates that historical discourses emphasizing a primary identification with the province or region existed in the interstices of nationalist historiography in early-twentieth-century China.⁶⁷ Perhaps an awareness that historical discourse can also articulate itself via a locality can serve to open up discussions about the region and the nation, their mutual relationships and their histories.

This growing interest in the redemption, recovery, and preservation of the people’s culture as an indispensable plank in the history-writing project found a more permanent and institutional form in the activities of many organizations that had emerged in Bengal before, during, and after the Swadeshi movement, including the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, founded in 1900, as well as a host of local organizations.⁶⁸ The term *sahitya* was most commonly used in reference to literature, but the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, like many other organizations of this type, tended to understand it in the broadest possible sense. Maitra once described it as “the wellspring of all possible types of intellectual and developmental powers” that could benefit human society.⁶⁹ Thus defined, *sahitya* could well accommodate within it the category of “history” as understood by its members. In the pursuit of this kind of history, the language, customs, and past achievements of the people were seen as essentially related objects of study. Dedicated gentleman enthusiasts associated with many of these organizations undertook walking tours devoted to photographing extant historical buildings and monuments, made notes about local traditions, and looked for

⁶⁴ Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Folk Literature of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1920); Sen, *Maimansimha Gitika*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Calcutta, 1923); Dakshina Ranjan Mitra-Majumdar, *Thakumaar Jhuli* (Calcutta, 1908). See also Jack Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World* (New York, 1988).

⁶⁵ Typical examples include Rasiklal Gupta, *Maharaj Rajballabh Sen* (Calcutta, n.d.); Nabinkrishna Bandyopadhyaya, *Bhadrapurer Itibritta* (Murshidabad, 1910–1911); and Saradacharan Dhara, *Nabab Harekrishna* (Calcutta, 1910).

⁶⁶ Celia Applegate, “A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times,” *AHR* 104, no. 4 (October 1999): 1157–1182. See also Kären Wigen, “Culture, Power, and Place: The New Landscapes of East Asian Regionalism,” *ibid.*, 1183–1201.

⁶⁷ Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation*, chap. 6.

⁶⁸ Amarnath Karan, *Sahitya Sammilaner Itibritta, 1900–1903* (Calcutta, 1994); *Sahitya Parishat Panjika O Bangiya Sahitya Parishader Unabingsha Sambatsarik Karya Bibarani, 1913–14* (Sahitya, 1320 B.S. [1913]); Gautam Bhadra and Dipa De, “Chintar Chalchitra: Bangiya Sahitya Parishad,” *Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, Centenary Volume, 1401–1402 B.S. [1994–1995], 39–68.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Karan, *Sahitya Sammilaner Itibritta*, 186.

hoards of old manuscripts stored in rural homes. Descriptions of these “history” tours are imbued with an infectious energy and enthusiasm that demonstrates the long reach and power of history as understood by nonspecialist amateurs.⁷⁰

The limitations inherent in the romantic celebration of the “people’s” history need to be kept in mind. The masses were eulogized as the custodians of the region’s history and customs, but it required urban, upper-class, often upper-caste, educated scholars to speak up for and represent village traditions in a bourgeois public sphere shaped by print. It was perhaps inevitable, too, that the perception of what was considered to be the people’s culture would be colored by class, caste, and other cultural considerations unique to the urban Bengali literati.⁷¹ These types of writings also tended to idealize and view the culture, beliefs, and practices of the “people” as fully formed, enduring, and in a sense almost timeless prior to the onset of the present with its problems of colonialism and nationalism, the dilemmas of negotiating modernity, and the predicaments of producing appropriate histories in such situations. They were in fact involved in the invention of a tradition⁷² regarding what they considered to be the people’s culture against the encroachments of an alienating colonial modernity. The significance here of this strand of romantic, nativist popular history lies in its potential to offer us a view of history that was significantly different from the academic history practiced by professional historians.

The debate among the two groups of scholars suggests that—discursively, at least—the battle lines between them were pretty clearly drawn. Despite the significant disagreements, however, almost all of the scholars involved in the kulagrantha controversy shared certain important concerns and objectives. For the most part, they did not adopt rigidly absolutist positions. The most important point uniting the two groups of scholars was the conviction that a (re)discovery of the past via Indian and Bengali agency was in fact an essential prerequisite to nation-building. But here, too, as the preceding discussion has demonstrated, significant distinctions separated the protagonists of the two groups discussed above.

Interestingly enough, the two opposing concepts of history discussed here came closest to an uneasy consensus on the question of oral tradition, which they described as *janashruti* (literally, “what the people heard”).⁷³ Umesh Chandra Gupta, an advocate of the historicity of the kulajis, insisted that oral traditions were not to be taken lightly as a typology of knowledge. He believed that there was always at least a kernel of truth in hearsay, and that without this grounding in truth, the hearsay could not originate, expand, and spread.⁷⁴

Predictably, the scholars on the opposite side in this debate were deeply troubled at the prospect that haphazardly written and compiled genealogies could be con-

⁷⁰ Nagendranath Basu, *Bardhamaner Itikatha* (Bardhaman, 1915); Kumudbandhu Basu, “Amader Aitihasik Bhandar,” *Bharati*, Kartik 1311 B.S. [1904], 700–718.

⁷¹ Sarkar, “The Many Worlds of Indian History,” 22–24.

⁷² Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁷³ A large secondary literature exists on the subject of oral traditions in India. Examples include Stuart Blackburn, *Singing of Birth and Death: Texts in Performance* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1988); Blackburn, *Moral Fictions: Tamil Folktales from Oral Tradition* (Helsinki, 2001); Philip Lutgendorf, *The Life of a Text: Performing the Ramcharitmanas of Tulsidas* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); Kirin Narayan, *Storytellers, Saints and Scoundrels: Folk Narrative in Hindu Religious Teaching* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1989); and Gautam Bhadra, “Kathakathar Nana Katha,” *Jogasutra*, October–December 1993, 169–278.

⁷⁴ Thakur, *Adisur O Bhattanarayan*, 1–2; Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*, 2: 6.

sidered history. Yet despite such weighty objections, the proponents of “objectivist” history ultimately and somewhat paradoxically agreed with the romanticists—although not without reservations—that these materials might be accorded some historical value. Majumdar and Chanda conceded that the kulagranthas, although of suspicious historicity, could not be totally dismissed as fabrications. Majumdar, and later Inden, rejected the contention of scholars such as Basu that the kulagranthas were datable to a time between the eighth and ninth and the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Both believed that paleographic and other evidence suggested that most extant kulajis had been composed or recopied from earlier chronicles during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷⁵ Majumdar and Banerjee categorized the kulagranthas as janashruti from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷⁶ The texts thus embodied memories and impressions of particular segments of Bengali society regarding the origin and development of the jati and kula rankings of the region. But the primary reason why they merited some consideration by historians was the persistence and power of certain types of janashruti and their overall uniformity. Banerjee and Majumdar both felt that a few specific stories included in the larger mass of oral tradition embodied in the kulagranthas merited cautious and limited acceptance—including the possible existence of a king called Adisur. Majumdar explained that he found this particular story somewhat plausible because it was repeated in most of the kulagranthas and in practically identical terms. These attributes were sufficient for a professional historian to accord grudging acceptance to the historical value of the kulagranthas.⁷⁷ But neither Banerjee nor Majumdar granted the genealogies the status of history; at best they could be cautiously considered to be “sources” of history. The materials had to be subjected to scrutiny and analysis by modern scholars, who alone possessed the intellectual training to write proper history. Other objectivist historians refused outright to acknowledge their possible historical value.

At one level, the disagreements among the participants in the debate can be attributed to differences in academic specialization and professional standing. Most of those who spoke for the need to deploy rational, objective modes of analysis, an attitude of detachment, and highly specialized expertise of the kind needed in fields such as archaeology and epigraphy were professional historians affiliated with institutions of higher education, with museums or the Archeological Survey of India, or with semiprofessional organizations such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Those articulating the nature of history as essentially meant to inspire the “people” of the country and insisting on trying to prize it out of the exclusive control of specialist scholars were not, despite their generally acknowledged scholarship and erudition, professional historians or archaeologists. Both Basu and Sen saw history as a public concern rather than the concern of a few specialists.

Despite the opposing positions adopted by these groups of scholars with respect to the genealogical materials, the lines separating the two camps did blur at times. Notwithstanding the conviction that historical research had to be free of emotion and

⁷⁵ Chanda, *Gaudarajamala*, 56–59; Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 23–26; Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture*, 4.

⁷⁶ Bandyopadhyaya, *Banglar Itihasa*, 1: 124; Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 26.

⁷⁷ Bandyopadhyaya, *Banglar Itihasa*, 1: appendix, “Shur Rajbangsha,” 209–214; Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 88–91.

of any desire to bolster national, sectarian pride, professional historians are charged with having succumbed to the very same emotions and feelings that they decried. Majumdar's view that the existence of strong Indian cultural influences in Southeast Asia from the seventh and eighth to the eleventh and twelfth centuries was proof of the operation of an Indian imperialism there has been interpreted by later scholars as an effort to glorify Indian achievements in the historical past.⁷⁸ Even the work of H. C. Raychaudhuri, the author of one of the early classic works on ancient Indian history, was not free from the impetus to find in ancient Indian history the lineages of a nation-state that nationalists in the early twentieth century dreamed of reestablishing.⁷⁹ The claim that "hard evidence" was truthful and impartial because it was impervious to cultural, national, or sectarian politics has also, of course, been punctured. Tapati Guha-Thakurta has shown that in disputes over architectural monuments, myth and memory could infiltrate the fields of history and archaeology, disrupting the properties of their methods and procedures, challenging their evidentiary logic, and refusing to keep "proven fact" apart from "imagined truths."⁸⁰

Some of the professional historians and archaeologists associated with the *ku-lagrantha* controversy were also practitioners of what is regarded as popular or romantic history. As the rich literature on the topic of romantic history reminds us, historical narratives constructed in accordance with the principles of rational positivism were but one important mode of representing the past. There could be, and indeed there were, other modes of representing the past as well, for example, through spectacles (such as waxworks), historical novels, and plays. Hayden White's postulate of the incestuous relationship between history and fiction is well-known.⁸¹ The work of scholars such as Stephen Bann, Ann Rigney, and Maurice Samuels on the close connections between academic history and romantic or popular history in nineteenth-century Britain and France demonstrates convincingly that a broader environment of historical awareness or interest had been created by and was at the same time manifest in cultural productions such as those mentioned above.⁸² The novels of Sir Walter Scott and of Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, and other French romantics enjoyed phenomenal popularity, which underscored their ability to entertain and provide pleasure to a much larger audience than just highly educated, trained professional historians or archaeologists. Thus, the historical cultures of a

⁷⁸ R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonization in South-East Asia* (Baroda, 1955), 6–7; Dietmar Rothermund and Herman Kulke, *A History of India* (1986; repr., New York, 1990), 152–153.

⁷⁹ H. C. Raychaudhuri, *The Political History of Ancient India: From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty, with a Commentary by B. N. Mukherjee* (1923; repr., New York, 1996), xi–xii.

⁸⁰ Guha-Thakurta, "Archaeology as Evidence," 15; Guha-Thakurta, "Archaeology and the Monument: On Two Contentious Sites of Faith and History" (unpublished ms.).

⁸¹ Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, Md., 1978); White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, Md., 1990). See also Carlo Ginzburg, "Fiction as Historical Evidence," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 5, no. 2 (1992): 165–178.

⁸² The literature on this subject is large. The works I found the most useful were Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clío: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge, 1984); Bann, *The Inventions of History: Essays on the Representation of the Past* (Manchester, 1990); Lionel Grossman, *Between History and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Ann Rigney, *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001); and Maurice Samuels, *The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004).

given society encapsulated academic history or “historiography proper,”⁸³ as many of them described it, and extended to include phenomena such as visual arts, historical novels, historical spectacles, and museums. In fact, romantic, popular history, with its ability to reach larger numbers of people, may well have been of critical importance in creating an overall environment of interest in the past. Professional history could have come into being and functioned only against this backdrop.

Yet much of the scholarship on the emergence of history in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century India overlooks the potency and significance of romantic history.⁸⁴ The historical novels of Scott allow us to establish a link to the intelligentsia of colonial India and Bengal. This period saw the production of large numbers of historical novels and plays in Bengal, and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, indisputably the most celebrated historical novelist of late-nineteenth-century Bengal, acknowledged his direct debt and inspiration to Scott’s novels. This sphere of imaginary romantic or popular history shared with the nativist conception of history the character of being a nonspecialist field in which emotion, imagination, and romance took center stage. Several proponents of scientific history—including Banerjee and Maitra, who were actively engaged in denouncing the historicity of the *kulagranthas*—were also authors of historical romances, both plays and novels.⁸⁵ This genre of imaginary history can be seen as a sphere in which “real” historical personalities could be endowed with the nobility and virtues that rational, credible sources of history made difficult or impossible in academic history. Similarly, real historical events could be made to have imaginary but more desirable outcomes.⁸⁶

Yet we must be careful not to completely blur the boundaries between professional history and archaeology, on the one hand, and popular, nonspecialist, romantic history, on the other. Despite the existence of this “intermediary zone—a space not quite history nor entirely fiction,”⁸⁷ professional historians and archaeologists, when writing for specialist scholarly audiences, worked within the methodologies prescribed by their academic disciplines—they evaluated evidence, sought corroboration for discovered facts, and attempted to explain why one kind of evidence was more reliable than another. Even when some among them wrote “imaginary” history, it was kept separate from their scholarly work.

The birth of the modern nation-state and the emergence of history as a rational-positivist discipline occurred in tandem in Europe after the French Revolution, and this is believed to have endowed history from the inception of its professionalization with the tendency to become a narrative of the state. This feature has been em-

⁸³ For instance, Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 3.

⁸⁴ Such omissions are noticeable in, e.g., Guha, *An Indian Historiography of India*; Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*; and Gyanendra Pandey, “The Prose of Otherness,” in David Arnold and David Hardiman, eds., *Subaltern Studies VIII: Essays in Honour of Ranajit Guha* (New Delhi, 1994). The exceptions to these are Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India* (Delhi, 1995), and Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York, 2004).

⁸⁵ A. K. Bandyopadhyaya and B. N. Mukhopadhyaya, eds., *Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyaya Rachanabali*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1988, 1990); Akshay Kumar Maitra, *Mir Kasim* (Calcutta, 1906); Maitra, *Phiringi Banik* (Calcutta, 1922).

⁸⁶ Kaviraj, *The Unhappy Consciousness*, 107–157; Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 132–139.

⁸⁷ Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 133.

phasized for India by several influential scholars.⁸⁸ Prasenjit Duara agrees that this was undoubtedly a predominant tendency in China, but he also makes a persuasive case for other visions of history that existed there in the twentieth century. In these visions, it was not the state but other forms of community, such as civil society or local affiliations, that took primacy.⁸⁹ The kulagrantha controversy compels us to conceive of history and its cultures in broader and more complex terms and to acknowledge that professional history did not exhaust other, sometimes competing modes and genres of representing the past. This analysis of a romantic, indigenist concept of history belies the claim that nationalist historiography was essentially state-centric. This vision of history emphasized the community as its subject rather than the state and authorized the use of emotion and its constituent elements—including love, pride, and nostalgia—as legitimate tools for the articulation of this concept of history. These tendencies emphasizing the expression of such non-state-centric visions of history are also found in Japan, China, and elsewhere during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus the multiple intersecting and contradicting strands within national historiographies of India and other regions need to be acknowledged more fully. To characterize them simply as “statist” is to denude them of some of their richness, variety, and complexity.

In the case of the kulagrantha controversy, the battle between professional history and romantic history remained unresolved. In the long run, rational-positivist history probably captured what it perceived to be the academic high ground, but the resonance and appeal of romantic or imaginary popular history beyond the academy continued to be equally significant.

⁸⁸ For instance, Kaviraj, “The Imaginary Institution of India,” in Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey, eds., *Subaltern Studies VII: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (New Delhi, 1992); Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*; Pandey, “The Prose of Otherness.”

⁸⁹ Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation*.

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Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

AVIEZER TUCKER. *Our Knowledge of the Past: A Philosophy of Historiography*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. 291. \$70.00.

This is a most remarkable book. It also is a difficult book, although not because the text is unclear or badly argued. On the contrary, the scholarship of the book is impeccable, even though the readers of chapter two will sometimes raise their eyebrows when seeing what Aviezer Tucker writes about the history of historical writing since the sixteenth century. If the book is difficult, it is because Tucker wishes to apply to historical writing the most advanced models of how to assess the probability of claims to knowledge developed in contemporary logic and philosophy of science. This is where the great merits of this book are to be situated and this is also what a review trying to do justice to Tucker's brilliant book must focus on.

I will begin with an old and venerable distinction made by nineteenth-century historians such as Leopold von Ranke and Johann Gustav Droysen. The distinction I have in mind here is the one between *Geschichtsforschung* and *Geschichtsschreibung*. The former is the domain of historical research, where historians attempt to establish what exactly happened in the past, and what may have caused it to happen. When this has been done, the historian will try to integrate the results of historical research as well as he or she can within an interpretation or representation of the past (e.g. a book or article). Hence, historical research is, so to say, the "hard" part of the practice of history, whereas *Geschichtsschreibung*, or historical writing, is its more "soft" and interpretative dimension.

Tucker focuses on historical research. One of the most fascinating aspects of his book is the author's effort to stretch the domain of historical research as far as possible and to see, next, how far one might penetrate into the domain customarily reserved for historical writing. He most brilliantly does this in chapters three, five, and six. But Tucker is well aware that there are limits, as he explains in chapter four. There is a dimension to historical writing that stubbornly resists fitting into the framework of "scientific historiography," and what historians say at the level of *Geschichtsschrei-*

bung might always be "vague," to use Tucker's own terminology.

The book's most important chapter is chapter three. In this chapter, the Bayes theorem and the notion of the common cause are proposed for assessing the probability of the historian's hypotheses about the past. The Bayes theorem is a theory on statistics developed by Thomas Bayes (1702–1761) that has been transformed by modern logicians into a theory about the probability that a certain hypothesis on A may be true, given previous hypotheses on A and certain background knowledge of A. In chapter three Tucker uses this variant of Bayesianism in order to establish what common cause is the best explanation of some historical event—and where the common cause had best be defined as the most important necessary condition of the event in question.

The importance of Bayesianism for the writing of history cannot be doubted, since it enables us to establish the probability that a historical hypothesis is true, given certain new evidence, background knowledge, and previous hypotheses. The many examples proposed by Tucker illustrate the cogency and strengths of his argument. Recalling the distinction between historical research and historical writing, it must be observed that Tucker's causal model penetrates deeply into the domain ordinarily attributed to historical writing. Until now, social-economic history was believed to be the only historical subdiscipline in which a rigorous causal analysis would suffice; this book convincingly demonstrates that there is much more scope for what its author calls "a scientific historiography."

Nevertheless, there are also problems. A condition of the applicability of Tucker's model is that hypotheses whose relative probability is investigated should all be about the same phenomenon. One cannot compare a hypothesis about quasars with one about quarks. It is no different in historical writing. But this condition is only rarely met in historical writing. For example, all historical writing about the French Revolution since Edmund Burke could be said to be a continuous debate about what the revolution actually is, or rather, was. Tucker might now say that this is precisely why historians tend to get entangled in the kind of impasse he discusses in chapter four and why they should stop asking themselves such useless questions. But this would be

a rather draconic solution and not likely to be adopted by historians—nor by Tucker himself, for that matter.

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VELCHERU NARAYANA RAO, DAVID SHULMAN, and SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM. *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India, 1600–1800*. (Cultural Studies.) New York: Other Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 296. \$30.00.

This book was first published in 2001 by Permanent Black, a Delhi-based publisher, but was difficult to obtain and therefore little read. The new edition by Other Press makes this important work easily available to a global audience and should help it receive the scholarly recognition it deserves. The book is a testament to the advantages of joint scholarship in the humanities, for the three authors together command numerous languages and the disciplinary perspectives of both history and literary studies. In this second collaboration between Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, the abrupt changes in topic or style that occasionally marred their previous endeavor, *Symbols of Substance* (1992), have been eliminated, resulting in a more consistent voice and tighter argumentation.

This volume is also a more ambitious work, whose aim is to recover “as history a significant body of literature from late medieval and early modern South India” (p. 3). Taking a middle path between the stance that historical writing only emerged with the advent of colonialism and the view that all indigenous traditions dealing with the past should be considered historical, the authors instead assert that “the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in South India saw the emergence of a new and specific historical awareness” (p. 136). As evidence for this claim, they examine upward of twenty texts, composed (primarily) in the languages of Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, and Persian. Only one of these texts is available in English translation and some have never been discussed in print before; the book thus introduces a substantial corpus of Indian writing to the world of English scholarship, no mean achievement on its own.

This book will be remembered chiefly for its provocative theses, however. One is that historiography in India, unlike in Europe, was written in a variety of literary genres. Because history writing might appear in the guise of a folk epic, courtly poem, or diplomatic report, its existence was overlooked by earlier scholars, according to Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam. But, they argue, the distinction between a history and a fictional work was understood by authors and their audiences in early modern South Asia and encoded within texts by sub-generic markers. These subtle markers are part of what make up the “texture” of a written work and texture is what ultimately determines whether a particular text should be considered a history or not. More and more writing that is historiographical in nature was produced in South India from 1600 onward, by

a growing class of service gentry encompassing scribes, minor court functionaries, and village-level officials who are collectively referred to by the Telugu term *karanam*.

After laying out their basic arguments in the introductory chapter, Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam proceed to support them with fine-grained case studies. Their favorite method is to analyze a cluster of works dealing with the same historical event, supplying translations of select passages in the process. In chapter two, they focus on three texts that cover the Battle of Bobbili, fought in Andhra Pradesh in January 1757. All three were written within a half century of this minor battle occasioned by the growing power of the English East India Company, and they offer a fascinating counterperspective to the more familiar colonial accounts. Because they differ in genre, this chapter convincingly illustrates the point that genre cannot be used as the primary means to identify Indian historiography. Chapters four and five examine a considerably larger set of works relating to the defeat of Tej Singh (or Desingu Raja) at Senji fort in Tamil Nadu in 1714. The range of languages and genres represented in this literature on Tej Singh leads to a correspondingly more complex analysis, one that touches on issues as diverse as models of heroism, Indo-Persian historiography, and the use of varying temporal modes.

In between these two extended discussions of eighteenth-century events as refracted through multiple, conflicting narratives is chapter three, which takes an altogether different tack. It goes back in time and looks at a series of disparate texts from the fifteenth century onward, in order to trace the emerging historical consciousness that culminated in the later works examined elsewhere in the book. From the outset, the texts produced by the largely anonymous members of the *karanam* class were characterized by a profusion of factual information. Over the course of time, they displayed more concern for chronological sequencing and a greater sophistication in the analysis of cause and effect. The concluding chapter of the book returns to the central (and highly original) concept of texture, by which means one is able to differentiate a history from other types of literature.

This is without doubt a landmark in the study of Indian historiography. It should settle, once and for all, any questions about the existence of historical writing in India before European influence. With its rich, nuanced, and complex exploration of individual works, it also provides an exemplary model of how to conduct the literary analysis of historiographic texts. The book’s own texture might be compared to a fine brocade: intricate in its construction, thick in its descriptions, and often dazzling in its poetic language. Some of its ideas—on temporal modes and factuality, in particular—could shape future studies of historiography, whether Indian or not, in interesting new ways. So should its persuasive demonstration that “writing history is not a matter of strict adherence to formal characteristics and types” (p. 4).

The book will also inspire much debate. Some may deplore its lack of attention to the context of historiographic production: the discussion of the *karanam* class of authors is notably vague and seemingly misguided in its dismissal of political motives for the writing of history. Similarly, little thought is given to why these texts were transmitted or the fact that many were compiled in a colonial-era archive. Others may find the notion of texture problematic, because of its ineffable nature and the emphasis on the author's intention to create a historiographic work. Fortunately, we are provided with concrete criteria by which to identify a history, in addition to texture: "Factuality, critical use of sources, non-trivial causal interpretations, the reflective organization of the materials into a 'readable' understanding of the past—all these are also necessary" (p. 260). A well-developed causal explanation, or at least a meaningful sequencing of the narrative, appears to be the feature Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam place most weight on, bringing them close to Hayden White's position on what constitutes a history.

With this book's publication, our thinking about Indian historiography has been raised to a much higher and sophisticated level. It may not be possible for less linguistically adept scholars to replicate its analytic methods, nor may they necessarily wish to be so literary in their approach. But no one will be able to write about Indian historiography in the future without taking this work into consideration; scholars of historiography in other regions could also benefit considerably from its insights.

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KATHLEEN WILSON, editor. *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 385. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$34.99.

"Can there be a 'new imperial history'?" With the profusion of "new" histories that have appeared in the last twenty years, the answer would appear to be a rather straightforward yes. As Kathleen Wilson reminds readers of this volume, however, the question of whether a new history of the British Empire can avoid replicating old patterns of European dominance is anything but straightforward. One of the new history's central premises holds that imperialism is a construct sustained by culture, especially cultures of "difference . . . between 'us and them'" (pp. 1–4). Given the overwhelmingly European and North American institutional basis of the historical profession, how can any historian hope to write narratives that do not reproduce, on some level, the very hierarchies that critical histories of empire ought to reject?

Faced with this problem, Wilson acknowledges the many pitfalls of even attempting such a history. "The new imperial history," she cautions, "is very much a work in progress" (p. 26). Wilson seems especially

mindful of the danger that, in seeking to eradicate the biases inherent in writing history from a Western or metropolitan vantage point, new imperial historians will end up creating postcolonial orthodoxies of their own. Nonetheless, both Wilson and many of the contributors to this volume make a strong case for the new imperial history, one centrally concerned with the primacy of culture in replicating, sustaining, and contesting British and European imperial power. Although the volume only covers the early modern period, it makes a significant contribution to the new imperial history, as well as supplying a good overview of the field as it currently stands.

Wilson organizes the volume's sixteen chapters into four parts: the "empire at home" (i.e. in Britain); imperialism in the colonies; Britain's Atlantic empire; and the "arts of discovery," a catchall category that includes both Britain and the empire. A recurring theme is the multifaceted interplay among hierarchies of class, gender, religion, and race in Britain and the colonies. Among the contributions that examine such connections are chapters by Gillian Russell on the role of London's "fashionable" women's societies in publicizing the exploration of the Pacific; Felicity Nussbaum on the performance of blackness on the London stage; Michael Fischer on the Persian Armenian Emin's autobiographical efforts to negotiate his own identity as an Asian immigrant residing in Britain; Philip Stern on gentlemanly sociability and the activities of the London-based African Society; Eitan Bar-Yosef on the impact of British incursions in the Middle East on the millennialism of Joanna Southcott and Richard Brothers; Hans Turley on the significance of Robinson Crusoe for British evangelicals; and Harriet Guest on the juxtaposed representations of Pacific explorer Captain James Cook and Omai, the Tahitian who visited London during the mid-1770s. Wilson also contributes a chapter on Cook's voyages and the representation of British gender and racial identities.

Although most contributors approach the new imperial history from the standpoint of culture, several treat the military and political dimensions of empire, notably Nicholas Rogers on the apotheosis of Captain Cook; Kevin Whelan on the "Green Atlantic" of Irish-American radicalism; and Sudipta Sen on the importance of Liberal notions of free trade for East India Company reform in India. Margaret Hunt also takes up military-political questions, examining the central role of women in English ports in managing the system by which the Royal Navy paid husbands, sons, and lovers in its service. In a wide-ranging chapter on ethnic identities, Colin Kidd probes the various meanings of race in the British Atlantic, including the often-overlooked theological dimensions of ethnicity. Walter Johnson makes a similar case for the variability and instability of "time" in European and African narratives of slavery. Kate Teltscher and Durba Gosh both use the colonial archive as a means for understanding imperial representations. For Teltscher, the letters of the East India Company envoy to Tibet, George Bogle, provide yet an-

other window into the relationship between metropole and empire. Gosh uses East India Company archives as a way to examine the ambiguous representation of Indian women who became companions of company servants.

The contributions to Wilson's book make up an impressive ensemble. The essays are uniformly insightful and well written. With an eye on the classroom market, Cambridge University Press has produced the book as a handsome paperback, with an extensive bibliography of recent books and articles on imperial history, broadly conceived. The volume joins a growing list of field-defining collections, notably the first two volumes of *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (1998) and David Armitage and Michael Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (2002). Taken together, this corpus has helped turn the history of the early modern British Empire into one of the most productive and exciting current areas of historical study. Whether the resulting narratives have succeeded in moving beyond the imperial hierarchies that Wilson cautions against in her introduction is hard to say. But if the quality of the work currently being produced is any indication, the new imperial history is much more than a possibility. It is an established fact.

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DAVID SCOTT. *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. 279. \$22.95.

Are the questions we have been asking the past to answer still questions worth having answers to? Are the stories we have been telling about the past's relation to the present still relevant? David Scott does not think so. In this book he strongly argues that it is not the answers but the questions that demand scrutiny: he stresses the need to identify the difference between the postcolonial questions that informed former presents and those that inform our own present. This study is a follow-up to his previous book, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality* (1999), in which Scott discussed the limits of postcolonial criticism.

Scott's picture of the postcolonial present, after the collapse of the socioeconomic and political hopes that animated anticolonial and independence movements, is bleak. He identifies an "acute paralysis of will and sheer vacancy of imagination, the rampant corruption and vicious authoritarianism, the instrumental self-interest and showy self-congratulation" as symptoms of a utopian project that has run out of steam and turned into a "nightmare" (p. 2).

Scott sees asking new questions about the colonial past as a way of working out new answers for the present and maybe the future. According to him, postcolonialism continues to emphasize the dismal effects of colonialism and the agency of the colonized in resisting and overcoming the hated structure. While not denying colonialism's violence and exploitation, he contends that

there is a need to reconceive the object of discontent. He hastens to add that he does not intend to revise the work of historians of African America, but Scott points out that their writings occurred in response to an ideological demand for an answer to the question about the "moral value of Africa in the New World," a question he considers no longer salient (p. 105).

Scott routes his argument through C. L. R. James's classic *The Black Jacobins* (1938), as one of the first anticolonial histories of the twentieth century. James recorded the making of Haitian slave society, the impact of the French Revolution, the slave rebellion, and the fight for liberty. *The Black Jacobins* is also a political biography of Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the rebellious forces. The first edition was an example of how the historical present shaped the study's anticolonialism and anticipated a particular postcolonial future. A revised edition, published in 1963, included an appendix, tellingly entitled "From Toussaint L'Ouverture to Fidel Castro." Scott uses and contrasts the two editions to demonstrate that *The Black Jacobins* is more than a history of anticolonial revolution and an allegory of redemption; it is "also explicitly an exercise in writing a history of the present" (p. 57). He argues that James instinctively knew that the earlier mode of history-telling, romance, needed displacement by another, tragedy, in the 1960s.

This displacement of romance by tragedy is one of Scott's main themes. In his view, James deliberately shifted the focus from a reverential and progressive anticolonial romantic epic of revolutionary heroism to a tragic narrative emphasizing the confrontation between human will and its conditioning limits. Louverture is the embodiment of this dilemma: his expectations for freedom and the conditions in which he sought to realize them were irreconcilable. He should be understood not so much as a revolutionary agent who made history but as an individual who "was constrained to imagine and make the revolution he imagined and made within the conceptual and institutional terrain of modernity" (p. 129). Louverture did not have a choice about whether to be modern or not, and therefore he was a conscript of enlightenment.

Scott concludes that past, present, and future are not to be understood as moments of epic succession; there is no linear movement from slavery to freedom, from colonial subjugation to sovereignty. Anticolonial revolution will not redeem the past. And if the past is traumatic, it should be acknowledged that this wound will not automatically lead to a future of salvation. In fact, the wound might not heal and it cannot be hidden by an act of romantic heroism.

This is a well-argued, rich book raising pertinent questions about the writing of history. Its drawbacks are occasional repetition and the sometimes rather lengthy theoretical discussions (for example, of Charles Segal's and Martha Nussbaum's work on Greek tragedy) that do not add much to the core of Scott's argument. His-

torians interested in the postcolonial era should take note of this important study.

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PATRICK H. HUTTON. *Philippe Ariès and the Politics of French Cultural History*. (Critical Perspectives on Modern Culture.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2004. Pp. xxv, 244. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

Any French, European, or American historian will acknowledge it: in many respects Philippe Ariès is one the most puzzling historians among those who contributed to changing the writing of history in the twentieth century. Ariès participated in a major shift in French historiography, from a socioeconomic paradigm, à la Labrousse or Braudel, to that of *mentalités*, ushering in the prevalent strength of representation and cultural history. In the ranks of French historians he remained, for a very long time, a maverick without any of the academic tokens required in a country where historiographical revolution came from the heights of the corporation, often from heirs of academicians (Marc Bloch's father, for example, was a leading historian of ancient Rome teaching at the Sorbonne). Failing the *agregation* (the competitive examination that warrants careers in French lycées and later universities), neglecting to write a doctoral dissertation, Ariès worked nearly all his life as the director of an institute of documentation on tropical fruits. He worked in a very scholarly manner but had only an amateur status until the end of the 1960s. In the mean time, he was a journalist, an editor of renowned historical collections.

Ariès is a peculiar case as far as political convictions are concerned. While most of those who participated in the *Annales* enterprise shared republican, socialist, or even communist convictions, Ariès belonged to a bourgeois family of royalist tradition, settled in the French West Indies and then reinstalled in France. His basic education was strengthened by an encounter with Charles Maurras's doctrine. Even if a few other academic historians (Raoul Girardet) went through the same experience, they were actually a small minority among the so-called annalists. Last but not least, the academic recognition of Ariès's works was greatly due to foreign readers (especially Orest Ranum) and foreign institutions.

These elements and others justify the interest Patrick H. Hutton takes in Ariès and "the politics of French cultural history." Hutton's aim is not to produce a narrative biography but to spotlight several topics, including Ariès's initial monarchist convictions, his choice of history, his elaboration of mentality history and progressive participation in the Annalist stream. After a short biographical sketch, the book deals first with Ariès's royalist background and its evolution. Then Hutton stresses the historiographical specificity of Ariès, with his conception of the History of Mentalities and an

analysis of the reception of and debates over his two most famous books, *Centuries of Childhood* (1960, 1973; translated 1962) and *The Hour of Our Death* (1977, translated 1981). When historians of the Action française such as Jacques Bainville, were making politics the "backbone of history," Ariès, while still faithful to his monarchist conviction, exploited his marginal intellectual situation, the lore transmitted through his education, the importance of faith, tradition, and familial organization to build a new frame to read the cultural and mental history of western societies.

The facts and the interpretations given by Hutton are convincing. For instance, chapter three describes the participation of Ariès in the *Ecole Nationale des Cadres supérieurs* launched by the Vichy government; it shows in detail how his historiographical style reflects this background and the limits of Ariès's involvement in Vichy. Above any political or moral judgment these pages demonstrate with accuracy the way politics and historiography were articulated in Ariès's mind.

Hutton's general overview of Ariès's work is also quite convincing. Step by step, from its first interest in historical demography, its construction of an evolution of occidental representations of childhood and death, Ariès, following Hutton, has constructed a frame to reconsider the birth of our modern nuclear familial model and an understanding of its crisis. Astute comparisons with Michel Foucault's and Norbert Elias's conceptions help to build this synthesis. Through the eye of a French reader, one might regret that the bibliographical resources ignore a good deal of the contemporary works on the topic in France, by Bertrand Muller, Peter Schotter, and Patrick Garcia. A few minor details require reappraisal, but the book contains pages with no equivalent that push and pull the reader to get back to Ariès's books.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

A. ROGER EKIRCH. *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. xxxii, 447. \$25.95.

The night is an illusive subject, understudied and ill-appreciated. A. Roger Ekirch refers to night as *terra incognita*, ignored by all but the most "enterprising scholars in Europe." He aims to rectify this neglect by exploring "the primeval passage from daylight to darkness" in Western society "before the advent of the Industrial Revolution," his canvas being Europe and early America in the period 1500–1750. He aspires to a broad social and cultural history, one that presumably addresses "night in its totality" (pp. xxv, 347).

This is a tall order, reaching as it does across geographies and a chronology of two and a half centuries. Ekirch approaches the night thematically, ordering his text in four sections. Part one outlines the dangers of night, and how it was lived as a time of fear, fueled by apocalyptic visions, perceptions of evil spirits, and var-

ied Satanic apprehensions, as well as plagued by plunder, fire, theft, and violence. Following logically on the heels of this opening section is part two, an account of authority's inability to rule decisively in darkness. This led to retreats into domestic fortifications and human efforts to make darkness visible, or at least negotiable. In part three, Ekirch shifts gears somewhat, outlining the endeavors of the night, from specific labors and crafts to sociability and sex: princes and peers opted for different evening activities than peasants and urban plebeians. Part four closes, appropriately and most innovatively, with three chapters on sleep.

This is an often insightful, engaging, and imaginative book. Ironically, its strength is also its weakness. Ekirch has read voraciously in the printed sources of the early modern period, mining them for references to the night. His evidence becomes his method. Much of the text is judicious quotation, and many sections, even chapters, end with the words of contemporary diarists, poets, or balladeers. Relentlessly descriptive, the book perhaps too comfortably avoids engagement with a host of analytic questions that emerge from the obscure and dark recesses of night's history.

Was darkness a source of stability or disorder? This is a question Ekirch largely bypasses as not his foremost concern. Yet he ends his chapter, "Masters by Night," with a Luddite cropper's song: "Night by night, when all is still,/And the moon is hid behind the hill,/ We forward march to do our will/ With hatchet, pike and gun!" (p. 258). The special appeals of night to particular classes (somewhat ill-defined in this study) are thus not usually read politically, although Ekirch is willing to assert, without delving deeply into the statement's meaning, that "After dark, power shifted from the mighty to the meek" (p. xxvi). Where is Michel Foucault, one is tempted to ask, when you need him?

Gender, as a signpost of meaning and an analytic category, figures weakly in the text. Ekirch is content to end his chapter on "Ordinances of the Bedchamber" with a paragraph on mortal violence against husbands, likeliest to happen between the sheets. A stocking-maker's "girlfriend" took a knife to his penis as he lay asleep in the dark, protesting his failure to make good on years of marriage promises. Discussion could flow from such an event, but instead Ekirch retreats into routine citation. Only after losing "a great quantity of blood" and "his pain increasing" did the journeyman "apprehend what was amiss" (p. 284). About same-sex relations and race Ekirch is equally conceptually close-mouthed.

A venturesome treatment of the night, with much to recommend it, then, appears overly dependent on a reproduction of evidence. This produces inevitable repetition. Acts of violence appear routinely on pages that take us through chapters on fear, authority, class difference, and sleep. The avoidance of analytic issues and the valorization of sources also seems to prompt Ekirch to be rather ungenerous in his references to historians at the same time as he is ever solicitous of the contemporaries who provide him with passages to quote. Samuel Pepys and James Boswell are seldom cited without

their names appearing in the text, but scholars who have cleared our way to understand the darkness of night (Piero Camporesi, Carlo Ginzburg, and Wolfgang Schivelbusch, to name but three) are buried in footnotes or, as in the case of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, make their way into Ekirch's pages by way of carping comment.

In part this is because such impressive scholars have studied night's reciprocities with the day, or, in metaphorical and analytic terms, the meanings of night's transgressions and covers of darkness are explored in terms of the powers of the day. And this may still be where we will find night's diverse content, which, after all, did indeed unfold and reveal itself day's close. Where night begins and day ends, how and why, and what such demarcations mean are questions historians need to be asking. Ekirch's book has the considerable virtue of making this more obvious than ever, and for that alone we are much in his debt.

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HELEN M. ROZWADOWSKI. *Fathoming the Ocean: The Discovery and Exploration of the Deep Sea*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. Pp. xii, 276. \$25.95.

According to Helen M. Rozwadowski, profound mid-nineteenth century cultural and technological changes transformed the sea from an obstacle to be crossed, feared, or simply avoided into a familiar, picturesque space to be explored and possessed. The Victorian age that made *Moby Dick* (1851) and *20,000 Leagues under the Sea* (1870) possible also witnessed the "discovery" and exploration of the deep sea. Nineteenth-century imperialism, telegraphy, whaling, and yachting were largely responsible for these developments. In the Anglo-American Victorian imagination, the deep sea became a new frontier: virgin territory to be penetrated or unveiled. But Rozwadowski is not really interested in exploring the gendered and colonial dimensions of the Victorian imaginings of the sea. This is a history of the technological (sounding and dredging devices, steam engines), economic (shipping, submarine telegraphy), social (yachting), and political (state patronage) forces that allowed a handful of nineteenth-century Anglo-American scientists to reach the bottom of the sea. One should not underestimate the challenges these scientists faced, for it turned out that the bottom was hundreds of miles deep. Was there anything worth studying at such depths? Rozwadowski offers a fascinating account of how patrons and scientists answered this question.

Shipping, whaling, and submarine telegraphy caused the mapping of the deep sea to become an important mid nineteenth-century economic and geopolitical priority. Although soundings had long been a staple of maritime crossings, captains and sailors never sought to reach bottom; their goal was simply to avoid shallow waters and vigias (shoals in the middle of deep waters).

As ships became larger and new sea routes were opened by whalers, however, navies began to develop new hydrographic charts. Navies collected detailed measurements and created Humboldtian charts of winds, currents, and depths. Patriotism and yellow journalism, in turn, contributed to keep the search for ever greater depths going. Yet submarine telegraphy was the main impulse behind the mapping of the deep sea. Companies and navies set out to find relatively shallow plateaus across the Atlantic for cables to be laid. This search, Rozwadowski argues, led to the curious transformation of representations of the Atlantic sea floor: from a jagged, hostile landscape to a flat terrain hardly touched by erosion, a protective environment for telegraph cables to rest.

As the new charts evolved, so, too, did the technologies to measure depths at sea (cables, winding machines, and sounding devices). Scientists and navies also developed technologies to dredge the bottom of the sea. The finding of life forms at ever greater depths, in turn, helped elucidate debates over theories of life (i.e. the pressure organisms could withstand) and evolution. Many of the newly found organisms happened to be also earth fossils of species presumed to be extinct, sparking heated controversies over geological change. Rozwadowski unfortunately has not much to say on these crucial aspects of Victorian oceanography.

The dredging pursuits of naturalists originally developed in isolation, for geology and evolution were not priorities of telegraphy, shipping, or whaling. Thus, according to Rozwadowski, dredging was an activity that first developed out of private networks: naturalists with patrons among the practitioners of the new, upper-class culture of yachting. Before long, navies incorporated dredging into their repertoires as naturalists became government employees. Rozwadowski closes the book with a study of the hybrid culture that developed among professional scientists aboard navy ships. Oceanographers became "field workers": half rugged sailors, half naturalists. These oceanographers, in turn, contributed to instill a growing "civility" among nineteenth-century crews.

This book itself is a hybrid: part traditional history of science, part cultural history. Such hybridity is surely welcome. Less welcome, though, is the author's tendency to take England and the United States for the world. There is nothing in this book on French and German "discoveries," let alone on the contributions by scientists and navies of countries of the Pacific realm. Did Japan, a maritime empire par excellence, have no role in Victorian oceanography? Did, say, scientists in Peru, a country whose entire mid-nineteenth-century economy rested on the management and study of guano, sea gulls, and ocean currents, do nothing worth exploring? There is also a deafening silence on the imperial and colonial dimensions of oceanography. For all her exquisite attention to the lives of scientists aboard navy ships, Rozwadowski fails to explore the imperial ideological projection of their expeditions at their various ports of call. It would be intriguing to know how the

scientists presented themselves and were received in Singapore, Hong Kong, Buenos Aires, or Cape Town. These important caveats aside, Rozwadowski ought to be congratulated for producing a richly textured cultural history of Anglo-American Victorian oceanography.

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HUGH THOMAS. *Rivers of Gold: The Rise of the Spanish Empire, from Columbus to Magellan*. New York: Random House. 2003. Pp. xxi, 696. \$35.00.

In his typically engaging narrative style, Hugh Thomas recounts the early decades of Spain's colonial project in the New World and conveys well the ambiguity, contradictions, and ad hoc nature of that endeavor. The author relies almost entirely on secondary sources and published documents in telling this rather complex story in which familiar names parade across the pages—Ferdinand and Isabella, Christopher Columbus, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, Hernán Cortés, Ferdinand Magellan, and the Emperor Charles V—as well as a multitude of lesser-known figures. The one person who links the multiple story lines is that great champion of the Indians (and important historian of the period) Bartolomé de Las Casas, upon whom Thomas relies heavily as an authoritative source. The careful reader will discern several recurring themes in this lengthy book: the difficulty in establishing royal authority in Spain and in the Spanish Indies, the notorious mistreatment of native peoples at the hands of Spanish settlers and slavers, the uncertain and often contradictory measures undertaken in establishing government policy for Indians under Spanish rule, and the international nature of what is usually regarded as an almost exclusively Castilian undertaking.

The great strength of the work is the way in which the author examines events on both sides of the Atlantic, a strategy that involves a continual shifting of locale and focus. Historians of the conquest of the Americas or of early modern Europe rarely demonstrate to such an extent the interplay between the two geographic settings, and indeed it is no easy task. Painstakingly, Thomas explains the hot social and political issues of the times, introduces us to the strong personalities who wielded influence at court, and underscores the pronounced international flavor of Spain's economic and political life. If the crown bumped along toward a coherent program of incorporation and exploitation of new lands and peoples, it was often the result of European and domestic concerns as much as it was of the diversity of the Indies. Thomas is to be commended for this important scholarly contribution.

There are, however, some shortcomings. First, while the author makes no other claim than wishing to consider "the first two generations of explorers, colonizers, governors, and missionaries who opened the way to Spain's vast American empire" (p. xix), the work lacks

any clear guiding theme or interpretive framework to push the story along. Thus, the reader is left to wonder what to make of the numerous "side trips" on which the author takes us as he muses on some fact, event, or place that strikes his fancy. In the end, we see these desultory meanderings for what they are: "side trips." But without a roadmap, it is sometimes hard to tell if they lead to any significant destination (or to know when we are back on track). Second, although up to date on some of the historical literature, Thomas appears much more comfortable with older, traditional explanatory paradigms and is somewhat dismissive of newer literature that might diminish the "European triumph" (p. 510) of exploration and colonization. Thus, after asking readers to consider the complexity of motives that drove the early years of Iberian expansion, he falls back on the well-worn "Glory, God, and Gold" triumvirate (pp. xix, 478), which undermines his meticulous work. One will not find a feminist reading of the supposed insanity of tragic Queen Juana—in Spanish known as *Juana la loca*—and, although the author trusts the veracity of Las Casas for all manner of information, he offhandedly dismisses as mere exaggeration the latter's estimates of native population at contact. (Thomas weighs in as a "low-figure" partisan in the numbers debate.) Finally, the editing of the book is deficient. The author may not be to blame for many of these problems, but more care should have been taken to ensure correct enumeration of endnotes, consistency in rendering proper names, accurate and regular placement of diacritics, and so forth.

Specialists will be familiar with much of what is told here, but the wealth of detail and transatlantic dimension of the story should enlighten and entertain both the expert and the general interested reader. The work is an apt reflection of a mature and thoughtful scholar who has dedicated much of his life to understanding the meaning of things Hispanic.

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STAFFORD POOLE. *Juan de Ovando: Governing the Spanish Empire in the Reign of Philip II*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2004. Pp. x, 293. \$37.95.

CAYETANA ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO. *Politics and Reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico: The Life and Thought of Juan de Palafox, 1600–1659*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 336. \$98.00.

The emergence of what was the best-developed bureaucracy in Europe in the sixteenth century failed to save the Spanish Empire from bankruptcies and precipitous decline through the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. Corruption, struggles for preeminence between factions, insistence on absolute loyalty, the use of cumbersome *consejos* (councils), and the failure to understand economic principles reduced the efficiency and

effectiveness of government. Nevertheless, the emergence of university educated *letrados*, often from quite humble origins though of certified old Christian blood, provided Spain with generations of well-trained and capable civil servants. These studies on Juan de Ovando, who served King Philip II in the sixteenth century, and Juan de Palafox during the regime of the count-duke of Olivares in the seventeenth century, brilliantly illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of Spain's system of metropolitan and imperial governance. Both Stafford Poole and Cayetana Alvarez de Toledo offer original approaches that advance our understanding of the epoch.

Although Poole discovered little information about Juan de Ovando's early years in Cáceres, he shows that in 1545 Ovando won a scholarship to the prestigious Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé at the University of Salamanca. After years of study under strict monastic discipline, Archbishop Fernando de Valdés of Seville, a fellow alumnus of San Bartolomé, appointed Ovando as his chief ecclesiastical judge. Since Valdés was an absentee archbishop, Ovando administered the archdiocese as a rough enforcer of the faith. In 1564, he received a commission to head a general reform of the University of Alcalá de Henares, where he investigated the academic programs thoroughly and revised the university constitution and statutes. Having completed this mission with great success, in 1566 Ovando received a new commission to conduct a *visita* (investigation) of the Council of the Indies.

Ovando's investigation (from June 1567 to August 1571) concerned internal organization and required him to reach out to the Americas to assemble material on government, trade, missionary work, and other subjects. A questionnaire asked respondents to report on possible abuses by authorities and on the status of Indians. Particularly in Peru, there was continuing anxiety about separatist threats and possible uprisings. Rather than leave policy making to the Council of the Indies, Philip II established the smaller Junta Magna to examine questions in the Americas concerning the future of encomiendas, taxation, finance, royal patronage over the church, and the establishment of the Inquisition. Ovando dispatched questionnaires, commissioned Juan López de Velasco to compile a history of Spanish America, acquired copies of the work of Bernardino de Sahagún, and sought to codify the laws of the Indies. In 1571, Ovando became president of the Council of the Indies, and in 1574 he served concurrently as president of the Council of Finance. Heavily involved in the growing imperial fiscal crisis, he spent his last year of life struggling with the Cortés for funds to pay the bureaucracy, to defend the kingdom against the Turks, and to fight the Protestant heretics in Flanders.

Employing impressive archival documentation, Alvarez de Toledo casts new light on the well-known career of Juan de Palafox. The son of an Aragonese nobleman, Palafox graduated from the University of Salamanca in canon law and became a protégé of Count-Duke Olivares. In 1629, when Palafox decided to

marry, Olivares directed him instead to become a priest and dispatched him on a tour of Europe to write a report on the intentions of allies and potential foes. Although Olivares sought to impose Castilian institutions to centralize and tax the peripheral kingdoms of the Peninsula, Palafox was of the view that the protection of regional interests could be maintained through compromise and cooperation with the central government. In 1633, he became a member of the Council of the Indies. In the Americas, the creole elite complained bitterly about injustices, corruption, taxation, and nepotism practiced by peninsular Spaniards. There were concerns about growing social unrest in New Spain of the sort that in 1624 provoked the overthrow of Viceroy Marquis of Gelves. Fearing a repetition of these events against Viceroy Marquis of Cadereita, in 1639 the crown appointed Palafox as Visitador General of New Spain and Bishop of Puebla, the largest diocese in the country. His commission granted him broad powers to investigate areas of concern, to strengthen royal authority, to improve the financial administration, and to extract resources to support the mother country.

Palafox arrived in New Spain in June 1640, at almost the same time as the duke of Escalona, who had been appointed viceroy. From the beginning their relationship was difficult. Palafox began his task by seeking to remove the mendicant orders from Indian parishes and to replace them with creole members of the secular clergy. The visitador general obligated the Jesuits to pay tithes to the diocesan church. The creoles supported the visitador general against the mendicant friars, who most often were peninsular Spaniards. The regular clergy fought back and created alliances with the *alcaldes mayores* (district magistrates). Palafox insisted that in their own province the creoles should enjoy the same rights and prerogatives as peninsular Spaniards. Supported by the landed and urban creole oligarchies, he moved to make Indian labor more readily available. In his view, the friars must return to their original roles as missionaries.

At a time of desperate need for funds to support metropolitan military endeavors against the 1640 revolts of Portugal and Catalonia, New Spain suffered from its own economic recession and continuing demographic decline in the Indian population. Increases in the *alcabala* (sales tax) and efforts by the crown to confiscate shipments of silver bullion provoked talk about rebellion. At first, Viceroy Escalona sought to befriend Palafox, but he was in debt and had to find positions for many family members and retainers. He believed that his duty was to extract as much money as possible from New Spain to support the metropolis. Palafox wanted steps taken to end corruption and inefficiency and to appoint creoles as *alcaldes mayores*. While he had no intention of introducing policies detrimental to the crown, his proposed reforms decentralized viceregal powers to the creole city governments and weakened the provincial magistrates.

The ongoing battles between Palafox and Escalona took a strange turn when news of the Portuguese revolt

arrived in 1641. Escalona had ties with the duke of Braganza, now King João IV of Portugal. Palafox received orders to depose the viceroy, and if there was proof of treason he was to be murdered. In the end, soldiers arrested Escalona at dawn and escorted him to Veracruz, where he was put on the first ship for Spain. Palafox became interim viceroy of New Spain, president of the *audiencia*, captain general, and archbishop of Mexico. For five months, he wielded power and sought to implement a wide-ranging reform program. He created twelve infantry units commanded by members of the creole elite, appointed many to administrative offices, and investigated the corrupt practices of the *alcaldes mayores*. In his writings, Palafox proposed an alternative to the overly centralized Olivares regime that would establish a system of constitutional plurality for Spain's diverse provinces. As might be expected, Palafox's enemies did their best to condemn the visitador general for inciting a spirit of rebellion in New Spain. In October 1642, a new viceroy, the count of Salvatierra, arrived with orders to scour New Spain for resources to support the mother country. His method of fundraising was to wink at corruption that diverted a large part of the money to royal officials. Alvarez de Toledo describes Palafox as a visionary while Salvatierra was a pragmatist who wanted to assist the mother country. The viceroy bribed *oidores* (judges), handed out jobs to peninsular Spaniards, and renewed the much-hated *repartimiento de comercio* that forced Indians to produce goods and products. Although Palafox fought back, Salvatierra convinced many that the highly popular visitador general might trigger a rebellion.

In the end, the viceroy's attacks discredited Palafox, who fled into hiding for a time before he returned to his cathedral at Puebla. The imperial government decided to get Salvatierra out of the way by promoting him as viceroy to Peru. In 1649, Palafox received orders to end his *visita* and to return to Spain. While cleared of many false charges, he received a cool welcome in Madrid, where the revolts of Naples (1647) and (1648) were still fresh. The king met with him for an hour, but he was discharged from the Council of the Indies. Refused permission to return to New Spain, where his popularity made him dangerous, Palafox received an internal exile appointment as bishop of the destitute diocese of Osma in Castile.

Although these two books are written from different perspectives, each author provides a compelling view of the chaos that swept Spain from a world power to become a much less important player. Major political-religious figures in governance and politics, Juan de Ovando and Juan de Palafox provide the historians with new insights about the internal workings of Spanish bureaucracy and society. Alvarez de Toledo encourages both Latin American and Spanish historians of the period not to neglect influences on the other side of the Atlantic. Both historians challenge existing interpretations, but Alvarez's research on Palafox in the Archivo

del Duque del Infantado represents a real tour de force.

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HENRY GOLDSCHMIDT and ELIZABETH MCALISTER, editors. *Race, Nation, and Religion in the Americas*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 338. Cloth, \$74.00, paper \$24.95.

This collection of intriguing and provocative essays is a successful outgrowth of two recent conference panels in anthropology and religious studies, respectively. The chapters, all based on solid historical and/or anthropological case studies, commonly center on race and religion in the Americas, but they deal with differing topics in the historically and geographically diverse times and spaces of the Americas, including the Spanish Floridas, Haiti, Brazil, and Mexico. By bringing such varying topics into a single collection, editors Henry Goldschmidt and Elizabeth McAlister, both scholars of religion, do an excellent job in "exploring the coarticulation of race, nation, and religion—and more broadly, to develop a theoretical and methodological understanding of the complex ways such categories intersect in the construction of collective identity, difference, and hierarchy" (p. 5), while acknowledging that this is "[a]n ambitious project" (p. 21).

The twelve essays included in this volume are divided into six distinctive thematic pairs, and, fortunately, the reader is provided with a meticulous summary of each theme by the coeditors. In the first section, on "heathens" and "Jews" in the colonial imagination, Daniel Murphree and McAlister discuss the historical creation of racial categories based on religious differences under European colonialism in the case of Florida and Haiti, respectively. In the second section, on white America and Afro-Brazil, historian Daniel B. Lee and anthropologist John Burdick examine a symbolic association between Christianity and whiteness. Derek Chang and Julia Cummings O'Hara, authors of the essays for the third section, explore the ways by which Christian missionary work in the Americas has reinforced racial divisions for the sake of the white dominant nations. James B. Bennett and Danielle Bruce Sigler contribute the fruits of their research to the fourth section on segregation, congregation, and the North American black-white racial binary. While Bennett examines the important roles of the Catholic Church in redefining race at the expense of the Creole community in New Orleans at the turn of the twentieth century, Singer presents two interesting cases in which the individual's identity politics ("whitening" through ministry) actually ended up helping the nation maintain and even strengthen its racial divisions and social hierarchy. Essays by Kate Ram and Jennifer Snow for the fifth section discuss the nation-states' continuous efforts to police the racial and religious boundaries of "civilization" for the sake of elites in nineteenth-century Haiti and early twentieth-century northern Mexico. The sixth section focuses on rituals and representation of race. Whereas Lindsay

Hale examines the aesthetics of Afro-Brazilian religion Umbanda in Rio de Janeiro in relation to Brazil's national myth of racial democracy, Judith Weisenfeld, studying Hollywood movies from the 1920s through the 1940s, discusses the projection of blackness on the screen, with special emphasis on the presentation of African American religion.

This reviewer would have liked to read a concluding chapter, in which Goldschmidt and McAlister suggest theories and/or methodologies for future studies on race, nation, and religion, however tentative. Nonetheless, this book is an exciting addition to the growing interdisciplinary and comparative literature on race and identity in the Americas, as well as in the Atlantic world, and joins other edited volumes, such as Richard Graham, ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (1990), and Nancy Priscilla Naro, ed., *Blacks, Coloreds and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (2003). Yet unlike many of the preceding studies, this collection sheds new light on race in the Americas by connecting it directly to religion. The book will appeal strongly not only to specialists but also to a wide range of nonspecialists who are interested in race, nation, and identity. To this reader, a most significant contribution of this book to our historical understanding of the New World lies in its documentation and scrutiny of "the parallels and links between race and religion" (p. 11). In conformation to historical patterns, religion continues to be used by the powerful to transform religious "others" into racial minorities and to paint and even punish them as our common enemies in the "global age."

MIEKO NISHIDA
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THOMAS SUMMERHILL and JAMES C. SCOTT, editors. *Transatlantic Rebels: Agrarian Radicalism in Comparative Context*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 300. \$29.95.

This volume offers a motley collection of strong essays in pursuit of a pivotally important historical challenge. The assembled studies examine diverse aspects of agrarian societies around the Atlantic world—Europe and the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Americas—from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. Most focus on the era from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. The integrating premise is that the histories of peoples in the diverse societies of the Atlantic basin demand analyses that emphasize transatlantic interactions. The goal is to extend the Atlantic vision that has flourished in recent studies of the early modern era of European colonialism and the slave trade to illuminate our understanding of more modern nation making, migrations, industrialization, agricultural transformations, and the ideological and cultural visions swirling around them—here emphasizing agriculture and rural communities. The collection demonstrates both the importance of the goal and the difficulty of achieving it.

The studies take three different perspectives. Some focus on transatlantic transfers of cultigens, mostly moving west to east. Others emphasize agricultural reform and improvement, early moving east to west, and later southeast to Africa. And many focus on the assertions of rural peoples in the politics of nation making, mostly across the Americas from Canada to Colombia. The first achievement of the book, then, is to press scholars and readers to think across borders. One fundamental difficulty is the title. Perhaps maize introduced into Europe and Africa, technical reformers pressing new ways of cultivating across the Americas, ideologues demanding land reform across the Atlantic, and insurgents challenging power holders everywhere all qualify as agrarian radicals. Only the last operated as rebels.

The strength of the volume is in the individual essays. As a historian of agrarian insurgencies in Mexico, I was most drawn to Thomas Summerhill's important rethinking of the history of the U.S. from independence to the Civil War, emphasizing the persistence of the slave-based export economy and enduring political conflicts, making the early U.S. more like its American neighbors and less the presumptive ancestor of the capitalist behemoth of the twentieth century. I learned much from Rusty Bitterman on agrarian protests on Prince Edward Island from the 1760s to the 1840s, from Daniel Samson on agricultural improvement in Scotland and Nova Scotia in the early nineteenth century, from Reeve Huston on land reform movements in Ireland, England, and New York in the 1830s and 1840s, and from David Chang on agrarian socialism in Oklahoma in the 1910s. The last gained my attention with reports that Oklahoma radicals were especially focused on the agrarian radicalism simultaneously driving the Mexican revolution. Yet that key link is not explored, either by engaging Gregory Crider's fine essay on textile radicalism in the peasant region of Atlixco, Mexico, or by turning to the vast and accessible literature on agrarian mobilizations in the Mexican revolution. Chang identifies an opportunity for cross-border study of agrarian radicalism that is left for others to pursue.

Chang's discovery that Oklahoma radicals were inspired by Mexican agrarian revolutionaries points to a critical challenge in taking an Atlantic vision into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Transatlantic interactions persisted and deepened in investment and trade, migrations, and ideologies of power and resistance. Simultaneously, however, new patterns of interaction shifted to a north-south axis across the integrated Atlantic basin. European imperialism in Africa is well known but rarely seen in Atlantic context. The rise of U.S. assertions in the Americas beginning in the 1840s with the war to claim northern Mexico and continuing through investment, trade, gunboats, diplomacy, and ideological assertions are studied intensely, usually without a larger Atlantic perspective. Chang reveals that inter-American interactions were not restricted to capital, power, and their ideologies, or to flows from north to south. More than sugar and coffee,

silver, copper, and petroleum flowed back to the United States. That Oklahoma radicals looked to Mexican rebels for inspiration reveals a reverse flow in the domain of popular mobilizations and their ideologies that demands analysis.

A larger challenge emerges from the intersection of Chang's study of Oklahoma radicalism (looking to Mexico in revolution for inspiration), and Sara Phillips's probing exploration of the relationship between the dust bowl crisis (with Oklahoma at its center, after the defeat of the radicals), the state-sponsored solution of scientific conservation, and the transplantation of the latter to South Africa. There, it justified and accelerated policies of exclusion (parallel to those that had generated agrarian revolution in Mexico) and eventually helped stimulate African resistance to white rule. The complex links among processes of agricultural intensification and social exploitation everywhere, and among the successes (however limited) of radicalism in Mexico, its containment in Oklahoma, and its provocation in South Africa, deserve careful consideration. I would not have imagined such linkages without the juxtaposition of these essays—and my own understanding of the Mexican revolution. Scholars grounded in different regions and problems will surely find parallel revelations in the studies assembled here.

Still, the absence of an essay that attempts to integrate the volume will limit its impact. No one offers a rationale for the inclusion of the three kinds of "radicalism" that emerge from the diverse studies. If it is too soon to attempt an integrated vision of agrarian societies and their radical participants across the Atlantic world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, an essay focused on identifying and shaping the questions essential to pursuing such a perspective would be exceptionally useful. I closed the volume convinced of the importance of developing Atlantic understandings of modern history. The assembled essays are essential contributions to such a history. Other scholars are left to take up the implicit challenge of offering more integrated and broadly comparative visions and engaging the debates that will follow.

JOHN TUTINO
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ALEXEI MILLER and ALFRED J. RIEBER, editors. *Imperial Rule*. (Pasts Incorporated, CEU Studies in the Humanities, number 1.) Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2004. Pp. 212. Cloth \$47.95, paper \$24.95.

The nature of imperial rule and the meaning of empire have received significant scholarly attention in the past decade, and the growth in interest in world history will surely generate interest in the various types for the foreseeable future. With the collapse of the USSR it briefly seemed that the last empire was finally gone, but in today's "globalized" world, the study of empire continues to have a vital political significance. It is perhaps appropriate that this new collection of essays should issue

from the Central European University (CEU), itself a production of postimperial *Mitteleuropa*. The nine essays collected here originated as contributions to CEU's project on the comparative history of empires and provide ample food for thought for both specialists and those first venturing out into the field of "empire studies." The broad perspective and comparative method used in many of these essays, their diverse foci, and the international roster of authors all add to the book's interest and value.

The specific focus of the essays varies greatly, and they have been grouped by the editors into three sections—dealing with nationalism, legitimacy, and center-periphery relations in imperial rule. Topics include Germany in the 1871–1914 period, the late Ottoman Empire, religion (especially "non-Orthodox" religion) and the Russian Empire, the end of the Spanish Empire and its impact on twentieth-century Spain, and legitimizing Habsburg rule in the late nineteenth century. The collection does have its limits: it focuses squarely on Europe (including the Ottoman Empire), does not take on the issue of empires before the modern era except tangentially, and does not attempt to wade into the sometimes murky waters of postmodern or feminist interpretations of empire. Still, within these (still very broad) limits, the essays are of excellent quality. I know of no other single work more calculated to excite discussion and that covers so many aspects of modern empire studies.

Rather than mention each essay in turn, I would like to discuss those that had the most to say to me. Alexei Miller gets the ball rolling with a contribution entitled "The Empire and the Nation in the Imagination of Russian Nationalism." Among other things, Miller argues that a major task for Russian "nationalism" (he disputes those who claim that the term does not fit for the Romanov period) working on various levels (society, bureaucracy, literature) was the attempt to chart the proper extent of the "Russian land"—a phrase that certainly was not synonymous, according to Miller, with the empire as a whole. The definition of Russian was very much contested, as several diverse and well-chosen quotations make clear. Miller bemoans the fact that "too many historians underrate . . . ideas and sentiments," a valid point. But just how does one get at these slippery creatures and corral them into some kind of understandable argument or narrative? It is strange that Miller does not consider, for example, Christopher Ely's *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia* (2002) in his analysis. In the end his essay, though stimulating, leaves the reader hanging. Many important issues are raised—the developmental nature of Russian nationalism, the need to differentiate different meanings of "russification," the interplay between "public" and "officialdom" (a distinction Miller quite rightly rejects) in creating Russian identity—but none particularly developed. With luck, in a future work Miller will fill out in greater depth and detail some of the suggestions he makes in passing here.

Selim Deringil's contribution focuses on religious

toleration and conversion in the post-1839 Ottoman Empire, with comparison to the situation in Russia. As Deringil points out, the Tanzimat Edict of 1839 promised freedom of religion, although this was interpreted (as in the Russian Empire) to exclude the possibility of conversion from the reigning religion (Islam and Orthodoxy, respectively). In both empires, acceptance of the dominant religion brought with it certain material advantages, with the consequence that such conversions were often viewed with suspicion. Furthermore, once the conversion had taken place, there was no way back: leaving the dominant religion brought the most dire consequences, in principle even death (although in reality this penalty was rarely carried out). In his comparison with Russian policies, Deringil's examples (taken mainly from the eighteenth century) suggest that the Russian Empire had a concerted program to convert non-Christians (and perhaps even non-Orthodox Christian) peoples that came under its rule. "In Russia, the spread of Orthodoxy remained a state project" (p. 125). This is true enough, but it was a "project" that was honored much more in the breach than in practice. Ilya Vinkovetsky's excellent essay on the Russian-American Company shows that the company opposed expenditures on churches, and Russian policy on the whole in the nineteenth century avoided proselytizing. Although during some periods the Russian Empire did press its non-Christian (especially Muslim and "pagan") subjects to accept Orthodoxy, at other times conversion was neglected entirely. Thus it seems to me that the parallels between Ottoman and Russian practice with regard to religious conversion were even closer than Deringil suggests.

The book ends with an ambitious essay by Alfred J. Rieber entitled "The Comparative Ecology of Complex Frontiers." Rieber presents five case studies of "complex frontiers" (among three different empires or empire-like polities): the western Balkans, Pontic steppe, Caucasus, and two "inner Asian frontiers, Xinjiang . . . and the Ordos-Liao line" (p. 180). In each case, Rieber shows how the triangular relationship among battling empires, each with its own peculiar civilization (i.e. religion, administrative practice, language), left a lasting mark. He concludes that "Empires not civilizations [*pace* Huntington] are the agents of cultural and political interaction" (p. 198) and emphasizes the universalist, "messianic" element present in imperial ideologies. Unlike nation states, which at least in principle recognize some limits to their boundaries, "imperial boundaries have no intrinsic limitations and are solely established by force" (p. 199). In the context of this essay, these statements seem very convincing. In practice, however, as Rieber is aware, traditions, lack of resources, and simple inertia also hampered imperial expansion.

This collection brings together new insights, methodologies, and views of how empires work and what constituted an empire. For anyone wanting a better grasp of this complex phenomenon or to get acquainted

with the best recent scholarship on the topic, the volume is a must read.

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TONY BALLANTYNE and ANTOINETTE BURTON, editors. *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 445. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

An impassioned plea for world history, this collection of articles treats topics ranging across half a millennium and far-flung geographical locations. As editors Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton note, it is no longer possible to think uncritically in terms of "the West," "Asia," or "Europe" as distinct political and cultural entities because they have been in contact, conflict, and deeply interdependent relationships since at least the fourteenth century. The volume focuses on empires and imperial power because these have been powerful sponsors of the cultural intermixing, fusion, appropriations, and extinctions that have molded the global politics of today's world. The editors have gathered articles that analyze high politics and state practices, to be sure, but that also bring to light the stuff of everyday life: the languages we speak, the food we eat, the clothes we wear, our sexual mores, our bodily adornments, and our religious outlooks.

This volume has a specific purpose not registered in the title, and that is to help bring the study of women and gender into world history. The editors rightly point out (and one is shocked that it is necessary to do so in 2005) that gender as a research theme is almost totally absent from world history. The goal of this volume, as the editors express it, is to use gender as one analytical tool among many—one that can provide historically nuanced accounts of gendered divisions of labor and political power across cultures.

Why, then, the volume's title? One purpose is to dramatize how and under what conditions women and gender can become integral parts of world history. One might object to the notion that "body" can serve as code for "woman." Such a stance tends to harden the mind/body dualism at the heart of Western culture in a way that would appear to privilege that culture. It is true, however, that women do not appear in the primary sources from which much imperial and world history is written: for the most part, women did not serve as sailors, explorers, voyagers, naturalists, colonial governors, state ministers, missionaries—the list could go on. Yet concern surrounding women's bodies, in contrast to their minds, does fill the colonial archive. Europeans expressed tremendous unease about colonial women's sexuality, whether this was the sexuality of the native women who served fragile European voyagers' needs in harsh and unfamiliar settings, or the sexuality of slave women who could not be coaxed into creating more property in the form of offspring for plantation masters, or the female European bodies that were thought to

bring forth black children (no matter who the father) when they crossed the equator into torrid zones. There is, however, more to it than that. The editors are also interested in race and the nuances of gender, especially those that incorporate understandings of masculinities into particular political settings. In their own words, Ballantyne and Burton wish to see the "body-as-contact-zone" as a powerful analytical tool that allows historians to "navigate the dynamic relationship between representation and 'reality' and to see the work of mediation that embodied subjects perform between the domestic and the foreign, the quotidian and the cyclical, the dynamic and the static" (p. 407).

The volume chapters span centuries and circle the globe. Emma Jinhua Teng takes us to Southeast Asia, where Chinese travelers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries viewed Taiwan as a mythical "Kingdom of Women, the Chinese equivalent of the land of the Amazons" (p. 38). The Chinese stared in disbelief at women tribal heads and matrilineal families. Teng remarks that in early modern Chinese ethnographic writings the theme of gender inversion commonly represented foreignness. Furthermore, the rigidity of sex roles in Confucian ideology led travelers to interpret deviation from those norms as signs of "barbarism." Gender, she shows, functions much as it does in the West as a metaphor for conceptualizing inequalities.

Lucy Eldersveld Murphy zips us onward to the northwestern shore of Lake Michigan's Green Bay, where in the nineteenth century *métisses* (women of mixed race, mostly Menominee or Ojibwe and French) served as mediators between people of diverse cultures living in the region. In what Murphy describes as "public mothering," creole women (women of varying ancestries born in the area) took on a quasi-public role nurturing, welcoming, and feeding neighbors, newcomers, travelers, or kin. One of those roles, especially for native and *métis* women, was that of healing. The women's medicines were often so effective that many residents of the area preferred to remain in their care even after a U. S. Army physician arrived. These often multilingual women who showed generosity to all became effective glue holding together sometimes fragile frontier communities.

Heidi Gengenbach turns our attention to Southern Mozambique and women's tattooing, or *tinhlanga*. The habit of body marking in this region became associated with women because the majority of men abandoned such practices as they migrated to work in South Africa in the late nineteenth century. Gengenbach reports how Europeans—mostly Portuguese colonials—were simultaneously fascinated and repelled by these body markings, which they interpreted as "primitive" and depraved. Despite European efforts to eliminate tattooing, Mozambique women clung to their traditions. In this bold yet secret language, they literally wrote their histories on their own skins. Gengenbach tells us that these markings mapped and solidified female relationships and had meaning for strictly female audiences. Women carved into themselves intricate

patterns (which later scarred) not to mark their clan affiliation or sexual maturity, as many Europeans taught, but to make themselves beautiful. And, as Gengenbach discusses, the common experience of enduring the pain of tattooing served to build community among women.

Individually, the chapters are excellent and interesting. Each one nudges the reader to learn something new and offers methodological techniques for uncovering new and relatively inaccessible materials. Each chapter shines light on some new corner of the globe. But, even taken together, these spotlights do not (and cannot) illuminate the whole of world history. It remains for others to write more comprehensive accounts. Hopefully this volume will help to map new pathways toward that goal.

LONDA SCHIEBINGER
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CARLA GERONA. *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2004. Pp. x, 290. \$35.00.

This is a work that is impressive, persuasive, provocative, and, perhaps inevitably, occasionally disconcerting. It has much to say about subjects ranging from race to religion to the supernatural to class to imperialism. Generally, its conclusions are thoughtful and measured, based on a clear and compelling reading of appropriate evidence. Occasionally, at least in the judgment of this reviewer, Carla Gerona's speculations lead her astray, but not so much as to detract from what this book accomplishes.

Gerona argues that what she calls "dreamwork," dreams and visions, were central to the development of Quakerism in the British Isles and North America. Certainly previous historians have seen Quakers as visionaries; how else could anyone interpret a movement that was founded on the possibility, indeed necessity, of direct communication with God? Gerona, however, makes a convincing case that Quakers systematically used dreams as a way of defining their communities and responding to the larger world.

As Gerona notes, Quakers were not alone in seeing dreams as revelations, as ways that God tried to communicate with and guide humans. Quakers were compulsive, however, about recording their experiences or recording the accounts that they heard from others. Thus they left an extensive body of literature that Gerona has mined imaginatively. She draws appropriately on a wide variety of disciplines, in her own list, "ethnohistory, anthropology, psychology, sociology, literary studies, women's studies, black studies, Native American studies, cartography, art, and art history" (p. 4). Blessedly, Gerona is able to incorporate these insights without subjecting the reader to jargon or vague theory.

Gerona argues that Quakers used their dreams not just for the spiritual edification of their members but to conceptualize and influence the larger world around them. Certainly, many of the dreams that Quakers

shared with each other involved internal matters: George Fox in the 1670s dreaming about Quaker schismatics as a fierce bull pursuing him, or Mary Horner's 1770 vision of a burning house whose inhabitants appeared insensible to their danger as a rebuke of Friends who were indifferent to their own spiritual welfare. More important for Gerona, however, are dreams that reinforced Quaker attempts to influence the larger society around them, especially for humanitarian and reformist reasons. Thus Quakers used "dreamwork" to admonish their neighbors about the evils of slavery, to warn about the horrors of warfare, especially the American Revolution, and to find common ground with Native Americans, who also attached great meaning to dreams.

While Gerona generally admires her Quaker subjects, she is not uncritical of them. She finds that they shared some of the racial and ethnic stereotypes of other English people: for example, Quaker opinions of the Roman Catholic Irish were invariably low. And by the early nineteenth century, while adamantly opposed to slavery, Quaker dreams tended to be as horrified by "amalgamation"—interracial unions—as those of any slave owner. She also concludes that, by the early national period in the United States, urban Friends in New York and Philadelphia increasingly used dreams, as she puts it, "in ways that emphasized individualism over communalism, gentility over spirituality, and stratification over egalitarianism; identity became increasingly founded on race and class rather than church" (p. 246). Gerona accordingly sees a decline in "prophetic" dreams.

Some of Gerona's conclusions are open to argument. Gerona's American sources come disproportionately from the Philadelphia area, which was certainly central to Quakerism, but Friends in the Delaware Valley were a minority of all American Quakers. And those in the city of Philadelphia were a minority in the Delaware Valley, meaning that her conclusions based on their experiences are not necessarily representative. Gerona's speculations are usually well grounded, but occasionally they lead her astray. The worst example is when she uses an account of the Philadelphia Quaker minister William Savery imitating his German business partner's accent to speculate, with no other evidence, that Savery belittled the black Quaker Paul Cuffe by entertaining polite Quakers with a racist imitation of Cuffe.

These failings are slight, however, compared with the real achievements of this book. It deals thoughtfully and nearly always sensibly with an exceedingly slippery subject, and so contributes significantly to our knowledge of Quakerism, religion, and psychology from the seventeenth into the nineteenth centuries.

THOMAS D. HAMM
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GERARD MORAN. *Sending Out Ireland's Poor: Assisted Emigration to North America in the Nineteenth Century*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. 252. \$55.00.

Few population movements in human history can compare in scale or drama with the emigration of Irish paupers during the nineteenth century. Between 1800 and 1921, more than eight million people fled Ireland for diverse ports in Great Britain, British North America, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Many relied on some form of financial assistance, often from family and friends who had already emigrated and managed to scrape together enough money to send tickets. A relatively small portion of these Irish migrants—perhaps five to ten percent of the total—sailed with the help of a formal assisted emigration program, funded either by private philanthropists, the local poor law union, or the British government.

In this useful volume, Gerard Moran surveys a diverse array of private schemes and public programs designed to transport poor Irish men and women from their overcrowded homeland to settlements in North America, largely British North America. Long before the great Irish famine migration of the late 1840s and early 1850s, various landlords and politicians concluded that severe overpopulation was behind Ireland's economic woes and rampant agrarian lawlessness. Their challenge, they felt, was to devise solutions that were both politically viable and fiscally sound. As Moran sees it, the most successful plans combined the efforts of an energetic individual with material and logistical support from the government. In the early 1820s, Peter Robinson established the model for assisted emigration with his carefully orchestrated plan that relocated over four hundred families from Munster to Ontario. A half century later, philanthropists James Hack Tuke, Vere Foster, and Father John Nugent each took a stab at ameliorating a small portion of Irish poverty with their own assisted emigration schemes. Not surprisingly, the most disappointing efforts occurred when circumstances were most dire and resources most limited. Under the Irish poor law, the poor law unions had the authority, but often not the funds, to assist pauper migration. In the midst of the potato blight, some unions responded to overcrowded workhouses by assisting migration to North America, and in other cases they provided landlords with partial assistance in disposing of their unwanted poor. Moran concludes that when these "workhouse emigration schemes" were "properly coordinated," the results pleased all concerned (p. 158). But when unscrupulous landlords or desperate poor law unions merely acted to "dump" their excess populations without sufficient planning, the results were sometimes tragic.

This is an encyclopedic work rather than a highly interpretive volume. Following a broadly chronological structure, Moran sketches out a wide array of assisted emigration plans, providing valuable detail about how organizers raised funds, selected emigrants, and prepared communities in North America. And although the evidence is limited, Moran adds useful nuggets about the experiences of the migrants in transit and their reception in their new homes. Perhaps unavoidably, this is largely a top-down narrative in which we

learn much about the fiscal and benevolent motives of the organizers and politicians, while the Irish paupers themselves are given little agency. And, again perhaps unavoidably, Moran often presents a seemingly uncritical reading of his sources. Those responsible for the various schemes act almost universally out of the best intentions, although their efforts are occasionally hampered by poor planning or insufficient funds; although Irish nationalists sometimes questioned the motives behind the schemes, the migrants themselves are generally thrilled with the opportunity to abandon a harsh world for a new life in North America.

This volume is a valuable addition to the literature on Irish migration, combining original research with a synthesis of the previous scholarship on assisted emigration. A more ambitious book might have placed these emigrants more fully into the larger narrative of Irish migration. How did the experiences of this five to ten percent compare with those who traveled on their own? In the long run, what were the differences between joining a planned community in Quebec or Minnesota, as opposed to arriving on the docks in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia? Moran hints at these comparisons but leaves the systematic analysis to other scholars.

Unfortunately, this book's ultimate contribution is limited by poor editing and sometimes frustrating prose. Although this is a slim volume, it suffers from persistent redundancies, often including nearly identical phrasing separated by only a few pages. Most troublesome is a peculiar reliance on passive verbs throughout, sometimes five or six times on a single page. This usage not only makes for dreary reading; it also produces a lack of clarity where precision is required. Phrases like "it was alleged that" (p. 25), "it was claimed that" (p. 73), "it was argued that" (p. 75), and "it was felt that" (p. 192) pockmark the prose, leaving the frustrated reader wondering exactly who was doing all this arguing and feeling and alleging. These reservations aside, specialists on Irish history and immigration will find much of value in this book.

J. MATTHEW GALLMAN
University of Florida

JANET NOLAN. *Servants of the Poor: Teachers and Mobility in Ireland and Irish America*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 191. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.00.

In this slim, engaging volume, Janet Nolan examines the role of education and teaching in the lives of Irish Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She points out that public school teaching offered many daughters of Irish immigrants well-paying, respected jobs and contends that it was "at the center" of the Irish American experience (p. 138). She notes that it proved to be the lifeblood for her own family: her father, her mother, and two of her aunts taught in the public school system. For the Nolan family and for thousands of other Irish Americans, teaching jobs offered access into America's middle class.

Nolan begins her account in Ireland in the late nineteenth century. By this time, the British government's National School system was well established. Even in the most remote rural areas, Irish boys and girls were learning to read and write and compute sums. In addition, girls were being taught to cook, sew, and launder clothes. In the higher grades, children could study French or German but not Irish, and they became familiar with English history and culture. While the National Schools were providing Irish children with a good—albeit Anglo-centered—education, Ireland's economy was still reeling from the aftershocks of the Great Famine of 1845–1850. With no industry on most of the island and few jobs available for farm workers, thousands of young men and women left for America in the 1880s and 1890s just as previous generations had done.

Nolan focuses mainly on the female emigrants, noting that many utilized their training in needlework and cooking as maids on the estates of Gilded Age millionaires. These women retained their love of learning and were able to instill it in their own children. By 1910, Irish American women comprised one-third of the public elementary school teachers in Chicago and New York and almost half of those in San Francisco (p. 2).

Nolan offers interesting vignettes of several Irish American schoolteachers who came to prominence in the beginning of the twentieth century. She describes Julia Duff, a charismatic former teacher who became the first Irish American woman to gain a seat on the nativist-dominated Boston School Committee in 1901. She also profiles two Chicagoans, Amelia Hookway and Margaret Haley. Hookway, who was the elder sister of the author Finley Peter Dunne, rose through the ranks as a teacher and for twenty years served as a principal. Haley began her career as a teacher but soon became a union organizer and advocate of women's suffrage.

By the 1920s, what Nolan terms a "golden age" for Irish American women had drawn to a close (p. 122). Swayed by educational reformers, school boards had decided that only those with university degrees should be entrusted with administrative positions. No more would women like Hookway be able to become principals. With the onset of the Depression, school budgets were cut sharply and teachers experienced repeated "payless paydays" (p. 108). Worse yet, by the early 1930s, laws were enacted that forced women to resign from teaching as soon as they married. This "marriage bar" was intended to help struggling male heads of households find jobs (p. 124).

While Nolan's work is impressive in many respects, there are some curious omissions. For example, she does not devote much attention to New York City, where the Irish were very numerous. She also spends little time on religious questions. In 1884, the Catholic bishops in America decreed that all parishes had to erect schools. The bishops saw the public schools as secularist and wanted to keep Catholic children from attending them. Considering their suspicions toward public education, some bishops surely must have had

misgivings about Catholic women being employed in these institutions in such large numbers. Nolan only alludes to the bishops a couple of times, and when she does, she confuses their names and titles. She claims that Benjamin Fenwick was Bishop of Boston until 1866. Fenwick's first name was Benedict and he died in 1846. Likewise, she states that Cardinal George Mundelein was opposed to a 1903 Chicago school board ruling imposing quotas on Irish American teachers. Mundelein did not come to Chicago until 1915 and was not made a cardinal until 1924.

These gaps notwithstanding, there is much to commend in Nolan's work. She has provided an informative description of Ireland's educational system and has offered many new insights into the challenges that Irish American teachers faced. This work will appeal to readers interested in Irish America, women's history, and the history of education.

JOHN F. QUINN

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GIJS MOM. *The Electric Vehicle: Technology and Expectations in the Automobile Age*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 423. \$54.95.

Gijs Mom has training as both engineer and historian, which, combined with mastery of French, German, English, and Dutch makes possible an in-depth international perspective. Mom only grudgingly accepts part of Thomas Hughes's systems approach and does not adopt "technological momentum" to explain the gasoline car's victory over the electric (see Hughes, *Networks of Power* [1983]). Mom insists that "the expectations, technology, organization, applications, and automobile culture of the two types of vehicle were and are entirely different" (p. 297) and argues that the triumph of the gasoline car was not inevitable but due to the cultural construction of these technologies. Indeed, in 1900 electric cars were more numerous and just as reliable, but cultural factors tipped the balance. Western culture valued quiet operation and low pollution levels less than individualism or the craze for speed inherited from cycling. Furthermore, "the dirty hands of the early motorist" seemed a "remedy against the decadence of comfort" (p. 40). There seemed "little sport in driving an electric carriage" compared to the dramatic and surging movement of the gasoline car, which almost seemed to have a nervous disposition. In Britain it was dubbed "the poor man's yacht." But there was also resistance to the autocar. Many Frenchmen considered it a "right wing machine" primarily owned by "anti-Dreyfusards," and in 1906 Woodrow Wilson declared: "Nothing has spread the socialistic feeling in this country more than the use of automobiles. To the countryman they are a picture of arrogance of wealth with all its independence and carelessness" (p. 44).

As these examples suggest, Mom's book is not a dry technical account. He organizes his story according to three overlapping generations of vehicles, with the third already emerging as early as 1907. Innovations

flowed among builders of bicycles, trams, and all forms of cars, and competition stimulated improvements. The electric vehicles contributed much to the design of the gasoline car, including gearing systems, cord tires, and electric starters. Chapters one and two explore the first generation (1881 until 1902) when the few automobiles were unreliable, expensive, and experimental. In the late 1890s, a fleet of seventy-one electric taxicabs operated in London, but they wore out tires too fast and faced opposition from horse cabs. In Paris, electric taxis operated profitably for 12,000 vehicle days at the 1900 World Exposition but at a loss in later years. Batteries were heavy (400 kg or more) and lasted only three months. A New York service proved more successful, and briefly electric taxis were the most numerous automobiles in the United States.

Between 1902 and 1925, the second-generation electric vehicles (with improved tires, better batteries, and higher speeds) functioned well in urban settings, as fire engines in Berlin, fleets of taxis in many European cities, and delivery vehicles for commercial establishments, notably trucks in New York City, which had more than 4,000 in 1920. Where fleets of electric vehicles were used, extra batteries were kept on hand. Recharging did not keep vehicles off the road, and they could remain in almost continuous operation. Electric cars were less attractive to private owners, who seldom used a vehicle so intensively, did not have a maintenance department handy, and had to buy, install, and operate charging equipment. As traffic speeds increased and cities grew larger, private electric vehicles struggled with a weak service infrastructure. Had there been a larger number of recharging or battery exchange stations, the electric car could have held its large share of the urban market. The countryside was another matter, especially in the United States, where until after 1935 less than one farmer in ten had electricity.

While the research is exhaustive, there are gaps in the narrative. Mom briefly mentions Virginia Scharff's *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (1991) but does not really engage her argument that American companies, by marketing electrics as safe for women, stigmatized them as effeminate and harmed overall sales. Nor does his emphasis on technical development in many nations give much scope for the effects of automobility on class or race relations. Yet Mom did not set out to write that book. Rather, he shows how competition between the electric and the gasoline car involved much more than the vehicles themselves, and he helps us understand the electric vehicle as the center of an alternative system. This has future implications: "the history of tomorrow's car is ultimately a history of our deepest desires (although this study provides room for the assumption that these desires have a strong masculine flavor)" (p. 301). The electric car's "failure" was not technical but cultural.

DAVID E. NYE
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WILLIAM H. SCHNEIDER, editor. *Rockefeller Philanthropy and Modern Biomedicine: International Initiatives from World War I to the Cold War*. (Philanthropic and Non-profit Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. 251. \$44.95.

This collection of essays was inspired by a good idea: that it would be valuable to have a set of comparative case studies showing the Rockefeller Foundation's influence on the development of biomedicine outside the United States during the period from World War I to the Cold War. As is sometimes the case, however, this good idea did not result in a successful book. The editor, William H. Schneider, is a fine historian who knows a great deal about the Rockefeller Foundation, its internal organization and dynamics, and its ways of working in a variety of national settings. But Schneider's ideas have their own limitations, and in this project he was required to work with eight other scholars who do not fully and consistently share his depth of understanding, his expository skill, or even his intellectual agenda. The resulting volume is something of a hodge podge.

Schneider sets out his themes in an introduction and a chapter on Richard Pearce and Allan Gregg, the directors of the Foundation's Medical Education and Medical Sciences divisions from 1919 to 1951. He carefully explains the history of the two divisions within the Foundation's frequently realigned political structure, and he outlines broad changes over time in funding mechanisms and priorities. He notes, for example, the shift in focus, from the 1920s to the 1930s, from capital projects and institutional subventions to research grants and fellowship support, and underscores the rise and fall of various countries and scientific fields as primary claimants on philanthropic resources. Schneider also sets the goal for this volume: to look at countries other than the United States where the Foundation attempted to "establish the scientific practice of medicine" and to consider in each of these settings how "philanthropic interests attempted reform amidst the complex play of local and wider influences" (p. 3). Through a set of comparative studies, it should be possible to see "similarities and differences" and to develop a "better understanding of the consequences of local as well as broader influences" (p. 3).

Eight essays—the putative comparative case studies—follow. There are essays on the Rockefeller Foundation's efforts in Ireland, Hungary, France, the Soviet Union, China, and Germany and one essay on the initiatives of the English Nuffield Foundation that were inspired in part by Rockefeller precedents. A couple of the essays are excellent and right on target: Gábor Palló's on the Foundation's successful strategies in the 1920s and 1930s in building a major biochemistry institute at Szeged University in Hungary, and Jean-François Picard's (with Schneider as co-author) on its frustrated attempts to induce the "modernization" and Americanization of French medical schools in essentially the same period. Three are solid but off-target:

Margaret Trott's look at the United States' mixed efforts to aid desperate Soviet medical researchers in the 1920s, Qiusha Ma's study of shifting Rockefeller medical agendas in China, and Paul Weindling's astute essay on the Foundation's ethical dilemmas and internal struggles about supporting German medical science after World War II. The remaining three essays are unimpressive and, in fact, detract from the announced themes of the volume: J. B. Lyon's anecdotal tale of appeals for Rockefeller medical educational funding in the early days of the Irish Free State, Giuliana Gemelli's convoluted and often jumbled account of the long-term history of the Naples Stazione Zoologica, and Doris Zallen's tangential look at the Nuffield Foundation and the start-up of medical genetics in England.

Taken together, what is most striking about this collection of essays is how much is left out and how many opportunities are missed. Why is there no essay on the Rockefeller Foundation's efforts in Latin America, an area of major recent scholarly activity? Why none on its projects in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s, on which Weindling has elsewhere written so solidly, or on its increasingly extensive initiatives in England when its grants to Germany tapered off after the rise of the Nazis to power? Why is there no serious study of Rockefeller biomedical projects in the 1950s through the 1970s—that is, during the height of the Cold War so prominent in the volume's title? And why is there no critical probing of the origins, purposes, and limitations of the Foundation's biomedical agenda (seemingly presumed by Schneider to represent straightforward and unalloyed “progress” in all fields, settings, and national contexts) and no systematic and synthetic look at how local circumstances, strong personalities, and institutional cultures modified or thwarted Rockefeller intentions? Also, what about major national and world events—the Great Depression, fascism, war—and how they affected the Foundation? In light of these gaps and shortcomings, the book under review seems more like a patchwork of oddly selected remnants than a well-planned and skillfully realized work of historical craftsmanship. The subject deserves better.

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E. MELANIE DUPUIS, editor. *Smoke and Mirrors: The Politics and Culture of Air Pollution*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 360. Cloth, \$65.00, paper \$22.00.

In the introduction to this book, editor E. Melanie DuPuis notes that a “growing number of studies are looking at environmental issues as a struggle over power and meaning” (p. 1). The volume, which consists of fifteen essays, examines air pollution in this manner, with DuPuis noting that a society's reaction to “smoke” (and other forms of air pollution) is a “mirror” of that society. Each of the contributing authors, about half of whom are historians, peers into that mirror for different times, places, and conflicts.

DuPuis points out that she embarked on this project partly as an antidote to economists and policy analysts who blindly place their faith in cost-benefit studies, risk analyses, and other tools that disguise political choices as technical calculations. Expressing frustration with those who ignore historical and social complexity, she and colleagues at the University of California, Santa Cruz, organized a conference to bring together scholars who did pay attention to such complexities. The book under review emerged from that conference.

The various authors succeed in dissuading readers of any simplistic notion that air pollution is a purely technical problem best left to be solved by experts. For the most part, they do so not by highlighting the weaknesses of analytical tools but by examining the broader context of particular cases. In the process, they reveal how responses to air pollution are embedded in a matrix of values, perceptions, knowledge, and power. At the very least, DuPuis suggests, those who perceive themselves as using “objective” decision-making models should become aware of this broader context and, perhaps, the limits of their tools.

Organizationally, the book is divided into two sections: one on the emergence of air pollution as a problem (eight chapters) and another on the construction of current air pollution policy (seven chapters). The tightest chapters are the first four, which illuminate the English response to the dense black smoke that poured out of nineteenth-century industrial centers such as Manchester. In these chapters, authors Peter Brimblecombe, Harold Platt, Stephen Mosley, and Matthew Osborn examine how different groups of people perceived, experienced, and responded to that smoke. Here, one is struck both by the complex ways in which various groups wrestled with the problem and by their failure to achieve much in the way of a systematic solution. For example, Platt demonstrates that nineteenth-century scientists understood that gases such as sulfur dioxide were as great a problem as the dense black smoke, representing an “invisible evil” that smoke abatement alone would not solve. Osborn also focuses on this invisible evil, but from another perspective: its acidic effect on land surrounding industrial centers. Both Brimblecombe and Mosley examine, among other things, the different ways in which various groups perceived the smoke, with an interesting twist being how the visual aspects of smoke got entangled with romantic perceptions of fog.

The volume then jumps to the middle of the twentieth century, with a brief look at the context in which Pittsburgh leaders framed their smoke control efforts (Angela Gugliotta), the way in which the 1952 London “fog” disaster changed how residents of that city viewed air pollution (Peter Thorsheim), and the reaction of health-conscious residents of Los Angeles to the smoggy haze that descended on their city in the 1940s (Joshua Dunsby). Differences in the three cases, rather than similarities, stand out. In London, the death of approximately 4,000 people due to a severe air pollution incident succeeded in breaking the romantic connec-

tion that joined smoke and fog in the minds of many people, a connection that had previously muted responses to such incidents. In sunshine-soaked Los Angeles, however, no such disastrous event was necessary; the daily formation of an irritating haze was enough to mobilize its residents, many of whom had moved to the area for its attractive climate. Pittsburgh's response was different still, representing an effort by workers and elites to transform the city into an industrial jewel, a vision influenced both by labor's view of a radical New Deal and by Lewis Mumford's portrayal of neotechnic industrial society. Amid these chapters on urban responses to air pollution—perhaps setting up the chapter on Los Angeles—is an essay by Frank Uekoetter that examines the early response of the United States and Germany to automobile emissions; he argues that the lack of a precautionary principle and a mismatch between popular and expert concerns resulted in little action on this front.

The second half of the book turns to contemporary responses and policies, expanding its coverage both in terms of geography and topics. As a result, less of a connection between chapters exists in this section. In terms of the broader geographic coverage, this section includes essays on the driving forces behind Spanish air pollution policy (Alex Farrell), the social and political construction of air quality policy in Mexico City (José Lezama), and the experiences of an American environmental engineer in places such as China and Russia (Roger Raufer). Articles that expand the topical coverage include one on the implications of defining "pesticide drift" as an air pollution problem rather than the result of isolated accidents (Jill Harrison) and one on the role of advocacy groups in shaping the science and policy of asthma prevention (Brown *et al.*). Two other articles look more directly at air pollution control policy, with DuPuis exploring the way in which the Clean Air Act inadvertently transformed what we breathe into a "property-like thing" and Sudhir Rajan focusing on how California air quality policies accommodated rather than challenged the "automobility" of society.

The volume succeeds in illustrating the importance of the broader social, political, and historical context in understanding different responses to air pollution. Knowing facts about levels of contaminants is never enough; we also need to know who pollutes, who bears the burden of that pollution, and how their perceptions of the problem and their power to do anything about it differs. The implication is that those who attempt to address air pollution concerns without understanding the broader context often place their trust in analyses and procedures that reflect one view of the problem. The individual chapters also directly contribute to our understanding of the nineteenth-century English response to coal smoke, the mid-twentieth-century U.S. urban response to air pollution, and what happens as efforts to address air pollution expands both geographically and topically.

A problem may be that the people to whom DuPuis wants to demonstrate the importance of politics and

culture might not necessarily make the connections that DuPuis hopes they will. With a few exceptions, the essays were not written with this particular audience—professionals who apply tools and models without much reflection—in mind. Furthermore, the role of scientific and technological innovation is underrepresented in the essays, giving the impression that new knowledge has not been important in developing sophisticated responses to the problems at hand. But as Joel Tarr mentions in the book's afterword, responding to air pollution concerns in sophisticated ways requires both scientific and constructivist knowledge—and more attention to integrating the two may be necessary to engage the readers who DuPuis desires to reach.

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MICHAEL J. COHEN. *Strategy and Politics in the Middle East, 1954–1960: Defending the Northern Tier*. New York: Frank Cass. 2005. Pp. xiii, 272. \$65.00.

Michael J. Cohen has published eight books, edited another, co-edited two more, and published fourteen volumes of documents about the Middle East, Britain, and the United States in the middle decades of the twentieth century. He knows the archival and secondary sources. This volume is the second of two he has written on British and U.S. contingency planning in the Middle East during the early years of the Cold War. The first volume, *Fighting World War Three from the Middle East, 1945–1954: Allied Contingency Plans*, was published in 1997. In his introduction to this second volume, Cohen states that the two books stand as a single work or may be read as distinct entities. Only the second one is reviewed here.

The book begins in 1954, when Britain signed the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement to withdraw from Egypt, where some British 50,000 troops, at a cost of 50 million pounds per year, comprised what was then Britain's biggest military base. The book ends in 1960, after the Eisenhower administration set up the Central Treaty Organization, which linked up with the North Atlantic and South East Asia Treaty Organizations, largely based on nuclear deterrence.

During those six years, technological developments in aviation, nuclear, and weapons systems changed global strategy and altered the ways the British and U.S. defended their own interests in the Middle East. During these years, the United States remained the world's only economic superpower, while Britain became more dependent on the oil of the Middle East and the financial support of the United States. The Suez Crisis of 1956 shocked London and Washington but did not disrupt the institutions of Anglo-American cooperation in the Middle East. The Iraqi Revolution of 1958 also surprised the British and Americans but actually increased cooperation between their two governments. At the same time, political and military quarrels persisted within the British and the U.S. political and defense establishments, at home and in the field. The British

and Americans still achieved more success than failure in the Middle East as they protected their oil and economic interests, promoted stability within and among indigenous states, and reacted to real and imagined threats posed by the Soviet Union.

The British could neither get along with nor get rid of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the ambitious Pan-Arab president of Egypt. London therefore turned its attention from Cairo to Baghdad, where the British relied on Nuri Said, who ran Iraq for the Hashemite Kingdom set up by Britain after World War I. Iraq's oil and location at the head of the Persian Gulf mattered more after the recent oil showdown with Iran, with Britain then importing most of its oil from Kuwait. The British also subsidized the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, where the influx of Palestinian refugees was hostile to Israel, Britain, and King Hussein. The United States supported Israel but tried to avoid neocolonialism in the Arab world, where the U.S. also had economic interests. Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan were backed by the United States as northern-tier buffers against the Soviet Union.

The Suez Crisis in Egypt and the Iraqi Revolution stunned the British and the Americans. In 1956, when Britain, France, and Israel attacked Egypt without U.S. permission, the Eisenhower administration was furious, but it soon recovered after realizing what Nasser and the Soviets were gaining at the West's expense. For fear of raising Israeli demands and stirring up Arab anti-Americanism, the United States refused to join the Baghdad Pact but secretly bankrolled the enterprise. The Iraqi Revolution so upset Washington and London that U.S. troops were sent to sustain a friendly regime in Lebanon, and the British sent their air force to back Jordan's king.

Cohen's book offers the reader more strategy than politics. There is much repetition, and the reader is frequently referred to other parts of the book. Much less attention is paid to the Middle East than to the two large governmental establishments making policies for an enormous, diverse region. The reader who does not already know the history of the modern Middle East will be at a loss as to the region's leaders, peoples, resources, and religions. The reader who is already familiar with the British and U.S. policy-making establishments may have trouble with the sixty-four abbreviations listed at the beginning of the book and rarely identified afterward, from ACAS (Assistant Chief of the Air Staff in the UK) to VCAS (Vice Chief of the Air Staff in the UK). Maps and legends are inadequate, and the index is unsatisfactory. Typographical errors in the first third of the text and careless mistakes in the footnotes also mar the book.

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ASIA

LYNN A. STRUVE, editor. *Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition: East Asia From Ming to Qing*. (Asian Interactions and Comparisons.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2005. Pp. x, 300. \$52.00.

It is no exaggeration to say that different perceptions and periodizations of the segments of time often arise in coincidence with the changing practice of historical writing. This phenomenon is particularly salient in Chinese historiography. In 1902, when Liang Qichao (1873–1929) called for a “historiographic revolution,” he chose to target the age-old practice of dynastic historiography, or the tradition of constructing the notion of time on dynastic cycles. In place of the dynastic framework, students of Chinese history since then, particularly those working in the United States, have used (borrowed) new periodizations like “medieval” and/or “late imperial” from Western historiography to generalize the change and continuity in Chinese history. But the new periodizations remain cognizant of the significance of dynastic transitions, such as the ending of the Han in the third century and the Tang in the tenth.

What about the Ming and Qing transition? Should they be lumped together in constituting the “late imperial” period? In this well-researched and pleasantly coherent collection of essays, Lynn A. Struve and her contributors prompt us to ponder this question by looking at “the multidimensionality of time” (p. 9). The book is not intended directly to challenge the use of the term “late imperial” among China scholars today, nor to propose a new periodization. Instead it invites us to examine the Ming-Qing dynastic transition from a cross-cultural, multiethnic scope and perspective. In the first chapter, Mark Elliott presents a detailed analysis of the invocation of history by the early Manchu rulers in founding the Qing. In preparing for and justifying their southward conquest, he states, Manchu elites harked back to the experiences of such “frontier dynasties” as the Liao and Jin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Particularly, the Manchus made effort to identify themselves with the Jin and elevate the latter's success. In other words, in the conjuncture of the Ming-Qing transition, there were multiple historical times at play. Elliott's article ends before the actual founding of the Qing, which piqued the reader's curiosity about what happened afterward. Did the Manchus persist in their effort to remain a “frontier dynasty”? At the very end of the essay, Elliott notes that the Manchus accorded homage to Zhu Yuanzhang, the founder of the Ming, which suggested that they had hoped to emulate Zhu's success (pp. 62–63).

The impact of the Qing establishment on the change of historical consciousness is dealt with more directly by Roger Des Forges in the second chapter, albeit with a different focus. Des Forges examines how the Han Chinese in the Central Plain, or the Henan province/region, reacted to Manchu rule. Like the Manchus, the Han Chinese resorted to historical memory to justify their action (collaboration or resistance) under the new

ruler. If the Manchus fell short of finding an appropriate historical precedent in legitimizing their regime, it seemed that the Han Chinese had found one for them by equating the Qing succession to the Ming with the Zhou's succession to the Shang in the eleventh century B.C.E. The example of the Tang seemed also useful because, while founded by the steppe people, it constituted a golden period of Chinese culture, that Qing literati hoped to replicate.

If the Han Chinese, at least those living in Henan, appeared to adjust relatively easily to Manchu rule, the Koreans apparently had a hard time. JaHyun Kim Haboush shows that after the downfall of the Ming, while the Yi dynasty had no choice but to renew the tributary relation with China, Korean scholars, especially those of the Neo-Confucian persuasion, were reluctant and resistant. Decades into the Qing's reign, Haboush observes, many Korean scholars remained committed to the use of Ming reign titles in dating their works. This suggests that although the Han Chinese had lost the Central Plain, they retained a certain cultural hegemony by supplying a prevalent time-reckoning tool. The same could also be said about the use of the sexagesimal calendar—while politically neutral, it still serves as a reminder of the Chinese cultural influence. The coexistence of the two dating methods (reign year and sexagesimal cycle) illustrates the “multidimensionality of time” in East Asia through the centuries. It also, on a more practical level, offered an alternative not only for the Koreans but also for the Mongols to circumvent political coercion from the Qing. As Johan Elverskog documents, after the establishment of the Qing, Mongol history was incorporated (dissolved?) into the Qing historical narrative. However, the Mongols managed to trace their origin to India, via Buddhism and Tibet, and came up with a different conceptualization of time in the “Buddhist cosmological continuum” (p. 151). This continuum did not directly challenge Qing rule, but it succeeded in affording the Mongols an important place and an independent identity in Qing historical narrative.

The last two essays return to the multifarious development of Chinese historical consciousness during the Ming-Qing transition. Eugenio Menegon studies a Christian community in Fuan, Fujian, with some very interesting observations. Unlike the conventional belief that the Jesuit mission failed in eighteenth-century China, Menegon finds that the Christian community, cultivated mainly by the work of the Dominicans, survived and even thrives to this day. Its success resulted partially from the willingness of the friars to “modify the Catholic orthopraxis to suit the needs of Chinese converts” (p. 219), again an observation that undermines the conventional notion that the friars were the most obstinate among all the missionary orders. In the Christian community in Fuan, therefore, both Christian time and Chinese time coexisted: whereas Chinese Christians gradually ceased to perform rituals for ancestor reverence, they nevertheless celebrated holidays on the Chinese calendar.

Although most festivals in China are seasonal and secular, some do not lack political connotations. Zhao Shiyu and Du Zhengzhen present a study of the origin of the “birthday of the sun” in China's southeastern regions. According to their intriguing essay, which is translated effectively by Struve, the so-called birthday of the sun, which falls on the nineteenth day of the third month in the lunar calendar, began as an act of mourning for the death of Emperor Chongzhen, Ming's last emperor. The ceremony had been introduced by the forces loyal to the Ming in the early Qing. After the Qing defeated these forces, the commemoration was changed into a ceremony for the birthday of the sun and has more or less continued as such in those regions.

In the last years of the Qing, it was Zhang Taiyan (1869–1935) and other Zhejiangnese in southeast China who first invoked anti-Manchu memories among the Han Chinese to mount a revolution that eventually toppled the regime (p. 271). This event, occurring in a different historical time, exceeded the purview of the book under review. But by revealing the temporality and arbitrariness of such time constructions as the Ming, the Qing, and/or the “late imperial,” Struve and her contributors have opened our eyes to the much richer and more complex processes of historical movement.

Q. EDWARD WANG

Rowan University [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

JAMES REARDON-ANDERSON. *Reluctant Pioneers: China's Expansion Northward, 1644–1937*. (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 288. \$60.00.

In the American historical imagination, the frontier occupies a special place as the locus of freedom, opportunity, and self-actualization. Lively debates about the nature of the frontier and its relationship to the core from which it may have developed have animated historians from Frederick Jackson Turner to the present. An important feature of James Reardon-Anderson's authoritative study of modern China's expansion into the vast northern territories of Manchuria (northeast China) and Inner Mongolia is that it not only confronts key issues in modern Chinese historiography, such as the nature of the Manchu state and China's premodern economy, but also engages the comparative history dialogue on frontiers to examine what has hitherto been viewed almost entirely from a sinocentric perspective. The author's core thesis is that, rather than creating a new society with novel social norms and organization and innovative economic practices, “the Chinese occupation of Manchuria appears as the seamless extension of an existing society and culture across the fading boundary of the Great Wall” (p. 101).

Making scrupulous use of a wide variety of scholarly works, government reports, economic data, and trav-

elers' accounts in Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages, Reardon-Anderson examines in turn the land, the people, and the economy of Manchuria and, secondarily, Inner Mongolia, during the great era of expansion from the Manchu conquest of China in the mid-seventeenth century through the onset of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. It was during this period that the modern Chinese state assumed its present contours. The central figures in his account are the farm families of north China who dispatched surplus labor toward the frontier region as sojourners intent on making their fortunes before returning to ancestral villages that were "stable, insular, and resistant to change" (p. 117) to share their fortune with their families. Those who remained in Manchuria as permanent settlers were the eponymous figures of the book's title who had no ambition other than to recreate insofar as possible the conditions they had left behind in their native places.

If migrant Chinese farmers appear almost as an elemental force of nature in Reardon-Anderson's account, a human glacier that grinds slowly northward, the Manchu state and its Republican China successor are far less powerful agents whose attempts to control migration and shape the conditions of landholding and economic activity are overwhelmed by social forces beyond their control. Initial Manchu attempts to control Han Chinese migration into Manchuria and preserve the territory as a homeland and military reserve for the Manchu warriors (bannermen) and their Mongol allies by instituting a system of manorial estates farmed by peasant vassals failed because of the agricultural fecklessness of the Manchus and the inexorable force of Chinese farmers who, in collusion with the local estate owners and officials, circumvented the web of restrictions intended to control them and recreated on the Manchurian plain the commercialized agriculture of private landholding that prevailed whence they had come. A conclusion one may draw from this study is that state policies work best when they align with and take advantage of social forces and trends; otherwise they are ineffective. Engaging the thesis that premodern China experienced economic development, the author argues that the Manchurian economy was a case of growth without development (i.e. without the technical, financial, and entrepreneurial innovations that development implies). The reason, he suggests, is the nature of Chinese social institutions, including personalistic ties that limited credit to small-scale projects and the risk aversion of Chinese entrepreneurs in Manchuria who preferred to spread their capital among diverse businesses rather than concentrate on developing large-scale, technologically advanced farms or industrial enterprises. Neither material nor social conditions inhibited the economic development of Manchuria with its vast resources and multiple opportunities; rather it was Chinese culture understood in terms of the prevailing customs, values, and horizons of north Chinese villagers.

The broad outlines of Reardon-Anderson's analysis are familiar to students acquainted with the pioneering

studies of Manchuria in the 1920s and 1930s by scholars such as Owen Lattimore and C. Walter Young. Reardon-Anderson frequently cites the works of these pioneers and generously acknowledges his intellectual debt to them. What distinguishes his book, *inter alia*, is the breadth and depth of his research and his systematic comparison of the Manchurian experience with other frontier regions in China (Xinjiang and Taiwan), tsarist Russia's expansion into Siberia, and the American frontier experience that frames the inquiry. One wonders, however, whether that comparative framework really makes sense except as a heuristic device. Why should the American model of the frontier and pioneers be considered in examining the opening of Manchuria? Given that conditions in America during the opening of the West were vastly different in so many respects from those in China, it would be remarkable indeed had Chinese migrants behaved like American pioneers on the Western frontier.

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DAVID ANTHONY BELLO. *Opium and the Limits of Empire: Drug Prohibition in the Chinese Interior, 1729–1850*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 241.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2005. Pp. xxi, 361. \$50.00.

Historical research on the Chinese opium question has certainly moved beyond the narrow confines of the Sino-British war (1840–1842) to broader historiographical and theoretical issues. Recent contributors to the new scholarship include Edward Slack, Joyce Madancy, Frank Dikötter, *et al.* and now, David Anthony Bello. Unlike most authors on the subject, Bello tracks the opium trails in China's western and southwestern landlocked border regions and attempts a multiple ethnic-geographic "reorientation" from the Han-dominated core of China proper to Xinjiang (Eastern Turkestan) and the Yunnan, Guizhou, and Sichuan provinces, from the Euro-American traffickers to a mixed cast of Han, Muslim, tribal, and Central Asian smugglers and poppy cultivators. His work fills an important gap in the literature and illustrates successfully, through the travails of the Qing prohibition campaign, the "limits of empire."

Bello's main argument is that Qing territorial expansion in the west and southwest had created "crucial geographic spaces" (p. 284), which the imperial government did not control by imposing the Han core's centrally administered *junxian* (prefecture-district) system, secured by the local household registration (*baojia*). Instead, a hybrid structure engaging the administrative assistance of Muslim *begs* in Xinjiang and of tribal chieftains in the southwest was put in place. Weak control in these regions subsequently allowed foreign opium from Central Asia and (non-British) north India to penetrate and domestic cultivation to spread. Recognizing these problems only belatedly, the

Qing court enforced absolute prohibition based on the Han core's experience with opium as an urban, coastal, mercantile, and Euro-American problem. Consumption and cultivation were criminalized in 1813 and 1831, respectively, and the draconian New Regulations were promulgated in 1839.

Bello explains in detail how the systemic flaws of the borderland administrations undermined imperial policy. In Xinjiang, traffickers and cultivators thrived under cover of the territory's sheer expanse and fragmented authority, official apathy, and the *begs'* connivance. In the southwest, Han and non-Han locals depended on commodified opium for income. When local officials could not suppress cultivation, they taxed it instead for revenue. The government's half-hearted program of crop substitution did not even begin to address opium's deeply embedded role in the region's socio-economic structures. In short, prohibition faltered as the logic of empire turned on itself: expansion, overextension, monolithic vision, and crippling inefficiency.

Bello's main conclusions are sound, as are his other observations. He argues, correctly, I think, against the assumed machinations of a "prohibitionist cabal" in the 1830s policy debate, as suggested by scholars like James Polachek (pp. 9, 134). He also notes that, "No foreign trafficker was ever sentenced to death, let alone executed" (p. 215), whereas Qing offenders were not so leniently treated. In light of the Qing practice to govern the ethnic-geographic borderlands partly through broker agency (the Cohong in the southeast, the *begs* in Xinjiang, and the native chieftains in the southwest), the double standard may have reflected, other than the dynasty's "enlightened self-interest" to avoid interethnic conflict (pp. 297–298), a paternalistic attitude toward marginal groups that were stereotyped as naturally ignorant and inferior. Bello detects "terminological nuances" in the administrative language for Yunnan (pp. 104–107). Expressions like *neidi*, *waidi*, and *yanbian*, ("the land within," "the land without," and "along the edges") may indeed be seen as broadly suggestive spatial signifiers of ethnic-cultural divisions that corresponded with the throne's bifurcated policy.

Space does not allow discussion of other pertinent issues raised in Bello's well-researched, richly textured study. As he is aware, the reconstruction of the border regions' opium connections does not fundamentally revise our understanding that coastal imports remained the chief culprit before the drug trade was thoroughly "nativized" (p. 301) in the late nineteenth century. I do find the comparison of prohibition in Qing China and in British India somewhat superfluous. The Qing court, unlike the British Raj, imposed the ban for reasons too complex and varied to be reduced to revenue concerns alone. Bello does not explain his choice of 1729–1850 as his chronological framework. The latter date, marking the end of Daoguang's reign, is not quite relevant as the former, when the first anti-opium statutes were issued. Replacing it with, say, 1842 or 1843, when the initial results of the New Regulations were known (not

to mention the conclusion of the Sino-British hostilities over the cause célèbre) would seem more congruous. It is also odd to read that if legalization was adopted, the "only criminals left would be those who dealt in foreign opium" (p. 160). Legalization, as proposed by Xu Naiji in 1836, did aim to permit the legal import of foreign opium. Finally, the few typos should not detract from this otherwise well-produced and substantial work: the Chinese characters for *shi* in *shilu* (p. xxi) and for *Tong* in *Dao, Xian, Tong, Guang* (p. 329), "were be responsible" (p. 71), "Chi'na" (p. 220), and *Qingshi lu* (p. 307).

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THOMAS H. REILLY. *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 235. \$45.00.

Readers seeking a brief history of China's Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) might be attracted by the title of this book, but they should look elsewhere. This latest contribution to the voluminous scholarship on China's best-documented rebellion is not a narrative history with the usual attention to social and political context. It is instead a rambling essay on Taiping religious beliefs and practices, designed to demonstrate "the uniquely Christian character of the movement" (p. 11). Thomas H. Reilly is particularly intent on explaining the implications of the Taiping term for God: *Shangdi*. The first two chapters of the book explore prior Catholic and Protestant debates on the proper term for God, *Shangdi* having been rejected by Pope Clement XI in 1704 in favor of *Tianzhu* (Lord of Heaven) but later accepted by most Protestant churches. Early Jesuits such as Matteo Ricci and the Taiping favored the use of *Shangdi* because the term helped to link their God to ancient Chinese textual references to a supreme deity.

Reilly's most important contribution is to call attention to the political implications of the Taiping use of this term. Since the first empire of Qin Shi Huangdi, Chinese emperors had been called *huangdi*, the "di" meaning "Supreme Being" and being the same character used in *Shangdi*. The Taiping insisted that "di" should refer only to God and that its use for secular rulers was blasphemous. From this, Reilly concludes that the Taiping objective was "to topple the entire imperial institution" (p. 93) and that its historical legacy was the "delegitimization of the old imperial order" (p. 170).

It is rare to see a major university press publish a book that is so transparently the product of a preconceived intellectual agenda. The acknowledgments reveal that the project was conceived while the author was serving as a missionary in Taiwan and came in contact with two small churches seeking "to shape Christianity into a Chinese religion" (p. ix). The book is dedicated to "the Chinese Church," and Reilly believes that his "examination of the Taiping experience helps us to

make sense of religious changes that are occurring in China today" (p. 17). Simply put, he has set out to present the Taiping as an indigenous variant of Christianity, and to "make the case for this new Chinese Christianity" (p. 17).

The problem is that there is an enormous literature on the Taiping Rebellion and Reilly engages it only in passing as he single-mindedly pursues his particular agenda. Most disturbing for the historian is his failure to discuss the evolution of the movement from its gestation in the early thoughts and writings of Hong Xiuquan, through its development in the conflict-ridden hills of Guangxi, to its final stage as a heavenly kingdom with a capital in Nanjing and a court engaged in sanguinary factional feuds. Both the practices and the texts of Taiping religion changed over time, and Reilly gives scant attention to this evolution.

The Christian textual origins of the Taiping god *Shangdi* are well established, but Rudolf Wagner has also demonstrated that Taiping ritual and iconography show undeniable traces of the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang) in the Taiping conception of *Shangdi* (*Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion* [1982]). Reilly is intent on stressing Karl Gutzlaff's translation of the Bible as the inspiration for Hong Xiuquan's religion. So far so good. But he never engages the fascinating discussion in Jonathan D. Spence's *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (1996) of Hong Xiuquan's extensive editing of the Bible to remove offensive sexual material and bring the text into accord with Hong's own vision.

Most troubling, in view of Reilly's conception of the Taiping as an anti-imperial movement, is his failure to discuss the Taiping political system. The Taiping heavenly kingdom was also governed by a supreme monarch, Hong Xiuquan, who ruled through a court and bureaucracy and spent much of his time secluded with an extensive harem of young women. Hong saw himself as God's son, while Chinese emperors ruled as Son of Heaven (*Tianzi*). It is true that Hong was called *Tianwang* (Heavenly King) and not *Huangdi*, but is this name change sufficient to make the Taiping anti-imperial? That seems doubtful. When later revolutionaries looked to the Taiping for inspiration, it was not for their opposition to empire but for their anti-Manchu message.

Chinese and Western documentation on the Taiping is better than for any other Chinese rebellion, but this volume selects just those items that fit Reilly's limited interpretation. The field of modern Chinese history should long since have surpassed scholarship of this quality.

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HENRIETTA HARRISON. *The Man Awakened from Dreams: One Man's Life in a North China Village, 1857–1942*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 207. cloth \$40.00, paper \$16.95.

Biography has become unfashionable in Chinese studies. Yet it offers an irreplaceable window into alien worlds. In the case of Liu Dapeng, long before his death, most Chinese would have found his mental and spiritual world as alien as may the readers of this journal. Liu (1857–1942) was a local notable in Shanxi Province, a prestigious provincial degree-holder (*juren* 1894) who nonetheless never became an official, lived in relative poverty (real poverty by the 1930s), worked as a kind middle-man in the coal industry and as a farmer, and hated all "progress." Liu would seem to be another candidate for the title of "last Confucian," as he remained devoted to his interpretation of Confucian principles, which, Henrietta Harrison shows, formed the basis of his identity.

Liu meticulously kept a diary—even using scraps of newspapers when necessary—for fifty years. A highly abridged version of the diary was published in 1990, but Harrison makes use of the nearly complete version in the Shanxi Provincial Library to offer a sympathetic analysis of Liu's life. To a great extent, Harrison allows Liu to speak for himself; she provides readers with historical context and perceptive appraisals of Liu's conduct, but she does not probe impertinently. The advantage of this approach is that the reader is left in a good position to make his or her own judgments; the disadvantage is that when Harrison is best equipped to answer certain questions, she refrains from doing so. For example, I was left uncertain whether Liu gradually became less moralistic and self-righteous over time.

Harrison wants to complicate our picture of late imperial and republican Chinese society: the lines between elite and subaltern, urban and rural, littoral and hinterland, as well as progress and reaction all blur as seen through Liu's life. Harrison notes that Liu's Confucianism was opposed not to popular culture but to the truly alien concepts of the late Qing reformers. This did not mean that Liu ever saw himself or was seen as an ordinary villager, but by and large he earned respect throughout his county due to his ability to embody shared values. Here, his Confucian rectitude not only allowed him to represent the community vis-à-vis the authorities in time-honored fashion but continued to give Liu real social capital, allowing him to participate in Shanxi's coal enterprises without any of his own cash. Inevitably, some issues get short shrift. Harrison points to the importance of the practical learning movement on Liu's Confucianism, but what was his relation to the cutting edge of Qing Confucianism, evidential studies? One could further explore the roots of Liu's search for personal perfection through self-writing in the Confucian tradition. As Harrison points out, Liu used of the image of the hermit farmer-scholar to come to terms with his professional failure.

This book also complicates our picture of conservatism. Liu feared and distrusted political reforms, both those that affected him personally, such as the addition of Western subjects to the exams, and those that seemed to exalt the state at the expense of the people. Indeed, he repeatedly and bravely protested the tax in-

creases that reforms inevitably required. Harrison points out that Liu's Confucian pedigree, plus his local reputation for upright conduct, gave the man a voice beyond his immediate community, but it was a voice generally ignored by power holders. Harrison remarks that by the late Qing, "the government had so completely abandoned its Confucian past that there was hardly even a language left in which to criticize" reforms (p. 93), and Liu complained that all those sharing his views were dismissed as mere "reactionaries." I am not sure Confucianism was as dead as all that, but the point is striking.

Liu's conservatism did not diminish his capacity to criticize officials and institutions of the Qing (including a favorite target of the reformers, the eight-legged essay) and the republic. The latter he regarded as utterly illegitimate. Although Liu participated in several Shanxi elections, he considered them a farcical way to choose "good men." Yet he urged his sons to follow the new learning. He was never tempted into support for warlords or the Japanese invasion, even though both sometimes cloaked themselves in Confucian rhetoric.

The book also describes the decline of rural Shanxi as it was decommercialized. Again, Harrison does not offer a complete analysis of this complex process, but she provides many suggestive details. She also provides a wonderful portrayal of everyday life, from food and clothing to fertilizer and mule carts. Concrete details, the generous translations, and Harrison's insightful commentary make this book a great teaching tool as well as a major contribution to modern Chinese studies. I hope it will be used in courses across the curriculum, and not only in Asian history classes. It should be on any short-list of "necessary" books on modern China.

PETER ZARROW
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XIAORONG HAN. *Chinese Discourses on the Peasant, 1900–1949*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 259. \$75.00.

With the collapse of the Qing dynasty in the early twentieth century a government structure and political culture that had evolved with remarkable continuity for two millennia suddenly disappeared, to be replaced by political chaos and widespread despair. Relentless pressure for increased privileges and power by Western nations and Japan increasingly cast doubt on the future of China as an independent entity. In these circumstances, national survival became the central preoccupation of the educated class in China.

Until the late nineteenth century, the very concept of nation was new to Chinese intellectuals. China had been regarded above all as a culture, one that derived meaning and legitimacy from tradition; change was anathema. But after several decades of confrontation with hostile nation-states, intellectuals in China increasingly came to believe that China must change radically or be devoured in a Darwinian struggle. The fail-

ure of the Republic following the Revolution of 1911, and ensuing warlord rapacity, made it clear that national survival would require more than superficial alteration of governmental structure; nothing less than comprehensive transformation in the way Chinese people thought and acted could save China. For many intellectuals the peasantry, the great majority of the Chinese population, came to be seen as the key to national salvation.

How intellectuals came to that conclusion, and the variety of ways they responded, is the subject of Xiaorong Han's book. He traces the emergence of a new intellectual class in the early twentieth century that rejected Confucian orthodoxy and sought answers to the national question from abroad. Science, democracy, pragmatism, Marxism, and other ideas from the West were studied and employed in the service of the nation. As the critical role of the rural population in the national salvation effort became increasingly apparent, conceptions of the nature of the peasantry changed. Whereas Sun Yat-sen, the "father of the nation," and Chen Duxiu, later a founder of the Chinese Communist Party, had regarded the peasantry with despair in the early twentieth century as ignorant, superstitious, and indifferent to the nation's plight, by the late 1920s most intellectuals saw peasants in a more positive light. Han identifies four characteristics of the peasantry on which virtually all intellectuals agreed: they were ignorant, innocent, poor, and potentially powerful.

Aside from that general agreement, two other characteristics were common to intellectuals, including writers of fiction and artists: the political nature of their work and the assumption that peasants should be guided by intellectuals. Their approach, according to Han, was largely deductive. Differing conceptions of the nature of rural society and the proper relationship of intellectuals and peasants were largely preconceived, shaped by ideology. The major divisions were between Marxists and liberal intellectuals, with many divisions of opinion within those broad categories. Han examines the disputes among them in great detail.

The book is not for the casual reader, and even many students in courses on China will be bewildered by the enormous number of names mentioned and the seemingly arcane differences of opinion discussed. But it cannot be denied that ultimately those differences were of great consequence in the history of twentieth-century China. Han's book is a testament to the belief that ideas do matter. His work will be criticized by some for sacrificing depth of analysis for breadth of coverage, and for a rather pedestrian writing style, but few will disagree that it is the most comprehensive treatment of its subject now available.

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POSHEK FU. *Between Shanghai and Hong Kong: The Politics of Chinese Cinemas*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 202. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$19.95.

In this richly detailed account based on newspapers, journals, film archives, interviews, and close viewings of old movies, Poshek Fu presents a history of Chinese cinemas in two cities during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). Shanghai and Hong Kong both claimed the distinction of being the “Hollywood of the East.” Shanghai was a major market, while Hong Kong supplied many technicians and performers. The industries in the two cities meanwhile were linked by a ready exchange of capital and talent. Chinese cinema in its formative period was thus not a national enterprise self-contained within the boundaries of the nation-state but a diasporic venture connecting the Chinese populations in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Southeast Asia, Australia, and North America.

A majority of Shanghai and Hong Kong films were low-budget productions adapted from local operas. The “hits” among them relied on the appeal of the stars, the familiarity of the genre, the glamor of the sets, and the insertion of “fun and noise”—comic acts that enlivened the screen if not the intellect. The real origins of Chinese cinema were therefore not transnational influence but local operatic routines much beloved by the illiterate folks.

Not surprisingly, box office sales and film critic reviews did not move in tandem. The critics denounced the hits as vulgar, frivolous and commercial. Their rave reviews, however, sold few tickets. Fu deploys cultural theories to shape historical analysis and argues insightfully that such discrepancy reflected contestations in the public arena. In the case of Shanghai cinema under Japanese siege (1937–1941), major productions such as *Mulan Joins the Army*, hailed for its “patriotic” overtone in Shanghai, were burned as collaborationist in Chongqing, the wartime capital of the Chinese Nationalist Government, simply because the productions had come from behind enemy lines. The burning might not have happened, according to Fu, had Chongqing critics, Nationalists and Communists alike, not already been hurling insults on Shanghai productions for the latter’s commercial preoccupation. Similarly, Hong Kong cinema during the war operated in a space of double marginality. To the British colonialists Chinese films had been the affairs of an “anonymous multitude.” To the Chinese intellectuals arriving from the mainland, the colony’s Cantonese-speaking productions were both inferior and marginal to the authentic Chinese culture of the Mandarin-speaking “Central Plains (*Zhongyuan*).” Upon Japan’s full occupation of Shanghai (1941–1945), Japanese authorities pressured Shanghai producers to make films that would propagate positive images of an anti-European “East-Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.” Those who collaborated risked the sometimes lethal ire of the censors and the government in Chongqing, which banned the films thereby denying them access to the Mandarin-speaking film market under Nationalist control. Fu argues that Shanghai cinema negotiated the treacherous terrain between the occupiers and the resisters by insisting upon their pecuniary incentives and apolitical nature. The politics of the cinemas was thus

anyone’s guess in between the scenes. This ambiguity did little to help Shanghai’s film industry after 1945, when the Nationalists returned in triumph to prosecute the collaborators. Shanghai cinema’s mere success in surviving the war was enough evidence of its complicity and collaboration. A large number of film luminaries were subjected to government-sponsored humiliation and harassment. Many fled to Hong Kong, where the film industry, after 1949, again survived despite the Communist take-over of the mainland that closed down its access to the Mandarin-speaking market.

This book directs attention away from the heavily theorized film studies of the late twentieth century to a much less glamorous historical period. It also turns the spotlight on the often maligned commercial producers and their much denigrated audiences. It represents “marginality” and “centrality” not as immutable absolutes locked in opposing binaries but as evolving positions dynamically reconstituted in a multilayered relational hierarchy. On wartime experience the volume effectively deconstructs the binary of “resistance” and “collaboration” as useful categories. It seeks to present the hunt as the story of the lions rather than the hunter. It does so, however, without first asking whether the hunter had his story in order in the case of modern Chinese cinema. Is the “national discourse” a deserving target? Or is it a mere straw man in a romanticized construction of “local culture”? The volume’s very persuasiveness on behalf of the latter paradoxically raises intriguing questions about the state of the former.

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TIMOTHY BROOK. *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 288. \$49.95.

Timothy Brook’s superb book is an example of the doing and writing of history at its best. Its probing analysis of the “terrible ambivalences” and “tremendous ambiguities” (p. 11) of living and coping under a military occupation shatters the ideologically rigid moral framework that has generally posited a simplistic polarity of collaboration and resistance. Brook compellingly takes on that politically correct view (at least in contemporary China) of collaboration, a “term,” he says, that “leaves no middle range between innocence and damnation, no space in which ambiguity might arise, no reason to look back and ask what might actually have been going on” (p. 10). His exploration of the social and political processes at the most local level of the occupation state reveals the emptiness of such a conception.

In many ways a more fitting title for Brook’s work might be “Occupation.” His five case studies from the Yangzi River delta go far beyond the phenomenon of collaboration to analyze the panoply of disruptive and devastating effects wrought by the occupation experience. In addition, he uncovers more information on

Japanese pacification agents than on Chinese collaborators. But despite limited sources, Brook brilliantly details how occupation was a relationship with hosts of meanings, motivations, and consequences for occupied Chinese and occupying Japanese alike.

Brook's case studies focus on the three to four months after the arrival of the Japanese pacification teams, and he finds that the process of pacification "tended to be the same everywhere" (p. 30), although there were clear variations, especially in the cities of Nanjing and Shanghai. In his research and analysis of the five sites, a theme, capturing "the tensions and problems that arose within and around the occupier-collaboration relationship" (p. 28), emerged for each.

For the county of Jiading, he focuses on the theme of "appearances." The goal of the Japanese pacification team was to establish as quickly as possible the appearances of normalcy by setting up a new regime whose existence would begin both to obscure the violence of invasion and to give Chinese collaborators an aura of legitimacy. The team's work diary and a memoir (both written by a team member) show not only how difficult it was to put "appearances" into place, but even more to move beyond that into some effective administration.

In his chapter on Zhenjiang, Brook explores "costs": of invasion, of repairing the damage of invasion, of rebuilding a shattered economy and a viable political regime, and of human life, lodging, and livelihood. The county's commercialized agricultural sector and small industrial sector were ruined, Brook argues, from "the crisis that the occupation induced in the regional economy" (p. 119).

The many entanglements between collaborators, noncollaborators, resisters, Westerners, and Japanese—seen by Brook as "complicities"—are clearest in Nanjing. Two dozen Westerners who constituted an International Committee for the Nanjing Safety Zone to harbor refugees countered and made deals with the Japanese. Chinese collaborators dealt with the Japanese and Westerners. Japanese military officers and the Special Service Agency dealt with all. The often bleak process and its result are summarized thus: "managing as best one can, under the circumstances one did not seek and could not change, to achieve something, often at costs none ever wished to pay and with consequences none anticipated suffering" (p. 158).

In Shanghai Brook finds that complicities more likely turned to "rivalries," as he focuses on the Great Way Government (December 1937–April 1938) and its unsuccessful attempts to bring local self-government committees under its administrative control. Whereas the Japanese had hoped to begin building the occupation state from the bottom up, the experience here showed the bottom to be a level vulnerable to fracturing.

On the Yangzi River island of Chongming, Brook finds that disturbances in the countryside, often denoted as resistance and treated as such by the Japanese, were really the "working through of other conflicts" (pp. 214–215), such as longtime community feuds. The reality of resistance was that these social outbursts

"prey[ed] on the local population rather than battling the Japanese" (p. 197).

In addition to painting a compelling picture of the multileveled and multidirectional complexity and ambiguity of politics and society under the occupation, Brook's work is studded with notable insights. Many Chinese collaborated; few resisted. Despite the danger to collaborators, there were always other collaborators waiting in the wings. Collaborators, whatever their motivation, enabled the Japanese occupation. The general public at the time was "relatively indifferent to the moral claims of resistance and collaboration" (p. 246). In its long-term consequences, the occupation eroded the standing of local elites and their potential to serve as the base for a modern state.

Brook's writing style is at the same time urbane and engaging. In sum, this is an excellent study and a great read as well.

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JOSHUA H. HOWARD. *Workers at War: Labor in China's Arsenal, 1937–1953*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 452. \$70.00.

In his admirable study, Joshua H. Howard tells the story of the 60,000 workers, staff officers and soldiers who toiled in the arsenals of Chongqing during the war against Japan (1937–1945) and the civil war (1946–1949). Following the outbreak of war with Japan, the Nationalist government rapidly relocated industrial plants to Sichuan province in western China. By the early 1940s, two-thirds of the armaments industry was based in that province, mostly in the area around Chongqing. Using a rich array of archival sources and interviews, the author provides a highly original and subtle account of the three interlocked struggles in which arsenal workers engaged after 1937, namely, the war of national resistance, the civil war, and the class war. As elsewhere in China, ties to native place structured workers' access to jobs. Howard highlights the division between Sichuanese workers and "down river" incomers, revealing how management initially recruited Sichuanese workers into skilled positions. He shows, however, that by the end of the war common economic problems, combined with the political fallout of war, eroded native-place and skill divisions, pitching different types of workers into a common struggle against the management of the arsenals. In so arguing, he sets out to rebut what he calls the "politics of place" thesis, i.e. the assumption that labor militancy in China was generated by native place rather than class solidarity, and this is likely to prove contentious. He also challenges a widespread assumption that welfare measures, combined with inflation-proofed wage increases, led to an improvement in the condition of workers in this period. Faced by high levels of labor turnover, the government developed an elaborate welfare system in the arsenals, consisting of social insurance and savings schemes, housing, canteens and cultural programs,

which reflected its own corporatist ideology and the needs of the ordnance industry to control and stabilize the workforce. Howard, however, shows that after 1941, at least, hyperinflation slashed wages, while the demands of production and the greater intensity of work sent industrial accidents and disease rates soaring. In the civil war, moreover, managers succeeded in linking wages to productivity and in shifting from extensive to intensive forms of exploitation, one result being a leveling of income and status between skilled and unskilled workers.

Historians in the People's Republic of China have accepted the claims of contemporaries that class conflict was subordinated to national unity during the war, since employers and workers had a common interest in defeating the Japanese. Howard, however, reveals that the war brought huge economic and social dislocation that engendered industrial disputes aplenty. Most worker grievances were economic in nature, but the fact that the arsenals were state-owned meant that these were easily politicized. He shows that despite high levels of apparent support for the Guomindang, workers frequently appropriated its ideology in order to press for better wages, conditions and treatment. Workers' demands were essentially defensive, but Howard argues cogently that they were inspired by a strong sense of injustice that made them susceptible to politicization. He offers a superb account of the writings of Yu Zusheng, a Communist worker executed by Nationalists in 1949, and contends that the ideas of radicals such as Yu, suffused as they were with ethical concern, gave political articulation to the resentments felt by wide groups of workers. This leads to a climactic argument that the arsenal workers of Chongqing developed a class consciousness in the decade up to 1949 as a consequence of their sufferings at work, their aspirations to break free from the militarized regime of the arsenals, their experience of industrial conflict and, not least, their exposure to political activists. It is a powerful argument, backed by evidence of workers' antagonism toward the military administration, but how far this was class consciousness in the full-blown sense will be disputed by some, since it remains unclear how far workers perceived their relationship to the administration as rooted in a structural antagonism and how far they felt commonality with workers in other industries.

Howard takes his story into the early years of Communist rule, neatly anatomizing elements of continuity and discontinuity across the year 1949. He shows how the civil war proved a learning experience for workers that gave them confidence to demand better treatment and improved status once the Communists were in power. He suggests that the party tapped into a "politics of revenge" simmering in the working class, enabling it to involve workers in the various mass campaigns of the early 1950s. He confirms the general view that workers in this period benefited from rising living standards, the expansion of educational opportunities, and promotion into administrative, political, and technical positions. Altogether, this is a fine achievement that succeeds in

significantly redrawing the lines of debate within the now quite extensive historiography of Chinese labor.

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MORRIS L. BIAN. *The Making of the State Enterprise System in Modern China: The Dynamics of Institutional Change*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 331. \$45.00.

The dominance of state enterprise is one of the major distinguishing features of Chinese economy during the period between 1952 and 1975. Even today, the reform of unprofitable state-owned enterprise is still one of the keys to the fate of China's economic reform in the twenty-first century. However, few scholars of China studies could correctly explain when, how, and why the state enterprise system took shape in modern China.

Focusing on the ordnance industry and other heavy industries, this book systematically traces the origin and evolution of China's state-owned enterprise system and its major characteristics. According to the author, state enterprises first appeared in the period between the 1860s and 1894, as Chinese elites' response to crises such as the Taiping rebellion and the Second Opium War. The Chinese government established a modern ordnance industry in China's coastal areas. The Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895 and the Sino-French War a decade later, however, exposed the vulnerability of coastal arsenals and forced Chinese officials to establish arsenals in the interior provinces after 1895. The Nationalists began modernizing the ordnance industry as soon as they came to power in 1928. The second Sino-Japanese War forced the massive relocation of ordnance factories into China's interior and led to their rapid expansion and centralization. In the meantime, the Japanese invasion also led to the relocation and reorganization of a central planning bureaucracy and a tremendous expansion of heavy industry. Led and managed by the National Resources Commission, state-owned industry finally achieved a dominant position by the end of the Sino-Japanese War. As Morris L. Bian suggests, the weapons and ammunition made by these Chinese state-owned enterprises "sustained Chinese resistance against the much better equipped Japanese forces during the Sino-Japanese War" (p. 44).

Drawing on extensive research in previously inaccessible archives, Bian proves that the basic institutional arrangement of China's post-1949 state enterprise system, including its bureaucratic governance, management and incentive mechanisms, and provision of social services and welfare to employers, was not derived from the Soviet model as is commonly believed but took shape before the communists came to power. More interestingly, the author specifically discusses the origin of *danwei* (work unit), a unique feature of Chinese state enterprise system, to which virtually all urban residents belonged by the 1950s. Scholars have attributed the *danwei*'s possible origins to various sources: Soviet influence, the communist free supply system, the man-

agement practice of a major bank, the evolution of labor management institutions. Dissatisfied with these explanations, Bian finds that, as an institution, "the post-1949 danwei identity of state-owned enterprises also originated in the Nationalist era" (p. 153).

In explaining modern China's state enterprise system, Bian also presents a new theory to clarify the mechanisms behind institutional changes. Applying the concepts of mental models and resource endowments, the author argues that the changes to China's state enterprise system were both path-dependent and path-independent. Existing institutional endowments exerted a profound impact on China's modern transformation, confining state enterprise governance structure to the organizational model of the formal administrative bureaucracy from its beginning in the 1860s throughout the 1940s. However, the sustained political crisis and the Chinese elite's response to it allowed for more radical institutional change and determined its timing and magnitude. At the same time, the dramatically increased availability of intellectual and ideological resources across national boundaries and the emergence of Chinese technocrats made it possible for Nationalist Party elites to transform their existing mental models and restructure the institutional environment. They adopted a cost accounting system to rationalize business management, launched a work emulation campaign to enhance productivity, and expanded social service and welfare institutions to increase work efficiency. A combination of limited institutional resources, endogenous creation, and exogenous appropriation of institutional resources thus explain the formation of the state enterprise system and its characteristics.

As a major study of wartime China's economic system, Bian's work will certainly further our understanding of developments in twentieth-century China.

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DAVID DER-WEI WANG. *The Monster That Is History: History, Violence, and Fictional Writing in Twentieth-Century China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. vii, 402. \$24.95.

This book by David Der-wei Wang offers reflections on violence in modern Chinese fiction and history by a leading scholar in the field. The essays are a tribute to the author's impressive learning, ranging in coverage from well-known literary figures such as Lu Xun and Mao Dun to more obscure writers from Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. Wang offers insightful readings of these authors that will be of much interest to specialists in the field. The essays will be less appealing to nonspecialists, who will have to work their way through necessary but tedious descriptions of literary works some of which are of dubious merit, and who are likely to experience some frustration at the author's personalized and, on occasion, arbitrary interpretations. The book has much of value to offer to historical

understanding, but the insights need filtering through critical historical evaluation. Wang shares in a tendency of contemporary literary criticism to substitute fiction for history, and to privilege its fictions as a basis for totalizing claims upon the past.

The book derives its title from a monster (*taowu*) that in ancient legend was endowed with the power to see into the past and the future. "The Monster That Is History" is also the title of chapter six where Wang acknowledges his intellectual debt to a 1957 novel, *A Tale of Modern Monsters* (*Jin taowu zhuan*), published in Taiwan by Jiang Gui, an emigré from the communist mainland. The questions Wang extracts from Jiang's work are the questions that guide his readings of twentieth-century Chinese literature: "How did political calamity and personal trauma during the Great Divide of 1949 affect the imagining and inscribing of history? How can we make sense of a modernity that is so full of irrationalities and contradictions as to preclude any coherent, rational 'emplotment'? How can we negotiate the relations between historiography, ideology and, the literary representation of scars? And above all, what drives one to seek an ethical and intellectual heritage in a century that purports to break with tradition and reach the end of history?" (pp. 184–185). Running through all these questions is a concern with the intellectual, political, and ethical role of the writer in society.

Regardless of its intellectual inspirations, this book is no simple anticommunist tract but a reflection on violence in the history of the Chinese Revolution as a whole, from its origins in the early twentieth century to its *denouement* in the 1980s. Violence provides the thematic unity of the essays, but Wang's exploration is multidimensional, delving into the representations in fiction of the relationship of violence to other preeminent concerns with justice, suicide, hunger (social and economic violence?), gender, and eroticism. Wang confesses to an autobiographical stake in these studies, and his Taiwanese upbringing no doubt plays a central part in identifying 1949 as the "Great Divide" that lies at the source of his questions. But the essays here do more. As the revolution in its various phases (late Qing to the May Fourth period, Guomindang rule and communist revolution in the 1930s and 1940s, and the post-1949 division are the major phases that are chronicled here) promised an end to violence and injustice by offering resolutions of problems of inequality, oppression and injustice, it is not very surprising that revolutionary violence itself looms large in the failure of revolution to deliver on its promises. Given the entanglements of the revolution in modernity, the question presents itself ultimately as a question of modernity.

Against an ideology-driven tendency presently to separate questions of modernity and revolution, Wang confronts the contradictions between the two, following the examples, among others, of Walter Benjamin, Raymond Williams, and Agnes Heller—albeit in a conservative mode that renders into a monstrosity what they perceived as tragedy. Surprisingly, the author makes lit-

tle effort to articulate and theorize this relationship. This may be due, at least in part, to a preoccupation with “being Chinese,” which leads him to look for answers to the questions being explored in “civilizational” and cultural legacies. As he speaks through the writers he discusses, moreover, Wang does not seem to be sure whether it is modernity that accounts for the distortion of being Chinese, or Chineseness that has distorted modernity. A suggestion of the former is to be found in his statement that “stories about how Chinese civilization has been maimed and distorted across the century must be told and retold so as to be remembered” (p. 2) as well as in his reference to “a land brutalized by modernity” (p. 36). However, he seems also to concur with writers who found in the Boxer Uprising of 1900 “the barbarism inherent in Chinese civilization” (p. 19) and states that “violence and modern literature” erupted at the same time “as Chinese literati set out to gaze at the bloody consequences of their cultural heritage” (p. 51). These statements may well be a consequence of Wang’s identification with the authors he discusses, which includes sharing with them their contradictory attitudes toward being Chinese and modern. They also point to a culturalism that negates his own claims to historicity, which may also account for the privileging of a violence-based version of modern Chinese history against his own insistence that, in its complexity, history may be grasped only as a “network of histories” (p. 8).

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ANDREW E. BARSHAY. *The Social Sciences in Modern Japan: The Marxian and Modernist Traditions*. (Twentieth Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 15.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 331. \$55.00.

Despite the enormous influence of Marxism on the development of social scientific research in Japan, the English-language scholarship on Japanese Marxism as a body of thought is very thin. Moreover, few works by Japanese Marxists have been translated into English. Many readers will be surprised to learn that Marxism flourished in the late 1920s and early 1930s, survived the violent oppression of leftist thought during the war years, and exploded in the postwar period to become the dominant idiom of social science discourse in the Japanese academy.

The scope of Andrew E. Barshay’s book is narrower than the title implies. With one major exception, the theorists are economists. Yamada Moritarō, whose theory of the “semi-feudal” character of modern Japanese agriculture anchored the “Lectures” faction’s theory of Japanese capitalism, is the central figure in chapter three. Uno Kōzō’s theory of “pure capitalism,” which reinvented the “Labor-farmer” faction of Marxist economics after the war, is the subject of chapter four. Chapter five examines the theoretical adaptations of the Uno model developed by his “adepts” Ōuchi Tsutomu, Baba Hiroji, and Tamanoi Yoshirō during the era

of high economic growth. The last two chapters shift the focus to political thought. Chapter six considers conceptions of civil society advanced by the “Lectures” faction economist Uchida Yoshihiko and Hirata Kiyooki, a historian of economic thought. The only noneconomist discussed is the intellectual historian Maruyama Masao, whose “modernist” democratic vision is critiqued in chapter seven.

The focus on political economy is defensible, for it was here that Marxist scholars made their greatest empirical and theoretical contributions. Nevertheless, readers should be advised that, given the reach of Marxism in the Japanese academy in the 1950s and 1960s, Barshay does not cover all the social sciences or even all the important Marxist thinkers.

The defining condition of the social sciences in Japan, Barshay argues, was Japan’s status, along with Russia and Germany, as a “late” developing capitalist economy. Japanese social scientists saw Japan’s difference as more than a matter of temporality; “lateness” decreed traveling an institutional path to modernity that deviated from the Anglo-American norm. Barshay labels this consciousness “developmental alienation,” whose legacy was preoccupation with Japan’s historical particularity.

I read the book as a linked set of essays, each of which illuminates its subject, often brilliantly. Barshay’s singular talent is to plunge deeply into deeply theoretical texts and reveal the inner logic, deftly, cleanly, sympathetically, and also critically. He presents the texts that most capture his imagination, Yamada Moritarō’s *Nihon shihonshugi bunski* (Analysis of Japanese Capitalism [1934]) and Uno Kōzō’s two-volume *Keizai genron* (Principles of Political Economy [1950–1952]), not as laboratory specimens to be dissected and classified but as works of power and imagination to be probed and appreciated for the artistry and passion of their creators. The result is a text of great originality, written with verve and economy, and one that avoids reproducing the abstraction and scholasticism that characterized much of the original discourse.

Not all readers will be satisfied by a book that is so much about texts and so little about contexts and effects. Readers expecting a balance between intellectual history and social history of ideas will be disappointed. A striking sociological fact about Barshay’s theorists is that all were professors at Tokyo University, Japan’s premier university. Barshay does not examine other vital centers of Marxist thought. Of greater concern, he does not pause to consider the possible ramifications of the institutional insularity of his principal theorists, Yamada and Uno, who completely ignored gender as a category of analysis and paid little attention to Japanese colonialism and Japan’s position in East Asian political economy.

Tamanoi Yoshirō, the most eclectic of Uno’s students, decided to end his teaching career at the University of Ryūkyū, the equivalent of moving from Harvard to Boise State. He moved to the periphery, Barshay tells us, “so that the center of authority and its

structures of control would become more visible" (p. 156). Greater distance from the power centers of the Japanese academy would have yielded a more complicated picture of Marxism in the social sciences.

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LONNY E. CARLILE. *Divisions of Labor: Globality, Ideology, and War in the Shaping of the Japanese Labor Movement*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2005. Pp. x, 292. \$55.00.

Lonny E. Carlile's book is welcome on two counts. First, it provides a lively narrative of the political history of the Japanese labor movement from 1945 to the early 1960s. Second, it puts that history into comparative perspective by interspersing detailed chapters on Japan with chapters on parallel developments in France, Italy, and Germany, to emphasize that the political trajectory of Japanese labor was largely determined by the same global forces that shaped the course of European labor in this period. "Divisions of labor" refers to ideological and organizational divisions within the labor movement and its allied political parties and also to "divisions" in the sense of labor organizations mobilized for "war," be it class war, the struggle for power in the labor movement, or taking sides in the Cold War.

The first two chapters, on European and Japanese labor from 1920 to 1945, respectively, serve as valuable background to the rest of the book. Carlile shows that, as in France, Italy, and Germany, the Japanese labor movement fragmented into rival social democratic, communist, and left-socialist camps in the 1920s, and that, again as in France and Italy, the Japanese left-socialists tried to build a popular front to resist fascism in the 1930s. But as he relates in later chapters, whereas the momentum of the wartime resistance in France and Italy led to "resistance coalition" governments intent upon modifying capitalism in a socialist direction soon after World War II, the Japanese popular front was crushed by the imperial state. Although the idea of a popular front continued to animate the resurgent postwar Japanese labor movement and indeed facilitated the rise of the socialist Katayama Tetsu cabinet in June 1947, the increasingly conservative policies of the American Occupation and the rapid revival of prewar labor splits precluded any possibility of a viable "resistance coalition" in Japan; the Katayama cabinet, which lasted only eight months, was a very brief exception to the pattern of conservative party rule throughout, and well beyond, the period covered by this book. In this respect, labor's postwar political context closely resembled the German case.

As was true in Europe, the intensifying Cold War and the process of economic stabilization (orchestrated in Japan by Joseph Dodge, as he had done in Germany) kept the Japanese labor movement divided over how far to resist the restoration of capitalism and in this context, Carlile's discussion of Japan's biggest labor federation, Sōhyō (National Council of Labor Unions,

formed in July 1950) is particularly illuminating. With the socialist party movement now divided, Sōhyō, under the leadership of the left-socialist Takano Minoru (1950–1954), campaigned relentlessly on behalf of peace and Japanese neutrality in the Cold War. The excesses of this campaign, however, soon sparked a reaction both within Sōhyō and elsewhere in the labor movement, in favor of a more pragmatic approach to advancing labor's interests at a time of quickening economic growth. Takano's successors, Ōta Kaoru and Iwai Akira, thus moved Sōhyō toward accommodation with the restoration of capitalism, primarily through Ōta's invention of the annual industry-wide Shuntō ("spring offensives"), to reach collective bargaining agreements beneficial to labor. Carlile comments that the continuation of Shuntō to this day illustrates "just how spectacularly well adapted it was to the socioeconomic and political environment of Japan from 1955 onward" (p. 233).

A growing "division of labor" in the conventional sense of assigning different functions to different agents, also came into play with the invention of Shuntō. Sōhyō used Shuntō as the means of redistributing the surplus of the "economic pie" that other more conservative labor federations sought to expand through the same kind of productivity movement that arose in European labor movements. That "a Fordist 'politics of productivity'" took root and flourished in Japan was mainly due to the distinctive institutional strength of Japanese enterprise unionism, which fostered cooperation between labor and management in the factories (p. 232). But fearing that Sōhyō's economic pragmatism would make it easier for the government to "reel in" labor politically, Ōta ensured Sōhyō's active support for the Japanese Socialist Party (reunified in 1955 after an earlier split) and its progressive stance on Cold War issues, which he himself advocated, albeit less stridently than Takano. Nevertheless, by the 1960s, when Japan embarked upon "high-speed" economic growth, labor's basic readiness to work within the capitalist framework was pretty much irreversible.

Carlile's book addresses many other key topics too numerous to mention here, and from end to end it reflects the author's impressive research in Japanese and Western sources. It should be of considerable interest not only to specialists in Japanese labor history but also to specialists in European labor history.

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ANDREI LANKOV. *Crisis in North Korea: The Failure of De-Stalinization, 1956*. (Hawai'i Studies on Korea.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Center for Korean Studies: University of Hawai'i. 2005. Pp. xv, 274. \$48.00.

Since its establishment as a separate state in 1948, North Korea has known only two top leaders, Kim Il Sung and his son, Kim Jong Il. Advocates of "regime change" in North Korea, who currently occupy influ-

ential positions in the Washington policy establishment, might do well to pay attention to the Kim regime's remarkable track record of surviving both internal and external threats to its existence. One of the most serious crises the regime faced, indeed the only public challenge to the Kim regime after the 1950–1953 Korean War, came in the summer of 1956. At that time, a short-lived attempt to replace Kim Il Sung with an alternative leadership, in the wake of the de-Stalinization campaign that was reverberating throughout the communist bloc, was swiftly crushed by Kim and his supporters. Andrei Lankov has written a detailed history of the events surrounding the “August Crisis,” based largely on materials from the Soviet archives.

Despite its relatively new archival source material (much of Lankov's research was apparently done in the early 1990s, when the Soviet archives were more accessible than today), Lankov's book, like its subject, seems a relic of an earlier era. For the most part, the book is a top-down “Kremlinology” that attempts to explain the inner workings of the North Korean political elite in the 1950s. There is not even a gesture toward methodological self-consciousness, theoretical framing or situating this study in the broader historical literature, other than a few references to recent Cold War studies. For readers who find contemporary history writing excessively “theoretical,” this may be refreshing. For others, the book will seem peculiarly isolated in the post-Cold War historiography of communist states. Since the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the historiography of this region has dug far beneath “high politics” to explore previously inaccessible areas of society, culture, and everyday life. But for Lankov, ordinary North Koreans almost never appear on the scene except in the most abstract way. This is entirely a study of political elites, for the most part a couple of dozen individuals, and to a lesser extent political institutions. Even at that, we do not much get into the minds and motivations of the individuals Lankov describes. In the end, we have only the vaguest notion of the character of Kim Il Sung himself.

To be fair, part of the problem is that Lankov is writing from one remove. He deals not with internal North Korean documents but Soviet documents that offer observations about North Korea and describe conversations with North Korean interlocutors. As Lankov admits, this inevitably gives the book a “Soviet angle” (p. xi), but until North Korean archives themselves are opened—an event that may not happen in the lifetime of any scholar living today—this is the best we can do. And what Lankov finds certainly adds a great deal to our knowledge of North Korean history, including some truly fascinating information.

Lankov fleshes out the well-known outlines of the anti-Kim conspiracy: during and after Kim's extended visit to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Mongolia in June–July 1956, a number of North Korean leaders, most having backgrounds either in the Soviet Union or the Chinese communist movement, took the de-Stalinization campaign in the USSR as a signal that the in-

creasingly autocratic Kim should be replaced. They approached the Soviet embassy in Pyongyang (and, presumably, the Chinese embassy as well) to win backing for their plans. Events came to a head at the Korean Workers' Party plenum of August 1956, in which the conspirators openly attacked Kim's leadership. Kim's immediate response was to purge his critics, but under intense pressure from the Soviet Union and China, including the personal intervention of Anastas Mikoyan and Peng Dehuai, Kim reinstated some of his opponents. North Korea even embarked on a brief period of “de-Kimization,” in which Kim's cult of personality was somewhat reduced and a degree of liberal reform seemed in the air. But this was not to last: by 1959–1960, Kim's critics and many others were again purged, some were executed, and many went into exile in the Soviet Union and China. North Korea swerved sharply off the reformist road, and the cult of Kim returned stronger than ever.

Not surprisingly, the book is particularly insightful about the Soviet role in the crisis. Lankov suggests that, contrary to Kim's later claim that the Soviets backed him throughout the crisis, Moscow was quite ambivalent about supporting Kim versus supporting Kim's opponents. In the end, the Soviets had it both ways, and as a result satisfied neither side: Moscow offered asylum to a number of the pro-Soviet conspirators, over Pyongyang's strong objections, but chose to support Kim's regime despite Soviet reservations, largely for strategic reasons (p. 104). Like the Americans in South Korea, the Soviets preferred the authoritarian Korean leader they knew to the potential instability of a more liberal regime. More provocatively, Lankov proposes that Beijing was interested in replacing Kim with a more pro-Chinese leader, and that the Chinese leadership may even have instigated the entire anti-Kim conspiracy (p. 111). Lankov offers no concrete evidence for the latter assertion, and evaluation of its veracity may have to await further opening of the Chinese archives.

There is much to be learned from this book about North Korean politics in the 1950s, and about the Soviet Union and other Leninist party-states of the time. But the book does not always make for easy reading. Only the most committed Kremlinologist or North Korea watcher will be able to slog through two pages of footnotes on the factional affiliations of Central Committee members (pp. 233–234), for example, without his or her eyes glazing over. It is undoubtedly true, however, that the 1956 crisis and its aftermath established Kim's Manchurian guerilla group at the unquestionable apex of power in the North Korean political system. It was from this point that North Korea definitively abandoned the path of “ordinary” state socialism to become the idiosyncratic family-state that it remains today. In that sense, one may question whether Lankov's subtitle is correct in calling this event a “failure.” From Kim's perspective, crushing the only substantial postwar challenge to his rule was a triumph. One could even argue that de-Stalinization in the USSR and Eastern Europe

was a failure in the long run: it was intended to make communism more humane and thus more viable, but it opened the door to reformist trends that eventually led to communism's collapse. North Korea did not take the risk of experimenting with liberalism. The North Korean regime, despite its profound difficulties, remained in power until Kim's death in 1994 and still has an extraordinary hold over its people. If anything, the Kim regime has been all too successful.

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S-21: THE KHMER ROUGE KILLING MACHINE. Directed by Rithy Panh. Produced by Cati Couteau. 2002; color; 105 minutes. Distributed by Icarus Films.

In 1975–1979, close to two million Cambodians were murdered by the Khmer Rouge. One of the prominent centers of the mass murder was the Tuol Sleng prison. Rithy Panh's documentary *S-21* (the code name of the prison) follows a survivor, the painter Vann Nath, as he revisits the prison and talks to another survivor as well as to the former guards and executioners who now serve as guides in the genocide museum into which the prison (formerly a schoolhouse) has been converted. The film is thus devoted to two issues: the mechanics of the slaughter and the current psychological processing of the past.

Pol Pot's regime sought to eradicate all the social circles (prominently including intellectuals) that might resist its agenda of turning the country into an agrarian utopia. Although the basis for the mass murder was not ethnic—in *Le Siècle des Camps* (2000), Joël Kotek and Pierre Rigoulot refer to it not as genocide but as “democide” or “politicide”—it nevertheless shares one of the main features of genocide: according to the testimony of the guards, not only the suspects but also their families were rounded up for extermination. The Khmer Rouge dispensed with the subtlety of distinguishing among actual, potential, and unlikely individual opponents of their rule.

In Tuol Sleng the prisoners were interrogated and forced to write confessions. They were tortured if they refused, until their resistance broke down or until they died. Their confessions had to detail their “crimes” and denounce their “accomplices.” The purpose of the torture was to produce these formalized “documents,” which served the dual purpose of justifying the executions and producing lists of further victims. The latter procedure is a brutally simplified version of the tactics of the Soviet political police (the NKVD) of 1937–1939, dispensing with even a pretense of legal proceedings that used to be staged in the USSR.

When the “documents” were ready, nothing but the work schedule of the executioners stood between the prisoners and their death. Nath survived because the director of the prison liked his style of portraiture and employed him; the other survivor was saved by the regime's overthrow before the guards got round to putting him on a nocturnal transport to the ravine.

The manner of the executions, as explained by one of the perpetrators, shares some of the features of the Nazi and the NKVD methods. A hasty secrecy was kept, to prevent active resistance on the part of the condemned. On the transports to the execution site, children were separated from parents and husbands from wives. At the site, a generator jammed the telltale noises. The people were led out of a hut one by one and killed in what must have been a practiced procedure, without labor saving firearms. Eventually, a strong stench emanated from the mass graves. The guard explains the details meticulously, as if concern for the organization of job took his attention away from its nature.

Among the exhibits presented in the film are Nath's and another prisoner's stories; the narratives of the guards and the lists of instructions that they used to carry out regarding interrogations, torture, the treatment of women prisoners, and death transports (they read these instructions out loud to the camera); the footage of the killing site and the prison, outside and inside its former-classroom cells, its corridors, and its interrogation rooms; Nath's paintings (of blindfolded shackled people in single file on the way to prison, half-naked prisoners lying side by side locked together in the cells, women prisoners robbed of their children); and shots of interrogation rosters, confession records, and prisoner files. In the larger-size photographs, the eyes of the prisoners meet our eyes and are intensely charged with the message that their lips cannot utter. By contrast, there is a strangely dead look on the faces of the former guards.

Indeed, the film not merely presents an assortment of documents but is a document in itself, one that calls for interpretations of the status, attitude, and experience of the guards. When these men (there were no women guards in this prison) committed the atrocities, some were in their early teens, others in their early twenties. They were indoctrinated and terrorized (the mother of the executioner, visibly pained, insists that she had raised her son to be a good man), and in retrospect see themselves as victims of the regime, along with the “secondary victims”—the prisoners. They insist that they had to kill in order not to be killed. Memories of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commissions hover over the scenes in which Nath tries to get the guards to express contrition. These connotations peter out when, instead, the guards' self-justification is joined with their concern for bad karma. In one of the particularly perplexing scenes, a guard reconstructs his treatment of the prisoners in the cells: his threats of clubbing them, his grudging services (bringing them a can for urination or a little water to drink); the punishments meted out (denying them the water or, implicitly, making good on the threats). There is a troubling sense that the young man had enjoyed his power: the re-enactment of this sense of power may still be energizing his censored simulation.

The shots of a former executioner twenty years later, planting rice, sitting in his family circle, holding the

baby who has just been bathed, emphasize that the rank-and-file perpetrators of the Khmer Rouge crimes were not monsters but ordinary people who, under other circumstances, would, like most of us, have led decent quiet lives. In addition to constituting and deploying historical evidence, the film can also stimulate an ethical discussion, in the classroom and beyond.

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CAROLYN BREWER. *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521–1685*. (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2004. Pp. xxviii, 240. \$79.95.

The topic of women in early modern Southeast Asian history has so far been a neglected area of study. Apart from a handful of studies on the Filipino *baylan/catalonan* (pre-Hispanic priestess), there are no books on Filipino/Indio women in the sixteenth century. In this sense, Carolyn Brewer's book fills a huge vacuum in the field. This is the first comprehensive study of the clash between the *baylan* and the Spanish *conquistadores*/clergy at the point of contact. Spaniards quickly identified the *baylan* as their rivals in their attempts to Christianize the colony. This meant that the power of the priestess/shaman had to be destroyed.

Brewer's book has three aims: "to expose the way indigenous women were represented by the Spaniards, to focus on the hegemonic processes of reconstructing gender relations, and to highlight women's resistance to the changes wrought in the name of enduring Truth of Hispanic Catholicism and colonisation" (p. xxiii). The sources she uses are Spanish (since there are no indigenous accounts of the sixteenth-century encounter), but Brewer uses discourse analysis to interpret texts from a feminist perspective. The book thus explores how Spanish contact has altered definitions of the feminine but it also stresses women's resistance to Spanish Catholicism. It is divided into three parts. Part one focuses on how the early Spanish explorers from Ferdinand Magellan to Miguel Lopez de Legaspi redefined women in terms of a virgin/whore binary using sermons, song, and drama as well as confession, flagellation, and discipline. Part two focuses on the role of female shaman and Spanish attempts to curb her power. Part three is a case study based on an inquisition-style manuscript (called the "Bolinao manuscript") that outlined the methods the Spaniards used to eliminate animist practice in the town of Bolinao in Zambales.

The book is a valuable contribution to women's history. Parts two and three are the strongest sections, where Brewer is at her element making insightful points about the gendered nature of the role of priestess/shaman and women's attempts to resist Spanish colonization/conversion to Christianity. In part two, Brewer convincingly argues that the role of shaman or priestess is a role ascribed to women since men who want to be priests were not barred from the role but must dress up

as women (*asog/bayok*). This transvestism was "temporary," since men only dressed as women if they performed the role of shaman. In this light, the *asog/bayok* do not represent a third gender; transvestism merely reflects the gendering of roles where women were the priestesses, the shamans who connected with the spirit world, and the power wielders in religious animism. It was women who had the status in the spiritual realm, and men had to dress up as women in order to gain such status (p. 136). One important technique used by the Spaniards to break the power and credibility of the *babaylans* was to associate them with all that was satanic, demonic, and pagan.

Part three is a case study based on one manuscript (called the "Bolinao Manuscript," written by Dominicans sent to curb the convert Bolinao). The document is analyzed in terms of what it reveals about *baylan/catalonan* resistance to Catholicism and Spanish attempts to break their religious power.

Brewer's chapters present another side to the history of conversion and resistance in sixteenth-century Philippines that emphasizes the animist practices that endured despite Spanish punitive attempts to destroy them. Previous studies on the sixteenth century have focused on the success of Catholicism and conversion, eliding the strength of indigenous resistance (with the exception of Vicente L. Rafael's *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* [1988]), which interprets translation as a form of resistance). Brewer's book is refreshing not only because it engenders the story of resistance in the sixteenth century but also because it stresses the violent nature of conversion in which women became the prime losers of status and power when they lost religious roles to male Catholic clergy. It does so without romanticizing resistance, making a significant contribution to Philippine studies as it discusses the process in which new official (colonial) discourses of the feminine were imposed despite indigenous resistance.

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ARUN AGRAWAL. *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects*. (New Ecologies for the Twenty-First Century.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 325. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

This interesting book is a work of political economy, conceptually informed by Michel Foucault, that examines the making of environmental subjects among the Kumaon villagers in the foothills of the Himalayas in North India. It is part of a series put out by Duke University Press called "New Ecologies for the Twenty-First Century," edited by Arturo Escobar and Diane Rocheleau. The series' editors hope to engender dialogue between experts in different fields about "environment, place, and alternative socionatural orders." Arun Agrawal follows the transformation of environ-

mental identities among the Kumaons over a 150-year period as they relate to politics, technologies, and new forms of knowledge. To better understand the relationship among these factors, the author merges the terms "environmental" and "governmentality" to form the new term "environmentality" that characterizes the changing beliefs of constructed subjects negotiating the space between a hierarchical power structure and an imagined and idealized forest. Resistance to the centralized colonial forest regime before Indian independence and the resulting decentralized community forest councils that emerged provide new ways of imagining and constructing narratives about forests.

Agrawal indicates that the idealized form of the forest under colonial forestry—relying on numbers to comprehend, or construct, the forest—at first excluded people from the definition of a forest. The use of statistics, or numbers, played a key role in helping colonial figures envision and then manage the woodlands of India. It was not the case "that some underlying material reality of a physical entity that we call forests made it inevitable that its representation would assume the final form they did" (p. 62). But the construction of a forest without people led to unrest. In the early 1920s, Kumaons set hundreds of fires as acts of resistance to their exclusion from the forests. Realizing the failure of their heavy-handed, top-down management approach, the government of India created the new Forest Council Rules of 1931. The author traces the decentralization of power from the sole domain of forest officials to a reliance on what he terms "localities" for regulation of forests. He traces the changing understanding in local communities of the environmental subject from resistance to cooperation. The headman, the council of elected representatives, the guards, the residents themselves all formed part of this new web of understanding. This partnership, Agrawal concludes, "led to the birth of the environment" in the Kumaon hills (p. 201). By thus dissolving the old binary divide between state and culture, new environmental identities formed among the Kumaons that turned resistance into participation and partnership. This formed part of a larger movement toward inclusion and community forestry that is spreading around the world and provides, the author argues, an arresting paradigm for new conceptions of nature that foster better governance and more fruitful narratives of environmentality.

The strength of the book lies in its exploration of agency among the local populations and the serious treatment of the culture that environmental regulation affects. To his credit, Agrawal studies with a keen eye the nuances of Kumaon village life to explain how decentralized environmental regulation ramifies over time. Paradoxically, the book inspires many questions that challenge the author's fascinating thesis. Since British imperialism sponsored the first instances of community forestry in India, and since empire foresters set up the local councils, does that mean that community forestry is an imperial construct? Is the author really exploring a "new" phenomenon or rather a legacy

of imperial forestry that has proven to be indispensable? Finally, in light of the illegal logging and corruption that have plagued the Chipko-inspired efforts at local controls (and the continuing rapid deforestation in the Kumaon hills under the very nose of the Kumaon Forest Councils, widely reported in the Indian press) how does the author's argument for the advantages of local, intimate government hold up?

Some problems, unfortunately, detract from the book. What exactly are the "technologies of government" that form such a central part of Agrawal's argument? If he refers not to tools but to techniques, what are those techniques? Outside of his study of the statistics used by colonial administrators, there is little to indicate what the use of these vaguely defined technologies might be. Presumably the technique of decentralization and partnership with locals constitute the "technologies of government." But the reader is left to assume this. Much of the most pertinent material is buried in the endnotes and is not found in the main text. We learn in the endnotes who it is that coined the word "environmentality" (Timothy Luke), its theoretical utility, and how it is used differently by Agrawal. In another endnote we learn why he has joined "governmentality" and "environment," a discussion that should be front and center in the book. Very few references date past 1999, and only a handful reach up to 2002. Much that has been published since then, particularly work on community forestry, would have contributed more balance and less romanticism to the study. But in his attempt to delineate the new identities and narratives produced by decentralization, Agrawal builds on the interdisciplinary approach to "the commons" and "peasant studies" that is so central not only to subaltern studies but to environmental history. This book offers an insightful critique of the assumption that both the state and peasant resistance are monolithic, with unbreachable boundaries, and provides a useful starting point to understand the phenomena of community forestry that governments are implementing around the world.

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PURNIMA BOSE. *Organizing Empire: Individualism, Collective Agency, and India*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 278. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Purnima Bose's monograph seeks to illuminate the degree to which the vast and well-articulated corporate enterprise of British colonialism was ideologically invested in the figure of the individual and in the ideology of individualism. Conventional imperial histories, especially of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have been predicated to a significant degree on the Carlylean notion of the great man as the embodiment of his age and as the maker of history. It is worth noting that nationalist narratives have not been exempt from this heroic, isolationist, and emphatically gendered model of historical teleology, as the iconicity of Mohandas K.

Gandhi and Muhammed Ali Jinnah in the Indian and Pakistani contexts demonstrates. Moreover, Bose suggests, even certain forms of feminist nationalism, putatively committed (like anticolonial nationalism) to forms of collective struggle, have been characterized by a similar biographical and charismatic framework. Bose gives us four case studies of individuals (or groups of individuals) as a way of engaging what the ideology of individualism simultaneously enables and obfuscates. As her analysis clarifies, the fetishization of the individual serves all too often to obscure her ideological, institutional, and material links to the larger collectivities—in the form of the colonial state or a broad-based feminist movement—that sustain her.

Bose suggests that individualism is not one but can assume different modes serviceable in different contexts. The “four major types” she identifies include rogue-colonial individualism, embodied in General Reginald E. Dyer, notorious for ordering the massacre of a political assembly of unarmed Indians at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar in 1919; feminist-nationalist individualism, as represented by the Irish suffragette and ally of Indian nationalist feminism Margaret Cousins; heroic-nationalist individualism in the figure of Kalpana Dutt, associated with the revolutionary movement in Bengal in the 1920s; and heroic-colonial individualism, as epitomized by latter-day purveyors of Raj nostalgia. The choice of these individuals is somewhat idiosyncratic; it would have been useful to have been supplied with the logic that governs the inclusion of these figures and excludes other, perhaps more obvious ones. Nonetheless, these choices do have the salutary effect of directing our attention to some figures and movements comparatively neglected by scholars of colonial discourse and by historians of South Asia.

Of the four substantive chapters in the book, the one on Dyer is easily the strongest. Here Bose demonstrates the ways in which the colonial state endeavored to repudiate the Jallianwala Bagh massacre as an anomaly in the British rule of law in the colonies and to stigmatize Dyer as an outlaw figure acting in contravention of acceptable rules of engagement with civilians. Figures like Winston Churchill used forms of rhetoric that sought to establish Dyer as an alien and distinctly un-British figure. Such disavowals masked the close links between policing civilian populations and military action in the colonies and, indeed, the colonial state’s fundamental and long-standing reliance on forms of violent control. Such a point is not entirely novel—Patrick Brantlinger has made a similar point in *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (1988) about T. B. Macaulay’s portrayal of Robert Clive—but it is illustrated with an admirable wealth of detail about parliamentary rhetoric, the constitution of the constabulary in Ireland and in other parts of the empire, and the ambiguous status of civilian and military law in the colonies.

One of the most noteworthy achievements of this chapter, as of the book as a whole, is the attention that it devotes to the traffic between the different colonies

of the British empire, especially Ireland and India. Bose is acute about the significance of Dyer’s participation in counterinsurgency in Ireland in the early part of his career to his actions at Amritsar. But if Ireland was a training ground for counterinsurgent action, it was also, as Bose demonstrates, a source of inspiration for many Bengali nationalists of the Jugantar revolutionary/“terrorist” movement who eagerly followed the doings of Irish nationalists, including those involved in the Easter Rising of 1916. The chapter on Dutt underlines the gendered and ideological limits of this movement, which also drew on emphatically colonial notions of martial prowess and heroic masculinity and on Hindu patriarchal notions of gendered sacrifice and familial hierarchy in its resistance to colonial rule. Bose notes Dutt’s failure to analyze the limits of such “heroic-individual nationalism,” despite the intellectual resources of the Marxism to which she turned during her imprisonment.

Bose’s analysis of the logic of individualism in these chapters is assured and persuasive. But her deployment of individualism as an interpretive grid in the other two chapters rests on more uncertain ground. While full of absorbing details about Cousins’s early life, the chapter devoted to her lacks focus, and it is not clear how individualism serves to illuminate the Irish and Indian feminist movements of which Cousins was a part or the forms of “feminist solidarity across colonial sites” (p. 75) that her Irish and Indian histories embody. Bose suggests that notwithstanding her admirable willingness to be a “witness” on the Indian feminist scene rather than a more familiar female paternalist figure, Cousins was nonetheless unable to shake off a self-aggrandizing individualism in the Irish context, bypassing the contributions of her collaborator Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in her account of the suffrage movement. This seems more than a trifle forced, especially since an endnote tells us that Sheehy-Skeffington was similarly mute about her association with Cousins. This seems evidence of a mutual quarrel rather than of an investment in individualism on Cousins’s part.

The last chapter (on heroic-colonial individualism) strains to bring together a motley set of materials—a story by Rudyard Kipling, a novel by Ruth Praver Jhabvala, a volume of reminiscences of British life in India edited by Charles Allen, and the publications of the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia—though not always convincingly. Bose indicts these texts and figures for glossing over the violence of colonial rule and for promoting a nostalgia for the Raj as a benevolent and enlightened institution. This may well be the case, but the objects of Bose’s critique are too slight to excite the ire that she directs against them. The somewhat ad hoc character of this chapter mars what is otherwise a sober and useful contribution to studies of empire.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

ANNE SALMOND. *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: The Remarkable Story of Captain Cook's Encounters in the South Seas*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xxii, 506. \$30.00.

This well-written, remarkably detailed, and richly illustrated account of James Cook's three voyages of exploration in the Pacific revolves around the metaphor in its title. Ten crewmen from the consort ship *Adventure* were killed and consumed by Maori at Whareunga Bay or Grass Cove in New Zealand on December 17, 1773, during Cook's second expedition. The warrior Kahura led the attack. As the *Adventure* had become separated from Cook's flag ship, *Resolution*, six weeks earlier, the British explorer did not learn of the incident until he was back in England. Cook's return to the area in 1777 led to expectations of reprisal on all sides. British seamen wanted revenge; the Maori, with their understanding of honor, insult, and authority, expected it. When Cook as enlightened gentleman ordered the painting of Kahura's portrait rather than his execution, members of his crew expressed their dissatisfaction through a mock trial that resulted in the convicting, killing, and eating of a sailor's dog for cannibalistic tendencies. There was some measure of satisfaction for those of the lower deck in this metaphorical play. According to Anne Salmond, however, Cook's inaction marked a fatal turning point in relationships with his men and with Polynesians.

Cook has been the subject of innumerable biographies. Studies of his Pacific voyages have tended to focus on the heroic, scientific, and imperial features of those travels and with little attention to the complexities of island contexts. A distinctive feature of the Salmond book is the fronting of Island peoples. We learn of the reverence accorded the Ra'iatean priest Tupaia in New Zealand and of his celebrity in many other areas of Polynesia where he accompanied Cook. There are Hitihiti of Borabora and Mai of Ra'iatea and Huahine who served as cultural translators for Cook on his second voyage. The political rivalry between chiefly lines in Tahiti and the dominance of Borabora over the Leeward areas of the Society group heavily informed Cook's interactions with the people of these islands. Given the scope of this work, the author's attention to cultural contextualization is impressive. Salmond explains the thievery that plagued all three voyages in eastern Polynesia through reference to Hiro, the deity whose cunning appropriations of worldly wealth inspired popular emulation. At the same time, Salmond moves beyond the sensationalism and hyperbole to examine different notions of property, propriety, and reciprocity that often caused tension and violence. She also reminds readers that public love making and cannibalism were not exclusive to the Pacific but had precedent in the social practices of European port cities and the survival strategies of shipwrecked British seamen, respectively.

A broad survey of this sort can come at the expense

of a more probing cultural analysis or a more explicit positioning amidst extant historiographic debates. An alternative but unacknowledged analysis of the violence at Whareunga Bay has stressed seasonal limitations on resources and competition among rival Maori groups as contributing factors. As Alfred Gell argues, the Tahitian woman who bared herself to Joseph Banks in 1769 might be better understood as not honoring him but rather exhibiting a full-body tattoo that served as a marker of her maturity, identity, and immunity from ritual violations of exchange involving women and unrelated men. The author does not equivocate, however, on the causes of Cook's death. Salmond charts a middle course in the debate between anthropologists Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere over the death of Cook. While conceding the importance of rituals, genealogies, local politics, and relational associations, Salmond sees in Cook's voyages an escalating pattern of violence toward Island peoples that included chiefly hostage taking. This later strategy, which had led to plots against Cook's life in Ra'iatea and Tonga, finally failed him at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawai'i.

Salmond reminds readers that understanding Cook's death also requires a careful cross-cultural analysis of ship as well as shore. The resentment of the marines with the heavy discipline imposed on them during the course of the third voyage, the public hostility between Cook and their commanding officer Lieutenant John Williamson, and Williamson's retreat from the Hawaiian attack on Cook all register prominently in the explanation of the British commander's demise. Indeed, Cook appears in the pages of this book as not so much heroic as beleaguered by the stress of his three voyages and the near-constant and varied challenges to his authority by officers, crew, and accompanying scientists as well as Melanesian and Polynesian chiefs.

The author's ultimate identification of Cook as "our ancestor" is at once persuasive and provocative. Contact with the Euro-American world continues to serve as the limiting, often distorting filter through which the histories of these islands are rendered. The richness, complexity, depth, and distinctiveness of Pacific pasts that exist apart from this contact still await a much wider recognition. Salmond's fine study helps make that acknowledgment more possible.

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GLYNDWR WILLIAMS, editor. *Captain Cook: Explorations and Reassessments*. (Regions and Regionalism in History.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 266. \$75.00.

To this anthropologist reviewer, the prospect of learning more about Captain Cook—whose death recently became a cause célèbre when Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere debated how the perception of Cook affected his being killed—was a welcome opportunity. Given that interest in Cook and his voyages is

not going away (a claim that is made in this collection more than once), a volume such as this one is a timely and valuable contribution to the understanding of an era, of some of the events of that era, and of some of the consequences—direct and indirect—of those events. It seems that there is a little something here for everyone: those interested in the matter of Cook's death, Cook biographers, and historians of eighteenth and nineteenth-century European thought. That is the good news. The bad news is that many of these essays seem only remotely related to each other, and the connections to Cook at times seem almost spurious.

The collection begins biographically, with attention to Cook's earlier years, before culminating with interpretations of his final voyage. Rosalin Barker and Richard C. Allen provide some remarkable background on Cook's youth, although Allen's essay falls short of providing any clear understanding of the degree of influence of Quakerism on Cook. Andrew S. Cook makes the ironic observation that the Royal Society claimed Cook more than Cook claimed them. It is interesting that, even while he was alive, people wanted to be associated with Cook; of course, this was also true after his death, a point made in several essays.

A montage of themes qualifies as coverage of Cook's voyages. Stuart Murray's overstated reminder that the texts generated by these voyages cannot be taken at face value does not fare well in comparison to Daniel Clayton's nicely crafted essay on how the Enlightenment operated both as cause and effect in the construction of documents such as logs, journals, and published accounts. In making her argument that there was a degree to which Cook "went native" by his third voyage, Anne Salmond provides what might easily have been an epigraph for the volume: "Tales of the European discovery of the world are still shaped by imperial attitudes and accounts of the great voyages of exploration are often written as epics in which only the Europeans are real" (p. 77). Besides providing insightful background for understanding Cook's mind(set) on his third voyage (especially for those of us interested in *Sahlins v. Obeyesekere*), Salmond's essay sets up nicely the piece by Pauline Nawahineokala'i King, which is a call to let Native Hawaiian voices be heard in the discussion of what Cook has meant to Hawaiians. Sadly, the second half of the book includes very little of what Hawaiians have to say about Cook—or even very much about Cook himself, for that matter.

John Robson compares the charts of Captains Bougainville and Cook, concluding that Cook was the superior cartographer, but the majority of this not-easy-to-read chapter is about Bougainville rather than Cook. Even so, Cook is not essentially irrelevant, as he is in Robin Inglis's description of post-Cook voyages undertaken by France and Spain. Inglis's essay is certainly well written and compelling, but one wonders how it fits into this volume other than the fact that it describes "post-Cook" voyages. Likewise, Simon Werrett's contribution describes the Russian response (or, better said, the lack of response) to Cook's voyages in and

around territory that was at least nominally Russian. By the end of the essay, however, the reader knows much more about eighteenth and nineteenth-century Russia than about Captain Cook. Need this be a problem? Not necessarily, but it does mean that readers who want to know primarily about Cook will have to be somewhat selective in their reading and avail themselves of the book's more-than-adequate index.

Werrett's essay does highlight the fact that Cook was a hero in many parts of the world, not just Hawai'i and not just Britain. Recalling Salmond's observation above and King's prompt to hear the Hawaiian voice, one wonders whether a pan-European adulation of Cook has somehow been projected onto Hawaiians. The question is tantalizingly implied in many places throughout this collection but never directly asked, let alone answered. Indeed, to begin the final section of the book, "The Legacy of Captain Cook," Sujit Sivasundaram reverts to the form Salmond warns against and attends to how Europeans used Cook to further their own ends, in this case by showing how the death of Cook was used to lend profundity and meaning to the death of the Reverend John Williams, sixty years and thousands of miles removed from Cook's own death on Hawai'i.

The two concluding essays invoke anthropology—implicitly and explicitly—as the would-be friend and ally of the historian. Andre Lambert recounts his involvement in retracing part of one of Cook's voyages on a near-authentic eighteenth-century ship, noting "I learned more in four weeks about the working and crewing of a wooden sailing ship than I could have picked up in a lifetime of shore-bound study" (p. 254). This endorsement of participant observation as a research technique comes after editor Glyndwr Williams wistfully recognizes the shortcomings of anthropology as he provides some perspective on the still-vibrant interest in studies of Captain James Cook: "At one level it is a disturbing sight for historians who sometimes take it for granted that anthropology and its practitioners will come to their aid in situations not susceptible to the conventional process of historical investigation" (p. 241). What Williams is referring to, of course, is the *Sahlins v. Obeyesekere* debate. In what turns out to be a kind of reflexive irony, Williams notes that the anthropologists are not as helpful as they might be. Of course, one of the reasons is that anthropologists cannot agree on how historical texts ought properly to be read. In the end, anthropologists are of little use to historians because historians have been of little use to anthropologists.

Certainly this collection of essays does not provide a definitive answer in the debate over the death of Captain Cook, although there is an identifiable pro-Obeyesekere (well, at least anti-Sahlins) perspective, including King's reminder that Cook's favor among Hawaiians has to be seen as being informed by the fact that Kamehameha's eventual dominance had its roots in his relationship with Cook (pp. 106–107). Then again, a definitive answer is almost certainly an unreasonable ex-

pectation. This volume does provide important information for those following the debate, as well as those interested in Cook's life. Ultimately it will be a welcome addition to a history that is still being constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed.

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NOENOE K. SILVA. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. A John Hope Franklin Center Book. 2004. Pp. x, 260. \$21.95.

Noenoe K. Silva's purpose in this provocative new book is to take apart what she calls "[o]ne of the most persistent and pernicious myths of Hawaiian history": that the "Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) passively accepted the erosion of their culture and the loss of their nation" (p. 1). The myth's origins, she tells us, can be traced back to Captain James Cook's arrival in 1778 and the first Western accounts of contact with the islands. Throughout the nineteenth century, white colonizers produced more, and elaborate, narratives of Hawaiian depravity and their own superiority, justifying their seizure of land, wealth, and power while subjugating the native peoples. In the last century, "mainstream historians" fortified the myth, basing their works almost exclusively on English-language testimonies of the *haole* (white colonizers) while, according to Silva, they studiously avoided the wealth of materials written in the Hawaiian language (p. 2).

On one level this book functions as a corrective: it is a bold and unapologetic revisionist history. Silva wants to demonstrate that every act of political, economic, religious, cultural, and even linguistic oppression was met with Kanaka Maoli resistance. Thus, Cook's killing in 1779 was "resistance to the attempted subjugation of the Mō'i (ruler) of Hawai'i Island" (p. 2). The "Bayonet Constitution" of 1887, in which the white oligarchy stripped the native monarch of his executive powers, begat the violent Wilcox Rebellion. In 1895, after a native coup attempt failed to dislodge the provisional government, and the deposed Queen Lili'uokalani was arrested and imprisoned, she communicated with her people by composing songs that were smuggled out of her palace prison and published in a Hawaiian-language newspaper. In 1897, when President William McKinley submitted a treaty for Hawaii's annexation to the U.S. Senate, the Kanaka Maoli responded with a petition signed by approximately ninety-five percent of the native population.

As influenced as the narrative is by the works of Edward Said, Michel Foucault, Dipesh Chakrabarty, and Partha Chatterjee, among others, it settles finally on the rather old-fashioned principle that the truth is in the archives. The evidentiary foundation for much of the book is drawn from more than seventy-five newspapers published in the Kanaka language between 1834 and 1948. These sources are presented and analyzed along

with poems, songs, chants, tales, and hula performance: an impressive constellation of discursive strategies employed over a generations-long struggle. That said, it must be made clear that Silva has given us (as the reader should expect) a history that does more than simply fill gaps by bringing into the mainstream the voices of the Kanaka Maoli or provide a simplistic tit-for-tat account of white oppression and native response. Borrowing from the work of Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, Silva argues that the study of these newspapers, songs, poetic forms, and performances (*mele*) is especially important "in situations of colonization, where histories from generations past [have been] produced largely or even solely from records of the colonizers" (p. 182). *Mele* became a "genre of resistance to cultural imperialism" (p. 184). Since the time print media first appeared in the islands, *mele* carried vital messages of opposition and kept native Hawaiian solidarity and identity alive in the face of rising American hegemony. Its practitioners were skilled and highly regarded by their communities; many of them were women. *Mele* expressed a vision of women in traditional Hawaiian society as wielders of power, as individuals who lived adventurous rather than passive domestic lives. Indeed, by the late nineteenth century, they were the primary means through which women were able to express significant political views. According to Silva, *mele* were indispensable to native resistance in at least one other way: however expressed or performed, they contained multiple levels of meaning that were unknown to and unknowable by white foreigners (p. 184).

This is an important book, but it contains several troubling elements. Silva's attention to native Hawaiian women spins off into hagiography when it comes to Lili'uokalani. Important questions go unanswered. What should we know of the native Hawaiians, significant in both number and influence, who did not resist American colonialism? Native Hawaiians were not a monolithic class, so an important discourse within this community is neglected. Similarly, white Hawaiians were not uniformly enemies of Hawaiian independence. Many stood in opposition to English, French, and German as well as American colonialism, a fact virtually unacknowledged here. The author's moral indignation is apparent throughout the book. Where such feelings are legitimate (as when she reveals that it is possible to receive a doctorate in history specializing in Hawaii without learning the Hawaiian-language or using Hawaiian language sources), the effect is salutary. But where Silva characterizes Hawaii not as a state but as the site of U.S. "military occupation" (pp. 2, 9, 202–203), the effect is more polemical than historical.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

FRED ANDERSON and ANDREW CAYTON. *The Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500–2000*. New York: Viking. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 520. \$27.95.

Fred Anderson and Andrew Cayton seek to challenge a long-standing master narrative that casts the United States and its colonial predecessors as peace-loving states that resorted to wars only in defense and to preserve freedom. Inverting this familiar story, they press the case that the “dominion of war” has been an active tool of expansion and empire. They seek to make readers rethink wars of conquest waged in the name of liberty and republicanism by examining how wars so often breed unintended consequences.

Nearly fifty years ago, the historian William Appleman Williams also argued that empire was an “American way of life,” and his interpretation influenced a generation of foreign policy historians. Like Williams, whose work they acknowledge, Anderson and Cayton plumb the contradictions inherent in the supposedly benevolent extension of imperial power. Whereas Williams was concerned with economic forces and the ideology of the “open door,” however, Anderson and Cayton focus on the centrality of wars of conquest over land and resources. And where Williams grounded his interpretation in the somewhat impersonal forces of production and commerce, Anderson and Cayton emphasize the role of individuals, focusing each chapter around the biography of a particular soldier-politician: Samuel de Champlain, George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Antonio López de Santa Anna, Ulysses S. Grant, Arthur and Douglas MacArthur, and Colin Powell. (There is also a chapter on the anti-soldier William Penn.)

This emphasis on the special historical role of less than a dozen commanders casts the book as a rather traditional, top-down political-military approach to history. Indeed, the authors are so focused on the leader-warriors who built the U.S. empire that people who resisted that empire are barely visible. The complicated on-the-ground dynamic between conquest and resistance in provoking imperial contradictions remains at the level of generality. Only a chapter on Mexico’s General Santa Anna views the U.S. empire from the West or the South, although still articulated through the biography of a military leader, and provides an extended, concrete study of how the terms and language that build historical perspectives depend on geographic and social positionality. This same chapter explores most thoroughly the conundrum of an empire of “liberty,” which was dedicated to the preservation of slavery and the aggressive acquisition of neighboring lands and peoples.

If somewhat traditional in its U.S.-centered, top-down focus, however, the book is anything but celebratory in message. Although the authors avoid an overly didactic tone, ominous parallels to present dilemmas continually present themselves. Anderson and Cayton, for example, argue that the triumphalism of British

power after the French defeat in North America in 1763 cautions how a seemingly unrivaled power can generate its own undoing. They present the American Revolution, as manifested in the western territories, as a war motivated by land hunger and “ethnic cleansing.” Territories won in the Mexican War, they argue, augmented the pressures that led to civil conflict and the rather rapid break-up of the victorious order. Indeed, in chapter after chapter, the authors present a rather consistent pattern by which wars of conquest justified as spreading “freedom”—whether in the backcountry of colonial Pennsylvania, the French and Indian War, the revolution, the war with Mexico, the various interventions of the twentieth century, or the current war in Iraq—undermined the stability of the very order they had presumably been waged to secure.

Anderson and Cayton’s history, then, is one about the broad goals of commanders and the consequences of their wars. The authors seek to show the fleeting nature of victory; wars themselves disrupt, rather than solidify, established patterns. They see the persistent claim to spread republicanism and freedom as being a constant corollary of, not an opposition to, military conquest and imperialism. Yet, at the same time, this is no muckraking account of U.S. soldier-statesmen, who are generally presented doing deeds they believe to be virtuous but within larger forces (demographic, economic, strategic, technological) that unfold beyond their understanding or control.

This book seems strongest when discussing the pre-twentieth-century era when wars clearly sought imperial control of land. Twentieth-century wars and military interventions, the authors point out, are often cast as “anti-imperial.” Sections that deal with the War of 1898, the Caribbean interventions, World War I and World War II, Korea, Vietnam, and Iraq provide a broad survey rather than a clear interpretive stance. The chapter on Colin Powell, though well fitting the book’s larger themes, appears almost as an afterthought.

Still, a single volume that spans five centuries cannot do everything, and Anderson and Cayton’s biographical approach provides an artful framework for combining sweeping scope with engaging detail. The authors offer a provocative and well-written challenge to American exceptionalism that will be both useful to scholars and accessible to a broad public, including those interested in military history.

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ELIZABETH MANCKE. *The Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, Ca. 1760–1830*. (New World in the Atlantic World.) New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xi, 214. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$27.95.

In this excellent book, Elizabeth Mancke reminds us of the differences between British Atlantic colonies founded in the seventeenth century and those acquired

by war and treaty in the eighteenth, such as Nova Scotia and Canada. The governments of these later colonies "were established after the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689) and development of the Crown-in-Parliament, and thus colonists could not claim a constitutional autonomy from Parliament and an allegiance to the Crown alone in the way the people in the older colonies did" (p. 5). Mancke shows how this fundamental distinction shaped the two communities of Machias, at the far northern edge of Massachusetts, and Liverpool, on the south shore of Nova Scotia, in the last four decades of the eighteenth century. The case is interesting because these two British Atlantic communities were very similar in terms of founding populations and geographic location. The author examines in illuminating detail patterns of land distribution, structures of local government, systems of church organization, and responses to the American Revolution. In so doing, she explains why Machias ended up joining the challenge of the thirteen colonies to the novel (for them) claims of British parliamentary power whereas Liverpool accepted a continuing existence within the crown-in-parliament empire. What appears to be a local study of two communities, which had a combined population of only 1,832 people in 1790, turns out to be a monograph that deals with some of the most significant features of the British Atlantic world.

Mancke's case study is even more ambitious than that because she proposes that the political divergence between Machias and Liverpool was an early sign of the parting of the ways in the British Atlantic world that led to the development of two derivative, but contrasting, political cultures in the United States and Canada. Thus at all stages in her study she discusses big historiographical and conceptual issues in Atlantic, Canadian, and American history. With consummate skill she shows how the original differences between older and newer British colonies worked out on the ground in this corner of North America. She deserves unstinting praise for the massive amount of local research and for her rigorous analysis of the material she has unearthed. It is a considerable achievement to have placed these two small communities so effectively in the larger Atlantic context.

To honor the spirit in which this fine book is written, it is worth opening up three issues raised by the author's commentary. First, Mancke argues that the Nova Scotian townships were politically impotent and isolated from each other because the imperial authorities in Halifax and London had curbed efforts to reproduce New England-style local autonomy. Yet she notes in passing that there was "a colony wide religious revival" (p. 124) at the same time as the Revolutionary War. The public discourse in Liverpool and the other Nova Scotian townships was more animated by religion than politics in these years. Why was a colony-wide religious movement a cultural possibility in Nova Scotia by the late 1770s and 1780s when a colony-wide political movement was not? Mancke's argument that weak town government in Liverpool was unable to protect the

Congregational establishment as well as it could be protected in Machias is insightful and relevant but too limited to capture the full significance of the religious turmoil. Second, the British colonies in the Caribbean fall into the earlier group of Atlantic colonies, yet they did not opt for independence in 1776. Perhaps geographical and strategic location in the Atlantic system, and the economic predicaments of various colonies in the great arc of British possessions from Newfoundland to the Caribbean, played larger roles than Mancke allows with her sharp focus on political differentiation. The possibility that situational and economic factors had some impact on Nova Scotia's response to the revolution, as they did in the Caribbean colonies, is certainly suggested by Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy's *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (2000). Third, if the divergence between American and Canadian political culture is to be traced to this period, then the French Atlantic world needs to be brought into the picture. Crown government through appointed officials in the French colony of Canada for a hundred years after the 1660s, followed by thirty years of British military governors after 1760, and then privileged gubernatorial and executive power into the 1820s, had a more direct impact on the shaping of Canada's statist orientation than did developments in the thinly populated townships of Nova Scotia.

That such big issues about the Atlantic world, and the origins of Canadian and American politics, can emerge from a reading of Mancke's book is a tribute to its scholarly richness.

GORDON T. STEWART
Michigan State University

C. L. HIGHAM and ROBERT THACKER, editors. *One West, Two Myths: A Comparative Reader*. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 183. \$44.95.

This book looks at the vast topic of the interrelationship between geography and the nation state as it applies to western North America. As editors C. L. Higham and Robert Thacker note in their introduction, the North American West had, on the one side, the forces of geography and climate, while, on the other side, the powerful forces of the "consolidating modern state" brought history, policy, and law to bear on the land and the people who lived there. In the process the region was divided: by an east-west border, by historical memory, and by national mythology.

This book derives from a conference, and such volumes always face a dilemma. The desire to be inclusive and eclectic at a conference leads to an interesting variety of speakers and attracts an audience. The same eclecticism in the published work can, too often, yield a disconnected series of articles, papered over by desperate editors in an equally desperate-sounding introduction. In this instance, however, the work displays a pleasant and intellectually satisfying level of continuity. Of course, no single work could possibly cover the broad questions raised by a theme involving the inter-

play of region, nation, and geography. The reality is that the vast majority of essays in this work focus on one important component of the imposition of the two national states upon the land. The result, whether by luck or by design, is a well-connected set of articles. Thus, much of the book can be read as a single, coherent analysis, a rarity in postconference publications.

The period from the late 1860s through the end of the nineteenth century was the time of transition from the geographic landscape of the buffalo hunt and the loose boundaries of tribal influence to the modern West of two nation states and, at least in early form, of agricultural settlement. In these years, two railways—the Union Pacific and Canadian Pacific—cut across the region. The North West Mounted Police and U.S. Army arrived along with a range of surveyors, Indian agents, and others. All of these events started to make real the national boundary or “medicine line.” This crucial period is the real focus of the volume.

The theme of the border and its meaning is introduced by two general pieces early in the work. Elliot West discusses the general relationship among a common landscape, regional identity, and national mythology. In an excellent essay Donald Worster looks at “development myths” in both Canada and the United States. He ranges over the grand historical themes on both sides of the border, noting the way in which the state began to redefine the region as two distinct portions of transcontinental nations, each with its own values, history, and sense of superiority. He also notes the irony that “both myths ended up in exactly the same place—in a powerful industrial-capitalist society ransacking the land for raw materials,” although they got there “with different memories of where they had been” (p. 29). These twin themes of the imposition of modern capitalism and the separate historical myths underlying the transition set the stage for the more specialized essays that follow.

In a set of closely related articles, Beth LaDow, Michael Hogue, Sheila McManus, Molly Rozum, and Peter Morris display remarkable continuity as they analyze the ways in which the hardening of the border affected local communities. The overall pattern is fascinating. The border was an imposition, dividing bands and separating bands from hunting grounds. It was also a useful tool. When things got awkward on one side of the line, it was convenient to use this emergent division to thwart enemies and gain breathing room. Thus Sitting Bull fled to Canada after his defeat of George Armstrong Custer. Métis leader Louis Riel fled south to avoid a warrant for his arrest after the troubles in Red River. The Cree and other tribes ignored the border when possible, used it when useful, and attempted to adapt to rapidly changing situations in terms of food supply and government pressure. Likewise, as Morris demonstrates, the new settlers to the region also formed innumerable cross-border links. When it was helpful they raised the flag of nationalism, and when it was expedient they happily ignored the flag and the border.

Two recurrent themes appear in these essays. First, the people—whether indigenous or European—were far from passive in the face of the border and the pressures of the modern state. They attempted to maximize their interests and increase maneuvering room whenever possible. Second, despite these efforts, the relentless process of state sovereignty and modern capitalism ground away older traditions. Perhaps one of the most telling quotes in the volume comes from an Assiniboine chief in Montana in 1880. “All of you from Canada—Crees, Blackfoot, Sarcees—I count you as one . . . I blame you for the loss of our cattle and I want you to give us ten of your best horses as payment” (pp. 90–91). The “Canadian” Indian was becoming perceived as an outsider.

South of the border, the relentless clashes between army and Natives broke the spirit and power of the local tribes. In Canada, the failure of the 1885 rebellion and the execution of Riel, Big Bear, and others signaled the real assertion of state control. On both sides of the border, the diminished buffalo herds and the arrival of the railway changed the nature of the region. By the end of the century “the west” had been divided and incorporated into its respective modern nation states.

Overall, the strong continuity and the individual quality of the essays means that this volume adds meaningfully to our understanding of this important period in history. I have only two quibbles and both, to some extent, flow from the origins of the work as conference essays. First, the title does not really reflect the emphasis of the volume. This work is largely a history of the border in its formative years. Second, there are a couple of essays that are effectively orphans, with little or no real connection to the subject of the work.

DOUG OWRAM
University of Alberta

GERALD F. REID. *Kahnawà:ke: Factionalism, Traditionalism, and Nationalism in a Mohawk Community*. (The Iroquoians and Their World.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 235. \$49.95.

The European invasion of the Americas that began more than five centuries ago has always forced indigenous societies to choose between confronting or cooperating with the newcomers. Native peoples' options narrowed once Euro-Americans became numerically dominant and began to fashion systems of attempted control of indigenous communities. Nowhere have these choices been more complex than in the Iroquois settlements of what is now Quebec. There the intrusive policies of European and colonial governments were reinforced by campaigns by Christian missionaries to convert the people of the longhouse, who established reserve communities where the Christian, usually Roman Catholic, presence was powerful. One of these settlements, Kahnawà:ke (earlier known usually to non-Natives as Caughnawaga), on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River across from Montreal, has played an especially prominent role in Native-Canadian govern-

ment relations since the middle of the twentieth century. During a series of confrontations, the most dramatic of which was Kahnawà:ke's support of its sister community Kanehsatà:ke in what was known as the Oka crisis of 1990, Kahnawà:ke was noteworthy both for the militancy of its response and the internal divisions that bedeviled the community.

Gerald F. Reid has used a combination of archival resources, oral history, and his own observations while working for the community to unravel the nineteenth and early twentieth-century origins of both the militancy and factionalism of Kahnawà:ke. He finds that divisions began to emerge in the mid-nineteenth century as pressure from non-Natives on community resources, especially land and forests, provoked different answers as to how to react to the governments that acted principally in the interests of the newcomers. By the 1870s an obvious division existed between those who favored assertiveness toward government and non-Natives, especially males who married into the community and lived on the reserve, and those who preferred a less confrontational approach to the problems that newcomer pressure created.

Parallel splits developed subsequently over whether to cooperate with or resist the Canadian government's insistence on the use of elective governmental institutions under Canada's Indian Act rather than traditional, clan-based chiefs for life. Such divisions reflected factors such as differences in age and material wealth, and occasionally Canadian political partisan loyalties as well. In the early twentieth century disagreements emerged over Canada's insistence that education on the reserve be delivered by an order of Catholic female religious, followed by the arrival of the so-called Thunderwater Movement and its associated Council of the Tribes, both of which enjoyed substantial, though certainly not unanimous, support at Kahnawà:ke. Finally, in the 1920s the Iroquois Longhouse movement, which emphasized traditional spirituality and governance, began to make inroads. By the middle of the twentieth century, Kahnawà:ke was divided between those who inclined to a confrontational stance toward the Canadian government and those who were more cooperative. The less amenable group, whose members were probably the more numerous of the two divisions, was itself split between those who still supported Christianity and those who preferred the Longhouse.

Reid's careful study both contributes substantially to our understanding of this complex society and simultaneously disappoints. Its major strength is that it persuasively revises the view put forward a decade ago by Gerald Alfred in *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism* (1995), an interpretation that stressed the twentieth-century emergence of a traditionalist, nationalistic movement that swept the community. Given the recurrent inability of Kahnawà:ke to speak with one strong voice during its standoffs with government since the 1970s, Reid's conclusion that Alfred paints his picture "with strokes too broad to reveal the fine grain of

the community's internal political and cultural dynamics" seems plausible (p. 186). However, if Reid provides a fuller, more complex portrait, he also leaves the reader unsatisfied in a variety of ways. For one thing, he neglects to use the doctoral dissertation of University of Ottawa historian Jan Grabowski, which would have thrown considerable light on the eighteenth-century background of Kahnawà:ke. He also does not make much use of oral history evidence until his sixth chapter, which deals with the emergence of the Longhouse movement in the 1920s. It seems unlikely that there would not be community accounts of some of the late nineteenth-century differences over land and governance under the Indian Act that would have amplified the archival sources. There are also numerous petty errors concerning Canadian politics and Indian legislation. Finally, Reid tends to treat traditional or nationalistic points of view as nonproblematic—or at least not problematized—in contrast to "progressive" or "reform" points of view that invariably spark a systematic effort to account for them in demographic or economic terms. These are not so much criticisms as mild laments that a fine account could have been even better.

J. R. MILLER

University of Saskatchewan

JENNIFER HENDERSON. *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. x, 288. \$60.00.

The continued blurring of academic disciplines has enriched historical analysis in numerous ways. Contributions from geography and psychology have added social scientific perspectives to the understanding of the past, and engagement with research in linguistics, philosophy, and literature has contributed theoretical, conceptual, and methodological insights. While the increase in theory-based historical investigations has weakened the historical profession's contact with nonacademic audiences, these approaches have tied the discipline more closely with other fields. Historians are, as a consequence, exploring a broader range of analytical literature and offering more complex and comprehensive portraits of the past.

Interdisciplinary renderings of the past, of course, work in both directions. While historians are drawing on the work of scholars in other disciplines, so are researchers outside of history moving steadily into what used to be historians' terrain. This is particularly true in the case of disciplines such as geography, ethnography, and literature and has long been a characteristic of the study of western Canadian history. Literature specialists Laurence Ricou, William New, I. S. MacLaren, and Sherrill Grace have made significant contributions to the understanding of Canadian history. Jennifer Henderson's book continues in this tradition.

Henderson focuses on three works: Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1839), Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear* (1885), and Emily Murphy's

"Janey Canuck" books. Drawing extensively on theoretical insights from feminist studies and postmodernist critiques, Henderson examines her texts to demonstrate the role that white women played in shaping settler societies in Canada, particularly with reference to race relations, British imperialism, and the role of women in society. She stands aside from the current literature on female writers that emphasizes the long-standing identification of "the metaphorically colonized position of the nineteenth-century woman with the position of Canada as a British colony." She asserts, instead, that "the settler woman occupied the site of the *norm*, not a position outside of culture and external to the machinations of power" (p. 4). Henderson draws on Ian McKay's argument that the study of the past—and of literary expressions from the past—should focus on the evolution of Canada as a political experiment and the imposition of a national consciousness through the process of subjectification. The book has a very simple structure. A theoretically rich and complex introduction provides an overview of Henderson's conceptual approach, drawing widely on postcolonial and contemporary feminist thought. Each of the three main works is then treated in a separate chapter. Jameson, a nineteenth-century British reformer, published an account of her travels around Upper Canada, thus providing an outsider's perspective on the social and economic experiment underway there. *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear* is a captivity narrative, published shortly after the 1885 western rebellion. The book is used to illustrate the social and racial turmoil of the west at that critical juncture. Murphy, feminist and public figure, was also a well-known author, and her Janey Canuck books provide insights into the transformations associated with the settlement of the west. While acknowledging that the three works follow, chronologically and conceptually, the standard narrative of English Canadian evolution, Henderson argues that "these writers serve as markers of the construction and reconstruction of the settler woman, a subject position bound up in the production of racial distinctions and the elaboration of norms of conduct" (p. 10). The book ends with a brief epilogue that extends the analysis of later women writers in understanding both the Canadian "project" and the perpetuation of racial differentiation in the country.

Henderson's study has several shortcomings. The selection of the works is asserted rather than explained; there were other books that might have been considered and no substantial justification is provided for the inclusion of these authors. The writing is complex and highly conceptual; it is difficult to follow in passages, and, on more than a few occasions, the theoretical analysis moves well beyond the discussion of historical circumstances and literary impressions. Henderson does not draw as productively as she might have on the rich historical literature on Canadian settler societies and the evolution of Canadian literary culture. The list of works cited is notably slim on the historical side; Sarah Carter's excellent *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (1997) is

referred to only in passing, even though it addresses several of the same themes as Henderson's book. The epilogue does not tie the work together as well as it might; one wishes for a more substantial conclusion.

These observations aside, this is a useful addition to the scholarship on Canadian literary traditions. Literature specialists will find the analysis provocative and insightful, and they will be impressed with Henderson's comfortable use of a wide variety of theoretical and conceptual perspectives. Nonspecialists, in contrast, will use the book as an entrée to recent postcolonial and feminist scholarship and will gain valuable perspectives on the important debates underway among scholars of Canadian literature. Historians will find it helpful as well to confront very different and highly original uses of historical texts and to have a new feminist perspective on the evolution of western Canadian society.

KEN COATES

University of Saskatchewan

KRISTINA MARIE GUIGUET. *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. (Mercury Series, Cultural Studies Paper, number 77.) Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization. 2004. Pp. xvi, 154. \$24.95.

This book is a fascinating little gem of a monograph, but it requires some additional polishing to bring out its full brilliance. Kristina Marie Guiget's engaging microhistory examines a single historical document: a printed program for an 1844 musical evening held in the spacious drawing room of "Lyndhurst," the high society home of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Widder of Toronto, Ontario. Guiget, drawing on her twenty-five-year international career as a singer, mines this document to great effect. Using it as her departure point, she proceeds to a fascinating examination of the interconnections of politics, social values, gender, and class expressed through music in the nineteenth century.

Toronto of 1844 was still very much a colonial society. Musical evenings such as Mrs. Widder's followed the English pattern of middle-class emulation of the home entertainments of the aristocracy, while infusing them with meaning particular to their own society and class. The Widders themselves were distantly related to the royal families of England and Europe, but Frederick was a bit of an upstart among the conservative "Family Compact" elite that was then losing its grip on power in the province. As a land speculator and director of the Canada Company, Widder unsuccessfully angled to gain control of the reserves of land that had been previously set aside for the use of the Anglican Church under the old oligarchic rule. For an appropriate fee, he proposed to ensure their successful transformation into prosperous settlements and appease all sides in the political and religious controversy. To fulfill these goals, it was clearly important that he cultivate an appropriate public image, and one means of doing so was hosting such sophisticated and genteel social events in his home. As the hostess of the refined *soirée musicale*,

Mrs. Widder could do much to further the career aspirations of her ambitious husband.

Guiget meticulously examines the concert program of this musical party to reveal the social and political values supported in its carefully constructed order. She has collected and analyzed all twenty pieces in the two-part program, as well as biographical information on many of the individuals who performed them. Many historians (myself included) might foolishly dismiss the evening's entertainment as a hodgepodge of early Victorian sentimentality. Guiget convincingly shows its well-planned structure and the themes that the music consciously communicated to its audience: order, hierarchy, and benevolent monarchical rule.

Guiget reveals how social class and gender intertwined in who performed what type of music and at what points in the program. She calls the genteel ladies who both sponsored and performed in such events "Lady Amateurs." As a case study, Guiget examines the remarkable career of Miss Hagerman, later Mrs. John Beverly Robinson (Jr.), who performed three of the most difficult selections. A brilliant and charismatic singer with a solid upper-crust pedigree, she struggled with her desire to be a performer and the loss of social respectability that would result from such overt public display. As a "Lady Amateur," she was somewhat able to fulfill her vocation. In contrast, men could sing in public as professional musicians, but in doing so they confined themselves to a lesser rung on the social ladder than the likes of Mr. Widder. He did not sing at his wife's *soirée*, although she performed in five of the selections. Guiget tells us that increasingly men such as Widder who felt the urge to sing confined themselves to private groups such as male-only glee clubs.

This slim volume has much to commend, but it also has a few flaws. We are forewarned about possible printing and grammatical errors by the publisher who states that, "in the interest of making information available quickly, normal publication procedures have been abbreviated" (p. v). As a Canadian, I find this disheartening coming from a flagship national institution like the Museum of Civilization. Indeed, there are a number of errors and formatting glitches throughout. As a writer, Guiget has a penchant for metaphor that at times weighs down her prose and should be curtailed. Frequently there are repetitions of fact that a vigilant editor would have caught. Finally, although this is without doubt a scholarly text, examination of more recent works on important themes such as Victorian womanhood and masculinity would have enhanced Guiget's work.

This book really deserves to be more: if expanded on and reworked somewhat this wonderful microhistory would have made an even greater contribution to the field. Guiget is an exceptionally talented new historian, and I look forward to reading what she produces next.

KATHERINE M. J. MCKENNA
University of Western Ontario

PHILLIP BUCKNER, editor. *Canada and the End of Empire*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 328. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$29.95.

This timely collection consists of a comprehensive introduction and eighteen impressive chapters that rally around the theme of identifying, examining, and explaining Canada's devolution from the British Empire. The second half of the twentieth century, particularly the 1950s and 1960s, is the time period in focus. With the exception of editor Phillip Buckner's essay on Queen Elizabeth II's 1959 royal tour of Canada, all of the contributions to this volume originated as papers for a symposium held in 2001 at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at the University of London.

The major revisionary motivation behind this collection is to recognize that Canada has developed its own historiographical tradition out of a sense of cultural nationalism that, ironically, downplays previously dominant British imperial influences. Buckner is a long-time crusader for bringing back British influence on both Canada's history and historiography as a central concern. To this end, the first essay in this book, by John Darwin, provides a comprehensive background to Canadian debates over the end of the British Empire. The underlying theme throughout the chapters is the process of Canada's ongoing realignment away from Britain. Buckner identifies 1956–1967 as the crucial decade when English-speaking Canadians were forced to address the "lingering death of empire" (p. 9).

A strength of this collection is that it self-consciously reveals the politics of writing history, potentially reopening old wounds and inflicting fresh ones. Part of the unpopularity of "imperial history" in an age of growing attention to recovering a diverse and dispersed Canadian past is that to reveal a British past is assumed as reasserting it in the present, in the process denying French Canadian, Aboriginal, and multicultural voices. Furthermore, as history often draws its inspiration from the present, it is awkward to argue for the importance of a British past that is today offensive to some and irrelevant to others. Buckner is at pains to point out that "One does not have to believe that the empire was a 'good thing' to believe in its importance to generations of Canadians" (p. 3).

Buckner has marshalled a relevant and knowledgeable group of contributors, and the book offers dense and thorough coverage. Most contributors provide a detailed snapshot of Canada's changing relationship to the British Empire. Economic relationships feature in John Hilliker and Greg Donaghy's essay on Canada's economic relations with the United Kingdom from 1956–1973, during which period the United Kingdom (after the United States) remained Canada's second-largest economic partner and the principal source of its immigrants. By 1972, Canada was seeking new economic partners throughout Europe and in Japan. Additional postwar economic-centered essays consider trade diversion proposals, customs valuations, and British motor vehicle exports to Canada.

Another cluster of essays centers around single events, such as Buckner's essay on the 1959 royal tour (he wryly concludes that "The major lesson drawn from the 1959 tour was not to have another one" [p. 89]). The 1956 Suez Crisis features in a number of chapters and is the focus of Jose E. Igartua's essay, which characterizes Canada as either the "colonial chore boy" or the "chore boy of the United States" (p. 47). Andrea Benvenuti and Stuart Ward identify separate Canadian citizenship in 1946, the 1951 appointment of a Canadian governor general, the Suez Crisis, India becoming a republic while remaining in the Commonwealth, and the 1957 "trade diversion" episode as their key indicators of Canada's shift from being a British colony to being a distinct nation. Gordon T. Stewart's essay directly concerns the United States and the end of empire in Canada. He takes the 1927 commencement of direct and formal diplomatic ties between Washington and Ottawa as an important marker of Canada's turn toward the United States.

As well as being economic, political, and strategic in focus, the collection contains essays concerned with education, culture, and society. These chapters analyze Canada's quest for distinctiveness in the face of both the growing importance of the United States, and the decline of British influences. Paul Rutherford looks at the culture of American entertainment, the persistence of British influences, and the Massey Commission. Turning to Canadian "high culture," Allan Smith argues that the Americanization of Canadian art and culture was a postwar reality.

The last third of the book emphasizes what was lost and what ended as Canada's relationship with Britain dwindled. Examples are the end of the Privy Council and the 1964 replacement of the Red Ensign with the newly designed Maple Leaf flag. Gregory A. Johnson views the old flag, with its inclusion of the Union Jack, as symbolic of the "last gasp of empire in Canada" (p. 247). Areas that Buckner singles out for further attention are ethnicity and immigration and the history of pro-imperial organizations such as the Orange Order.

In a collection concerned to capture how historical change occurred, the comprehensive coverage of individual actors is particularly welcome. Prime ministers of the time appear frequently throughout the essays. Women's part is made visible by Lorraine Coops's interesting study of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the flag debate. Marc Milner and Douglas Francis contribute essays on the Royal Canadian Navy and intellectuals Harold A. Innis and George P. Grant. Most appropriately, the final essay is Jim Miller's study of Aboriginal people's relationship to empire. It suggests the benefits of seeking out other places around the British world where the "Great White Mother's" (Queen Victoria) presence was felt. Rather than an ending, it represents a starting point for further research in empire studies and imperial history.

KATIE PICKLES

University of Canterbury

STEVEN MINTZ. *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 445. \$29.95.

No subject makes adults today more anxious than the notion that American children are in crisis, a notion fed by widespread popular belief that children's lives are less stable now than in the past. Steven Mintz's impeccably researched, convincingly argued, and wonderfully original synthesis of the monographic literature on childhood in American history debunks this notion. Contrary to myth, he finds that childhood in the past was anything but stable for a majority of Americans. Today, thanks to an idealistic twentieth century reinvention of childhood, our children have more freedom for self-discovery than ever before. Yet we are not ready to celebrate, for (he suggests) children today face new problems born of this very reinvention.

The core of Mintz's narrative is a mostly familiar chronology of changes over time in how middle-class, reform-minded adults imagined the ideal childhood, and what kinds of institutions they created in order to produce it. New England Puritans sought to provide their children with stable, orderly childhoods within the framework of patriarchal families, in which fathers could prepare them for a godly life (or a sanctified death). After the American Revolution eroded the institutional foundations of patriarchal authority, childhood became shorter and more uncertain, as children left home at relatively young ages to seek paid work. By around 1830, anxious middle-class adults sought to contain their children's precocity and restore stability to their lives by inventing the modern ideal of childhood as a sheltered period, free from labor, devoted to schooling, and guided by the moral tutelage of mothers.

After the Civil War, reformers sought to make the middle-class ideal of an orderly, protected childhood available to all children. An even more idealistic set of reformers, the Progressives, imagined the ideal childhood as a extended period of freedom and self-discovery within a world apart—like Huck Finn's raft trip down the Mississippi. Their most far-reaching goal was to create child-centered institutions where young people could spend time away from adults for a prolonged period, free to develop in age-appropriate ways (without family obligations) during what psychologists now called adolescence. Thus was born the idea of universal high schooling.

A second set of stories, chronicling the experiences of real children, subverts this core narrative. To the extent Mintz can find sources to support them, we hear these children's stories in their own voices. They remind us that the social reality of childhood for most American children through the nineteenth century was unstable, harsh, and difficult. Large numbers endured poverty, high rates of childhood mortality, and exploitative working conditions: as indentured servants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as wage workers in factories, coal mines, or rich people's kitchens during the nineteenth. Enslaved children were as likely to die

in childhood as they were to reach their teens. Among those who survived, more than half were separated from one or both parents by the age of sixteen. Rarely could any of these children count on the protection of a parent or other adult relative. Additional hardships arose in wartime.

Having navigated through these multiple stories, we arrive at the book's central point in chapter eleven. The advent of universal high schooling around 1930 transformed the experience of youth. When young people were segregated from adult society, schools and peer groups (along with commercial entertainments and mass media) became the major forces shaping their tastes, behavior, and values. Youths created an oppositional culture that at various times in the twentieth century challenged adult culture, as in the rock and roll craze of the 1950s and the youth movements of the 1960s. Anxious adults have tried since then to reassert control over children's lives through schools and the legal system, but they have failed to address the real problems youths face.

Popular wisdom tells us that since the 1970s children have been in crisis because their mothers are working for wages. Mintz argues that popular wisdom exaggerates the impact of family structure and ignores the impact of other institutional and cultural influences on children's well being. Kids spend most of their formative years in institutions that seem "more and more outdated in [their] strictures, athletic culture, regimentation, and lack of opportunity for teens to demonstrate their growing competency and maturity" (p. 253). Mass media overload children with information about the realities of adult life, yet kids, isolated within age-segregated environments, have few role models to teach them how to deal with the information. The book's closing story—about the Columbine High School shootings—reminds us what occasionally happens when teenagers, ostracized by peers within alienating, impersonal schools and steeped in the revenge fantasies that are standard fare in popular culture, crack under pressure.

Mintz has written one of those rare histories that both engages with academic historical scholarship in a serious way and speaks to real concerns of the American reading public. Full of fascinating information about the history of children in America, it also offers a major critique of the way our society constructs childhood. This book reminds us that history can teach important lessons about how we got to be the way we are—and, sometimes, even suggest what to do about it.

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MICHAEL J. MCCLYMOND, editor. *Embodying the Spirit: New Perspectives on North American Revivalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 346. \$49.95.

In the past twenty-five years, much has been written about American revivals from the First Great Awakening in the colonial period to present-day manifestations. Yet, scholars continue to wrestle with the most basic questions regarding the phenomenon: Do revivals exist, and, if so, what exactly are they? Are they spontaneous displays of spiritual renewal that burst into evangelical flames in one location and spread like wildfire to others? Or, are they carefully orchestrated events staged periodically by organizers well versed in the arts of publicity and programming? Some reject the claim that certain revivals occurred at all, and others predict that they have run their course and will never recur.

While this volume of essays does not provide definitive answers to those big questions, it does illuminate revivalism in its many dimensions and from multiple perspectives. From editor Michael J. McClymond's fine introduction reviewing major issues and explanations to Martin Marty's trenchant reflections, the book offers much for the scholar of American religious history as well as the general reader. In the end, however, the sum of the parts is less than the individual contributions, an appraisal that speaks to the difficulty of discussing a subject that continues to raise the question, as Marty phrased it, "what, then, is revivalism?" (p. 273).

McClymond frames the discussion by listing the challenges confronting scholars of American revivalism, beginning with the question of sources and interpretation. If one takes a phenomenological approach based on accounts of participants, he or she is rewarded with rich narratives of the individual decisions regarding the message of revivalism. However, one is left with the task of investigating the revivalists' claims, especially those concerning the results of revivals. Wary of "revivalist-centered" sources, McClymond prefers a functionalist perspective that probes the social functions served by the revivalist message and the responses that the message elicits. At the same time, he argues for an inquiry that is open to both natural and supernatural causes of revivals, the latter a stumbling block for most secular historians. Like Jonathan Edwards who characterized the first Great Awakening as a "surprising work" (p. 46), McClymond contends that any study that ignores either the natural or the supernatural will fail in understanding and explaining revivalism.

The contributors take up the subject from a broad spectrum of disciplines and perspectives. They come from such varied academic backgrounds as American studies, religion, religious studies, church history, theological studies, anthropology, and sociology. Some approach the subject of revivalism as apologists who readily accept revivalists' claims concerning the nature and extent of religious awakenings. Others take a more detached view, probing revivalists' claims and providing critical assessments. It is not surprising that such a diverse group of contributors would raise a wide range of issues, including epistemology, gender, church architecture, deconversion and decline, and media. And they examine diverse religious and ethnic groups, such as

borderland Pentecostals, Chicago suburbanites, African Americans, Catholics, and Canadians.

The book is as much about the writing of revivals as it is about revivals themselves. In his essay on the 1730s awakening at Jonathan Edwards's Northampton meetinghouse, Finbarr Curtis raises the question of how scholars who insist on testable evidence can fathom a work of the Holy Spirit. He asks, "can a social theory of religion afford to ignore aesthetics and sensuality because they lay outside the scope of empirical verification?" Curtis sounds a skeptical note even as he contends that secular historians must strive to understand the special language of revivalism in order to fathom its meaning. Such skepticism is well founded, given that Edwards, the spiritual inspiration of American revivalism, failed to define a universally accepted way of identifying a genuine work of God. His own congregation disagreed with his analysis and dismissed him from the pulpit.

Several contributors emphasize the means of promoting revivals over the message. Philip Goff's fine essay on Charles E. Fuller's pioneering use of radio notes that while Fuller's message was a nostalgic evocation of a placid, rural past, the evangelist's techniques for reaching a mass audience were modern and forward looking. In her imaginative piece on church architecture, Jeanne Halgren Kilde explores how revivals appropriated and transformed sanctuaries into auditoriums and, in the process, blurred the lines between the sacred and secular by bringing such explosive political and social issues as slavery and race into what had heretofore been holy places set apart from such ugliness. Fred W. Beuttler discusses how the "systematic desacralization of the local church" (p. 194), expressed in the use of such contemporary devices as rock music and games, explains in part the "Son City" revival at the South Park Church in Park Ridge Illinois in the 1970s. The removal of many of the rituals and symbols of Protestant Christianity and the substitution of secular ones proved to be the means of connecting with the throngs of young people that filled the church.

Not all of the essays present evangelical awakenings in a favorable light; one in particular gives voice to the sizable number of opponents that criticize revivals. Candy Gunther Brown examines how Elizabeth Prentiss transformed Horace Bushnell's critique of mid-nineteenth-century revivalism into a call for a greater, and empowering, role for women in religion. Bushnell rejected the revivalists' emphasis on corrupting original sin and the need for conversion in revival meetings characterized by emotion and crisis. Rather, he favored spiritual growth and Christian nurture within the context of a loving family where mothers assumed the major role. The author of thirty-one books of great popular appeal, Prentiss took up the theme of salvation as a gradual process in her fictional *Stepping Heavenward*, published in 1869. She urged women to take an active role in the ongoing nurture of their children rather than to wait passively for them to be converted at a revival.

Despite repeated predictions that revivals are things

of the past, they persist, and this volume helps the reader understand why and how. Although failing to answer the question of what is revivalism, the essays convey its protean nature.

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BETH BARTON SCHWEIGER and DONALD G. MATHEWS, editors. *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 340. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

The role of region in influencing currents in American religious culture represents an area of inquiry that has mushroomed in recent decades, moving well beyond studies of New England and the South, particularly the evangelical cast in the latter associated with the image of the Bible Belt. One indicator of the coming of age of regional studies is this revisionist collection of ten essays, edited by Beth Barton Schweiger and Donald G. Mathews, that revisits the sweep of southern Protestantism but nudges analysis in fresh directions.

Jon F. Sensbach opens the volume with a stunning historiographical piece. He identifies four areas where recent scholarship has broadened the way religion in the South, particularly evangelicalism, is conceived. The first is a reminder that there was a dynamic pluralism that prevailed among Native Americans and immigrants long before the Bible Belt emerged. He proceeds to highlight the transatlantic character of southern religious life in the colonial period, enhanced by a steady undercurrent of Catholic presence as well as by the slave trade, which linked coreligionists across the ocean. This larger perspective paves the way for Sensbach's third point: the way religion stimulated cross-cultural connections before evangelicalism became dominant. Finally, he probes the extent to which gender was a defining factor in colonial religious life, from Native American societies to the Christian patriarchy of immigrants.

No one doubts the import of revivals in spurring the growth of evangelical Protestantism in the South. Schweiger, however, argues that revivalism transcended region in the antebellum period because it served as the incubator of Protestant denominationalism and made the denomination, with all its bureaucratic baggage, the basic structural form for American religion. Precisely how strong that evangelical presence became and the covert ways in which it penetrated non-Christian religious cultures comes to light in Emily Bingham's account of the religious experience of Rachel Mordecai Lazarus. From a prominent and committed Jewish family in the South, Rachel was intrigued by the ethos of southern evangelicalism and often attended Christian services while maintaining a traditional Jewish home. Before her death she underwent a gradual but real conversion to the Christianity that dominated the world around her. Her story reveals much about the challenges minority religions confront

in any culture where a single religious style has hegemonic power.

Two essays draw on theories of violence advanced by Rene Girard to rethink dimensions of southern religious life during the Civil War and the decades after. Kurt Berends acknowledges that the traditional interpretation emphasizes the ways in which evangelicalism sustained a white southern identity even as it may have challenged its racism, and how evangelicalism became a useful device in creating a "civil religion" that glorified the Lost Cause. But his signal contribution comes in arguing, following Girard, that the most enduring impact of southern Protestantism came in its valorization of violent sacrifice, which in turn ritualized the violence of racism in postbellum culture. Mathews takes Girard's theories a step further when he demonstrates that lynching was not simply a manifestation of racial bias but an essentially religious act grounded in that same violence. Hence he appropriately calls lynching "part of the religion" of white southern Christians.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, some commentators believe that Pentecostalism is poised to become the principal expression of evangelicalism in the United States, not just the South, assuming the role that strands of fundamentalism have played for the last quarter century. Two essays explore features of the early Pentecostal heritage; like the others, they pose new questions and thus encourage the rethinking of conventional understandings. In his account of the early years of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, Daniel Woods suggests that enthusiastic prayer was as vital to emergent Pentecostalism in the South as the more familiar speaking in tongues, and that such prayer allowed Pentecostal expression to reauthenticate enthusiasm as central ingredient of a distinctive southern Protestantism. Pentecostal stirrings appeared early in the twentieth century as the "great migration" of African Americans from the South to northern urban centers such as Detroit and Chicago was underway. Anthea Butler deftly scrutinizes one religious dimension of that cultural relocation in her essay on the role of the "church mother" in founding and sustaining congregations of the Church of God in Christ, once a southern African American Pentecostal body, outside the region of the denomination's birth. Denied ordination and the opportunity to pastor, church mothers nevertheless provided the leadership and stamina that allowed this Memphis-based denomination to establish flourishing congregations among black migrants.

Women figure prominently in two other essays. Jerma Jackson revisits the development of gospel music as a distinctive southern genre in her examination of the career of Sister Rosetta Tharpe. Without formal musical training, Tharpe developed a unique style of guitar playing that she took from street evangelism to concert halls as one of the first successful "cross-over" musicians who blended a sacred base with secular appeal. Lynn Lyerly discusses how different all of southern religious history would look if attention were paid to the role of women, debates over the role of women as wives

and mothers, women's resistance to institutional sexism, the fresh appreciation of vital religion that comes from women's journals and religious writing, and the critical role of gender in noninstitutional forms of religious expression such as the public rituals linked to the shrine of Our Lady of Charity erected in Miami by Cuban immigrants.

Paul Harvey's final essay represents a remarkable summary of the arguments he develops more fully in his recent book, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War to the Civil Rights Era* (2005), which explores racism and efforts at interracial cooperation. Harvey notes that laywomen, both black and white, were generally at the forefront of challenging all forms of racism and laid the ground work for whatever authentic interracialism occurred.

Well crafted and well argued, all ten essays contain copious documentation and helpful bibliographies. They are models for future study.

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FAREN R. SIMINOFF. *Crossing the Sound: The Rise of Atlantic American Communities in Seventeenth-Century Eastern Long Island*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 213. \$40.00.

Historians of New England, New Netherland, and early New York all have had something to say about eastern Long Island, but almost always just in passing. The task of chronicling developments in this area off the coast of southern New England in the seventeenth century has, for the most part, fallen to local historians, who have examined fragments rather than framing a larger picture. In this slim volume, Faren R. Siminoff moves eastern Long Island to center stage and offers a unified account of its history during the first three quarters of the seventeenth century. Her purpose is not so much to fill a geographical gap in existing scholarship, although clearly she does so, as to make a bold claim for the significance of the "East End" in the creation and reproduction of Atlantic American communities.

The premise of Siminoff's work is the obsolescence of the standard narrative of English appropriation of Native lands and erasure of Native influences in tandem with the creation of a society in southern New England that largely replicated old England. Jettisoning a nationalistic model with an assumption of domination and submission in favor of a more neutral Atlantic American framework in which outcomes are contingent, she proposes a version of the region's history that does not privilege any of the groups at the heart of the standard narrative—English, Dutch, and Natives—but instead casts them, or rather subgroups called "communities of interest," as players in an ongoing and fertile series of negotiations over the structure and values of the new Atlantic American communities that emerged on Long Island in the aftermath of the Pequot War of 1637.

Siminoff's determination to move beyond monolithic

categories like English, Dutch, or Native and focus on discrete groups of English (colonists from Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, Rhode Island, and grandees from England) and Ninnimissinuok, an anthropologist's term for the indigenous people of southern New England (Pequots, Mohicans, Narragansetts, Niantics, Montauketts, Shinnecocks) as they interact is admirable, given their often conflicting agendas. By differentiating the goals and strategies of distinctive groups, and in the process identifying the salient features of their prior histories, she is better able to make sense of the patterns that emerged as New Englanders put down roots in towns like Southampton, East Hampton, and Southold. Unfortunately, the strategy of disassembling the major groups is never applied to the Dutch, who act all of a piece in this analysis. As contestants for Long Island who vied with and allied with various groups of English, the Dutch were, at least at times, central to the unfolding story.

In reconstructing what transpired in the decades from the 1640s to the 1670s, Siminoff is at pains to stress the agency of the Natives, embodied in their efforts to incorporate English settlers in their world and to preserve as much of that world as possible in the new circumstances. To substantiate her argument, she documents Native attempts to structure a client-patron relationship with the settlers and their allies on the mainland, as well as the insistence of Native leaders on inserting clauses in land deeds and treaties that would safeguard their rights to exploit the maritime resources of the coastal area. Siminoff also highlights the adaptability of the English. Relocated to an environment in which the sea played a prominent role, these colonists quickly embraced the whaling culture of the Natives. More significantly, English settlers changed their attitudes toward land. Land was the key to identity in these Atlantic American communities as it became linked to community membership. Transplanted English became freeholders and voluntarily chose to associate with like-minded individuals in self-selected communities, a transformation that heralded a radical departure from practices in England as well as marking a previously unrecognized confluence of New English and Native ways.

Cross-fertilization was integral to the creation of Atlantic American communities, and Siminoff identifies certain individuals, whom she calls "boundary crossers," who played a pivotal role in bridging the gap between groups. Men such as Wyandanch, a Montaukett sachem, and Lion Gardiner, whose conflicts with Massachusetts Bay leaders impelled him to accept Wyandanch's grant of an island just off Long Island's shore, emerge as heroic figures in the fluid social world of seventeenth-century eastern Long Island.

Siminoff's characterization of the Atlantic American communities that evolved on eastern Long Island as hybrid entities in which elements of a variety of customary practices with roots in England, New England, and among the Ninnimissinuok were intertwined forces us to reconsider the verities that have guided our understanding of early New England's history. If she over-

states her case in minimizing the imprint of old English ways on the social and cultural forms of the Atlantic American communities of eastern Long Island—something that further research in areas such as religious practice should clarify—she still deserves credit for demonstrating beyond a doubt the simplistic nature of interpretations that demand winners and losers.

JOYCE D. GOODFRIEND
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JOHN D. KRUGLER. *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 122nd Series [2004], number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 319. \$46.00.

This valuable book is a study of the first three Lords Baltimore and their role as proprietors of Maryland, the only successful overseas colony developed by English Catholics during the seventeenth century. John D. Krugler argues convincingly that most English Catholics in this period wished to separate their religious and secular lives, and hence to combine spiritual allegiance to the pope with political allegiance to the king. Krugler shows that this same desire underpinned the vision that the three Lords Baltimore pursued in Maryland, a colony in which they sought to promote liberty of conscience and to allow people to worship freely regardless of their religious preferences. In essence, this book analyses that vision and the problems that the three Lords Baltimore experienced in their attempts to realize it.

In addition to the practical difficulties that were inherent in establishing any colony in this period, the problems distinctive to Maryland stemmed principally from the visceral anti-Catholicism felt by the majority of the inhabitants not only of England but also of the other American colonies. Especially during the 1640s and 1650s, the second Lord Baltimore encountered as much hostility from the committed Protestants of Virginia as from those back in England. This led to a prolonged dispute over the validity of the Maryland charter that was only finally resolved in 1658, when Maryland's independence from Virginia was definitely established. Krugler's discussion of this dispute is among the most accomplished sections of the book, and he sheds much light on the personality of Oliver Cromwell and the nature of the Cromwellian regime as well as on the divisions among the American colonies. In particular, Cromwell emerges as sympathetic toward Baltimore's ideal of liberty of conscience even though he disliked his Catholicism.

Unfortunately, the years after 1660 saw a steady decline in the colony. Growing numbers of Episcopalian Protestants in Maryland chafed at the lack of a state church, and Krugler speculates that they seemed unable to flourish in so free a setting as Maryland, in which they felt "unchurched" (p. 240). Their unrest culminated in a rebellion, the appointment of a Protestant royal governor, and an act of 1692 that established a

state church, precisely the kind of institution that the Lords Baltimore had always sought to avoid. Krugler concludes that the Baltimore vision was ahead of its time, and that it ultimately succumbed to the pervasive anti-Catholicism that prevailed in this period. However, he argues that in its separation between political and religious loyalties, the ideal that the Lords Baltimore strove to attain anticipated the decoupling of issues of government and of faith that was later enshrined in the Constitution of the United States.

All of this makes for a highly readable and engrossing story, and Krugler has vividly reconstructed and narrated it. The book is clearly and accessibly written and rests on very extensive research in a wide range of primary sources, especially letters, parliamentary records, and the archives of early Maryland. There are a few very minor blemishes. For example, the repeated references (for instance, on p. 50) to "Commons" rather than "the Commons" or "the House of Commons" read rather oddly; and it seems strange to speak of Richard Cromwell's "dismissal from office" in May 1659 (p. 218) when he was forced to resign as Lord Protector. But overall the book is an impressive achievement that sheds much light on the history of both colonial America and seventeenth-century England.

Krugler's book also makes an important contribution to the rapidly expanding field of Atlantic history, which has spawned a growing number of books and articles in recent years. Atlantic history has now reached the stage in its development where what we most need is detailed research on how relationships across the Atlantic really worked in practice. That in turn calls for specific studies of particular companies, colonies, individuals, and ideologies that will demonstrate the changing nature of transatlantic links and dynamics. Krugler's book is particularly timely, for it illustrates the very rich fruits that this kind of research can yield. We can look forward to many more such studies.

DAVID L. SMITH
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GORDON S. WOOD. *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. xvi, 299. \$16.00.

The three hundredth anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's birthday, on January 17, 2006, will evoke much celebration, including books, articles, and exhibitions devoted to his life. Gordon S. Wood's book should be a part of such celebration, for it is a worthy effort, and it invites further study of Franklin and his time.

In the preface, Wood suggests that he is offering a Franklin "who is different in important ways from the Franklin of our inherited common understanding" (p. ix). The historic Franklin, he says, "elude(s) us," in favor of a simpler understanding apparently developed in the early nineteenth century of a man whose main concerns revolved around "the getting of money" (p. 9). Franklin, Wood argues, echoing an interpretation Carl Becker offered in 1931, was "never very revealing of

himself. He always seems to be holding something back—he is reticent, detached, not wholly committed" (p. 13).

The book Wood has written is intended to wipe away the obscurity in our understanding, to correct the distorted images we have carried around about Franklin. He acknowledges other scholars' efforts and he clearly respects them; he appreciates especially the modern edition of Franklin's papers now approaching forty volumes; but his conviction remains that despite this outpouring "we still do not fully know the man" (p. 13).

To characterize Wood's method of presenting his Franklin as the setting up of a straw man would probably be unfair. But given all that has been written about him by distinguished scholars and given the modern edition of his papers with its thorough annotation, it is difficult to see just what it is that "elude(s)" us. Of course, aspects of Franklin's life remain unclear, especially the reasons for his actions in several events, but we do know, thanks to a flood of research and publication, an enormous amount. And in any case, is Franklin so different from other historical actors? Parts of the lives of virtually all such figures surely remain obscure.

Wood's method of recovering the "historic" Franklin, as distinguished from the myth apparently created in the nineteenth century, is to look at him in five broad contexts. Franklin's becoming a gentleman is the first, followed by his becoming an imperialist, a patriot, a diplomat, and finally an American. Each of these aspects of his life receives a chapter, and each chapter is broken into a variety of subcategories, some not clearly related to others. The book almost inevitably takes on a fragmentary character and in many places resembles conventional biography.

The first chapter may be the best because Wood has a fresh conception of gentility. A poor boy, Franklin earned his way into gentility by hard work and eventually by giving up work for money altogether. Colonial society's chief division, Wood says, was between gentlemen and commoners. Gentlemen did not have to earn their incomes; they had money, and Franklin did not enter their ranks until he retired, well-fixed, at age forty-two. As a young man he was of the middling sort, a printer and small businessman, a status that saw him amass more wealth than most of the gentry, though he was not yet of their number because he followed a trade. Wood's argument about gentility is interesting but not completely convincing, although it yields fascinating perspectives in this chapter and the next on Franklin's imperialism.

Much of Franklin's life in retirement, Wood says, is the action of a gentleman. He illustrates this point in his discussions of Franklin's electrical experiments, his public service, and his politics, subjects that receive extended treatment. Although there is nothing new in this account, which covers the period up to the beginning of the revolutionary crisis, it is well told. "By the early 1760s Franklin had become a thoroughgoing imperialist and royalist," Wood concludes (p. 91). Franklin's commitment to the empire, it seems, was emotional; he

admired the king enormously and he reveled in the greatness of the British Empire, indeed of all things British.

It was in this period—in particular the late 1750s to 1768—that he began the struggle for royal government in Pennsylvania, a proprietary colony. Wood argues that Franklin began to identify himself as an Englishman, a major theme in the book. The explanation of this identification and of Franklin's prolonged attempt to force the change in the colony's government arises from "the fact that Franklin in these years was a fervent royalist who very much wanted to participate in the grandeur of the British Empire" (p. 262, n. 81). Another and different explanation of his behavior is possible, I believe, one that concedes his imperialistic bent but focuses on his anger at the proprietor. This anger, which turned into hatred, led to extraordinary behavior: an irrational effort to displace Thomas Penn. Franklin's attempt to turn Pennsylvania into a royal colony persisted for more than ten years, despite the fact that the people of Pennsylvania had voted him out of office in an election clearly fought on the issue of the colony's government and the fact, pretty clear to everyone else, that there was no chance that the British government would take over the colony.

The American Revolution came hard on the heels of the failed effort to make Pennsylvania into a royal colony. Franklin's role in the years of crisis developed slowly, in part because of his loyalty to the crown and the empire. What finally pushed him over to the American side was his rough handling in the cockpit by Alexander Wedderburn and the open hostility that came in the months afterward. He performed brilliantly as a diplomat in France, nearly deciding to stay there after peace was made. Wood says that he accepted appointment to the American commission in Paris principally because he "wanted to return to the Old World, where he felt more at home" (p. 170).

The Franklin who emerges from these pages—the Franklin in the book's title who had undergone Americanization, a process that presumably purged the Englishness from his system—is a curious figure. For much of his adult life, he was, if Wood is right, more of an Englishman than an American. Indeed, Wood's point is that Franklin had to become an American. That it was likely that Franklin might admire and even love England while remaining an American is not seriously considered in this book. His loyalty, an uncritical loyalty, was that of many colonials: a feeling of attachment that fell away when the realities of the imperial connection became clear. Divided loyalties are not uncommon in empires. Not uncommonly, colonials discover what such feelings are worth. Many colonials shared Franklin's experience, and the discovery of what the empire really was came hard to many of them—and to him, even though he was always an American.

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JACQUELINE BARBARA CARR. *After the Siege: A Social History of Boston 1775–1800*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 318. \$40.00.

Jacqueline Barbara Carr aims "to provide a social portrait of Boston between 1775 and 1800 focusing on the lives of lower- and middle-income groups and emphasizing how the community functioned in the wake of Revolution" (p. 8). Lamenting that the kind of comparative urban history Carl Bridenbaugh and Gary B. Nash fashioned for the colonial period has not yet been done for the postrevolution era, Carr indicates that, although it does not offer close comparisons of Boston with other postrevolution cities, she hopes her book will be "a building block" for such studies (p. 9). While Carr utilizes a range of primary sources to formulate that building block, she draws heavily on a database she constructed from Boston's Taking Books, which are tax assessor records that typically provide extensive personal information as well as property assessments.

This five-chapter work is stylistically eclectic. "The Siege of Boston" offers a rather traditional and well-told narrative history of how the British occupation produced "a mass exodus," thoroughly disrupted Boston's socioeconomic structure, and consequently forced Bostonians to endure two decades "of readjustment and rebuilding of their lives and community" (pp. 22, 42). In "The Character of the Town," Carr focuses on living arrangements and physical transformations in Boston's major neighborhoods. She finds that residential patterns did not yet reflect the "sharply demarcated economic and racial divisions" of nineteenth-century Boston (p. 72). Here, as in other chapters, Carr makes a special effort to investigate the status of Boston's African Americans. The lengthy discussion of "A Well-Ordered Town," which reviews colonial laws and regulations far more than readers might expect, resembles the kind of coverage of individual cities found in Bridenbaugh's *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (1938) and *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (1955). Highlighting the regulatory difficulties that selectmen confronted, Carr describes a plethora of urban problems, including the maintenance and regulation of roads and the market, poor relief, public education, public safety, public health, fire prevention, and defending the town meeting system against efforts to incorporate Boston. The chapter's strength is breadth of coverage; the major weakness is that the author provides introductions to issues and problems rather than crafting in-depth analysis.

Carr again shifts styles in "Bostonians at Work." This chapter bristles with statistical analysis, much of it rooted in the Taking Book database that Carr constructed. She also presents vignettes of individuals from various occupational groups and of women and African Americans. Carr stresses that Boston faced hard economic times from the mid-1770s well into the 1780s, experienced "a constant ebb and flow" of people (p. 152), and grew dramatically, in part because of signif-

icant in-migration. In the postrevolution era, African Americans continued to face restricted economic opportunities, and women's economic opportunities narrowed. In fact, many Bostonians had to blend and shift occupations merely to survive, and poverty remained a nagging problem. In spite of all this, Carr presents a rather upbeat image of a substantial and growing middle class in a city where people often displayed "ingenuity, entrepreneurialism, and flexibility" (p. 168). One encounters yet another style of history in "The Politics of Leisure." Parades receive some attention, but the chapter quickly becomes a case study of the fight over banning plays that stretched from the late 1780s into the 1790s. Relying heavily on newspaper accounts, Carr effectively demonstrates that the conflict reflected differing philosophical views of virtue, shifting propaganda tactics, and class antagonisms. The author, who sees Boston becoming more "cosmopolitan" in this "watershed" period, draws major points together in a brief epilogue (p. 230).

Considering Carr's goals, her book, which gives significant attention to Boston's elites, does convey a feel for many important aspects of life in Boston from 1775 to 1800. It will prove useful for those who have a special interest in doing comparative urban history. In addition, the analysis of the theater conflict is an illuminating case study. However, when compared with the work of scholars such as Billy G. Smith, Ruth W. Herndon, and Simon P. Newman, Carr gives a skimpier depiction of the social aspects of how lower-income Bostonians lived than she seems to promise. And, while Carr cannot be faulted for not producing the comparative urban history she praises, she could have significantly increased the value of her work if she had more often set the Boston case within a broader framework. For example, she could have profitably linked and compared her findings to those of the many studies on urban poverty that she cites. Perhaps Carr will adopt that approach in future publications as she continues to draw upon her database and other sources to further enlighten us about urban America in the postrevolution era.

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SEAN PATRICK ADAMS. *Old Dominion, Industrial Commonwealth: Coal, Politics, and Economy in Antebellum America*. (Studies in Early American Economy and Society from the Library Company of Philadelphia.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 305. \$45.00.

Sean Patrick Adams's new book will find a place on my bookshelf alongside such classic studies of American political economy as Oscar and Mary Handlin's *Commonwealth: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy; Massachusetts, 1774–1861* (1947) and Louis Hartz's *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776–1860* (1948), as well as more recent work on the early decades of American

industrialization such as L. Ray Gunn's *The Decline of Authority: Public Economic Policy and Political Development in New York, 1800–1860* (1988). Like the Handlins, Hartz, and Gunn, Adams too examines the role of the "state" in economic life, both as an institutional structure where policy is made and carried out and as an arena of incessant political conflict between rival interests and constituencies. Since policy and politics are at once mutually related and often at odds, this is a complicated story, made more so by a rising market system that created an "economy" outside the formal purview of government altogether.

Adams compares the ongoing efforts undertaken in both Virginia and Pennsylvania to develop a coal industry, a one-hundred-year-long narrative beginning with the birth of the republic that was crowned by success only in the latter state. Such a comparison, of course, brings a particular American aspect of industrial revolution to the fore: namely, the role of bonded slave labor in economic development. At first we seem to be confronted with yet another example of a slave society's (Virginia's) failure to industrialize, a failure highlighted by its free neighbor's ability to do the same even though Pennsylvania coal manufacturers enjoyed a less favorable geology. John Majewski has recently presented such a version of events in his *A House Dividing: Economic Development in Pennsylvania and Virginia before the Civil War* (2000). But Adams is far less definitive in dividing his economic history between slave and free. Virginia's lag, rather, is explained as the result of a political system dominated by entrenched eastern elites loyal to distinct ethnic, religious, racial, and class traditions. Their control of state government by means of rotten boroughs and other electoral manipulations (not unconnected to their ownership of slaves) allowed planters to make public policy that consistently favored agriculture and undermined attempts to build a transportation infrastructure (for coal rather than crops), underwrite extraction technologies, invest in the state's western coal regions (by raising taxes and canal tolls), and oversee labor conditions. Slavery, thus, cannot be counted as a direct cause of Virginia's industrial retardation. Western Virginia, Adams reminds us, was not a slave society, and its developmental failures continued long after slavery was abolished.

In fact, Adams describes Virginia and Pennsylvania as sharing the same national ethos of civic prerogative, property rights, material progress, and popular rule. But in Pennsylvania, in contrast to republican, agrarian Virginia, whose political leadership zealously guarded against centralized threats to its position, this generated an active state government capable of practicing "managerial and technological coordination" (p. 5). Systematic programs of internal improvements, geological surveys, and corporate charters were the result as "the great potential of state-level institutions to underwrite private industry" (p. 77) was realized by government officials inspired by the wealth to be accrued from iron smelted with anthracite.

This did not mean that Pennsylvania's state govern-

ment was uniquely free of fierce partisan struggles between eastern and western districts, city and country, and farmers and manufacturers. Indeed, constant internal squabbles were the source of inefficiency, corruption, "logrolling," and bureaucratic delay. But they were also the key to industrial progress, for they opened the political playing field to coalitions that brought new social and economic forces into power. These then used their access to the state's governing apparatus to pass legislation, finance geological surveys, underwrite technologies, and otherwise advance their interests, in this case, their interest in coal. In Pennsylvania, unlike Virginia, static notions of a proper republican life were jettisoned in favor of a new paradigm of social order based on dynamic competition. Adams's study consequently points to a structural relationship between democratic politics and capitalist revolution. This does not, however, mean that democracy rested on an unfettered market. Quite the opposite, in fact. Successful economic development policy, Adams shows, was born of political motives. Branch canals, for instance, were often built to outlying regions because of partisan deal-making and legislative compromise. Only afterward did they make an economic contribution. Only after the groundwork was laid by the state and the less attractive investments made, in other words, did the economy privatize and the market emerge as the central force for development.

It was the Civil War that brought an end to the state's dominant economic role in Pennsylvania. Leadership then passed to the private corporation. The same war also brought political independence from planter control to western Virginia, provoking great expectations of a regional coal boom. This was not to be, however. The mobilization of public authority in fostering local industry whose tax revenues and commercial activities would then benefit the local population was no longer viable in the postbellum world. The growing dominance over the coal industry by railroad corporations meant that West Virginia was now dependent on investment capital from out of state (often from industrialized Pennsylvania), to where profits then returned. "The chief staple of West Virginia's postwar economy," Adams concludes his political history of coal, "was a resource of limited value to the state in which it was mined" (p. 230).

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EMILY WEST. *Chains of Love: Slave Couples in Antebellum South Carolina*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. x, 184. \$30.00.

Since the 1970s, students of slavery have uncovered much about slave life that had been previously hidden from general view. We have learned about the slaves' multigenerational families, about their deep faith and well-organized religious systems, and about their work and entrepreneurial activities. While the responses of Africans and African Americans to enslavement reveal

a level of cultural resilience previously unknown, discussions about the damaging effects of slavery on black family continue. Concern is focused primarily on the present and future health of a black families characterized by relatively low rates of marriage and growing numbers of children born into single-parent, female-headed households. Whether we like it or not, as students of slavery, to some extent we are all engaged in a debate with those who link the problems faced by sections of the black community today with the lingering effects of American slavery.

Emily West revisits the already heavily mined sources for glimpses into the least documented area of slave life, and her book thus marks the vast distance slave studies have traveled in the last decade or so. Drawing heavily from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives, West explores the relationships between slave men and women and love and affection between slave spouses. She is determined to provide some sense of the "typicality of slave intimate experience" and so wrestles with those scholars (past more than present?) who set little store by the 2,000-plus interviews of former slaves conducted in the 1930s, and then collected together and published in the 1970s. Although her WPA samples for South Carolina contain only 334 former slaves interviewees (190 male and 144 female, some fourteen percent of the published interviews), she is convinced that, in combination, white and black sources reveal "the antithetical worldview of slaves and owners," and that there was a "vast social space dividing these two worlds" (p. 20). West's preference for the WPA sources shapes and fuels her research.

West has retrieved more than the occasional expression of romantic love among enslaved people in South Carolina. Armed with the recollections of former slaves, important elements of whose lives had been lived largely outside the purview of white slave holders, she challenges many scholarly observations about slave family life. For example, West refutes the existence of a distinct women's world under slavery with its same-sex bond that transcended all others, and blames those historians who, in emphasizing "female networks of support" at the expense of "spousal relationships," miss the fact that relationships between married men and women were generally more important to slaves than were same-gender networks (p. 13, n. 10). Even slaves' religious faith, so often located at the very core of black emotional and psychological survival, is put to one side and replaced by the marital bond, which is now offered as the slaves' primary means of surviving and ultimately resisting the brutal institution of slavery.

It is in her chapter on "Family Life," with a discussion of cross-plantation (broad) marriage, that West makes her stand. Her first chapter, on "Courtship and Marriage," leads nicely into the second, but the remaining chapters on "Work, Gender, and Status," "Interracial Sexual Contact," and "Enforced Separations" add little to her main argument about the "chains of love that bound enslaved couples" (p. 13). West is critical of scholars who have not sufficiently emphasized the great

risks enslaved men "encountered in visiting their families" (p. 58). Their marriages, ripe with difficulties as they were, made these men primary actors in both family formation and maintenance. They could "choose" their partners; and those who chose to marry women off the plantation were neither cowardly and irresponsible nor absent husbands and fathers. On the contrary, West is keen to demonstrate, these men acted as "protectors and risk-takers." If anyone played a passive role, it was their wives who, given their domestic responsibilities, "were the visited" (p. 59). Here and elsewhere in the book, while not quite describing patriarchal structure in the slaves' world, West comes very close. Furthermore, it is the scholars whose research has done most to identify a strong female presence at the heart of important slave institutions who appear to be West's main target.

This book is a timely summary of the more recent scholarship on "the world the slaves made." It will not be the definitive word on love and affection among the enslaved, but it will long serve as a fine example of the rewards of a critical examination of the available evidence of the words, thoughts, and perspectives of former slaves.

LARRY E. HUDSON, JR.
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ANNE SARAH RUBIN. *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861–1868*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. x, 319. \$34.95.

In this book, Anne Sarah Rubin reproduces the words and arguments of Confederates to explore the nature of Confederate nationalism. Based on a reading of the print culture of the Confederacy and some private letters and diaries, Rubin looks at Confederate nationalism through the eyes of its proponents rather than opponents. As such, she presents us with a comprehensive discussion of the ideas and feelings of supporters of the Confederacy during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Unfortunately, Rubin's decision to leave unionists, dissenters, and African Americans out of her narrative, and the conflation of the term southerner with Confederate, yields a rather uncritical picture of Confederate nationalism. Even her discussion of women and gender relations in the Confederacy goes against recent, more complex portrayals of southern women during the Civil War and harks back to older stereotypes of all southern white women as die-hard Confederates and rebels.

Although this book relies heavily on Confederate propaganda and the viewpoint of prominent Confederates, Rubin's interpretations are often in conflict with her evidence. For instance, she claims that from the start Confederate nationalism was constructed around the example of the American Revolution rather than slavery. But she goes on to quote prominent proslavery ideologues like George Fitzhugh and Stephen Elliot, who recognized the centrality of slavery in the creation of a separate southern nation and Confederate identity.

Moderates rather than southern fire-eaters and secessionists, as many historians of the Confederacy have argued, dominated its creation. But this does not mean that they were any less committed to racial slavery. At times, Rubin's arguments are contradictory. Thus, Confederates denigrated the Puritan heritage of the North in contrast to their Cavalier culture, but at the same time they were supposedly attempting to found their own "city on a hill." The Confederate version of Yankee Doodle Dandy, which she reproduces in its entirety, nicely reveals the historical and ideological distance between the American Revolution and the Confederate nation. Confederates may have invoked the example of the revolution to legitimize their secession, but it is highly doubtful, as Rubin claims, that the American Revolution rather than the defense of racial slavery was the lodestar of Confederate national identity. Surprisingly, she does not use the Confederate constitution, which was modeled after the United States constitution but had specific protections for slavery and introduced the word "slavery," to bolster her argument.

Rubin also faithfully recounts the views of Confederate authorities on the course of the Civil War, desertion rates, and the conscription issue. Unlike historians who have argued that the Confederacy died of internal class conflict due to nonslaveholding opposition to unfair conscription laws and high desertion rates, she downplays the desertion rates and describes them merely as a matter of individual soldiers putting their self-interest above that of the Confederacy's common good. Indeed, it is somewhat ironic that Rubin sees conscription as a problem only because the slavery-based nation was allegedly "dedicated to preserving individual liberty at all costs" (p. 69). The Confederate law that exempted owners of twenty slaves from military service and aroused widespread hostility among the yeomanry is not even mentioned. Military losses, even the crucial defeat at Gettysburg, which turned the tides of war in favor of the Union, apparently scarcely dented Confederate nationalism. According to Rubin, attachment to the Confederacy remained widespread and enthusiastic even after the surrender of its armies. She describes the last-ditch efforts to arm some slaves as a way in which the Confederacy "transcended" (p. 105) its character as a slaveholding nation rather than as a desperate move that signaled the complete and utter defeat of its cause, the defense and perpetuity of racial slavery. Despite this attempt, the Confederacy did not arm slaves, a move that went against the very logic of its founding.

In a somewhat ambitious manner, Rubin carries the story of Confederate nationalism beyond the end of the war and the Confederacy's demise. Even when Confederates took oaths of loyalty to the Union, she contends that they did so for practical reasons and retained their allegiance to the vanished Confederacy. But as historians of Reconstruction have pointed out, the easy terms of presidential Reconstruction revealed that most Confederates were quite happy to rejoin the American Union as long as they could continue to sub-

jugate African Americans to a state as close to slavery as possible. While Rubin, like her subjects, holds Radicals responsible for unleashing southern bitterness because their Reconstruction plans gave freed people citizenship rights, she at least takes note of the virulent campaign of racial violence directed against former slaves by ex-Confederates. Surprisingly, she attributes this to the southern white failure to recognize black people's "agency" (p. 142) rather than a recognition of and an attempt to undermine that very "agency."

One could question Rubin's conclusion that Confederate nationalism outlasted the survival of the Confederacy. Certainly, southern attempts to carve a separate regional identity based on black subordination succeeded after the fall of Reconstruction. This can hardly be equated with Confederate nationalism. In the end, however, it is Rubin's rather one-dimensional description of Confederate nationalism that mars this book.

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G. WARD HUBBS. *Guarding Greensboro: A Confederate Company in the Making of a Southern Community*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 325. \$34.95.

G. Ward Hubbs's well-written study of Greensboro, Alabama, contributes to a growing body of scholarship that is striving to better integrate the military, political, and social history of the Civil War South. The book tightly focuses on this Black Belt town and its militia, the Greensboro Guards. It is more than a unit history, however (though anyone interested in such topics will find rich material here). Instead, the book uses the Guards' history to explain the nature of Greensboro's community, particularly the ways that war transformed the society fighting it. He concludes that Greensboro's white citizens moved from being highly individualistic and self-interested during the heady days of the antebellum cotton and slavery boom to embracing a postwar community defined by a loyalty forged among white people by the war's shared sacrifice and suffering.

The book is divided into multiple parts: the first two treat the founding period of the 1820s through the late antebellum period; part three is devoted to secession and war; part four addresses Reconstruction and its aftermath. Analysis of Greensboro's settlement reveals the tensions inherent in the development of a slave society and how land speculators, cotton pioneers, and slave traders fostered a "new grasping world" that, though profitable, created marked anxiety among citizens (p. 40). Such insecurity drove Greensborians to voluntary associations, through which "churches, commercial interests, temperance advocates, educational reformers, and town boosters" attempted to foster a community on the basis of virtue and self-improvement. Hubbs deems their efforts largely failures; the associations remained "tools for realizing selfish purposes than products of selfless concern" (p. 48). Only the

Guards themselves, formed not only as a voluntary organization but in order to defend the white population against Indian attacks and slave insurrection, stood as an exception to this pattern on the eve of the Civil War.

Part two closely follows the actions of the Guards "from Manassas to Appomattox" (p. xi). Hubbs notes that few Civil War soldiers understood what was happening in the greater war, for the true course of events was obscured to them by the great chaos (or dullness) of their immediate circumstances. Rather than compensating for the Guards' limited vision by substituting a voice of "historical omniscience," Hubbs allows the soldiers' experiences to drive the narrative of the battles in which they fought (p. xiii). In so doing, Hubbs heightens the sense of uncertainty and confusion so central to soldiers' experience of war and offers fresh and often lively accounts of familiar military events. This section also includes intriguing material, as well, about Alabamians' changing priorities regarding slavery. From going to war in 1861 to defend it, to publicly proposing in 1863 (before Patrick Cleburne did) that the Confederacy begin arming its slaves, Greensborians traveled considerable ground. Hubbs sees this shift as part and parcel of the larger metamorphosis of this community; the cause of slavery's defense was diminished only when juxtaposed against the prospect of Confederate defeat. The new feelings of loyalty to the men who had died—and to the idea that they had not died in vain—seemingly prompted a realignment of loyalties to slavery itself.

Finally, Hubbs argues that the failure of Reconstruction was rooted, at least in part, in Greensborians' new ideas of loyalty. From this perspective, "the postwar years can be understood as a battle, not merely between the Republican Party and former Confederates but also over the meaning of community . . ." (p. 229). During the war, Greensborians abandoned their antebellum understanding of duties and obligations as limited to the household and embraced instead a community founded on shared loyalties between citizens. The ties that bound the community were rooted in shared devotion to the Confederate cause but extended beyond this ideological stance to embrace the host of ways in which white Greensborians had sacrificed for that cause. Every sacrifice represented new proof of loyalty to the shared community, which in turn became the object of devotion as much as any particular interest. In such a world, Hubbs argues, political Reconstruction on the basis of liberal ideas of equality between blacks and whites was impossible, but not just because of whites' abiding racism and desire to control black labor. Instead, he argues, reverence for equality simply did not form the basis of community at all: community arose from a new "standard of commitment" among defeated Confederates (p. 229).

This book's strength lies in its deep connection to its actors. One of the pitfalls of examining individuals so closely, however, is that generalizations usually break over the back of human idiosyncrasies. In general, Hubbs overcomes this problem, although this reader

did occasionally wish for greater analytical muscle in the text. Nonetheless, this is a deeply researched and thoughtful study of the war's impact on a Deep South community.

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ELIZABETH LEE THOMPSON. *The Reconstruction of Southern Debtors: Bankruptcy after the Civil War*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 198. \$39.95.

The story of the federal government's efforts to reconstruct the society and economy of the devastated South is well known to most historians. Elizabeth Lee Thompson's book adds an interesting and new dimension to this familiar story. Her discussion of the 1867 Bankruptcy Act and its consequences sheds light on the persistence of southern landholders after the war, attitudes toward federal power, and gender relations in the post-war South.

Most southern legislators originally perceived the law as a possible extension of federal power, but they tempered their opposition for a number of reasons. They understood that the law would benefit individual southerners and, more importantly, viewed the law as separate from Reconstruction and therefore not punitive. In short, southerners finessed their typical protection of state authority and supported the bill. Southern citizens were quick to take advantage of the law's provisions. Approximately thirty-six percent of the cases were filed in the South, at a time when southerners comprised about one quarter of the population. Most of those filing came soon after the war and many of them were intended to remove debts incurred to northern merchants.

The vast majority of those filing were white and male. They tended to be merchants, professionals, and planters, not laborers. More often than not, someone who took advantage of the Bankruptcy Act was from an urban area or a county with access to a railroad. These southerners were natives, typically, rather than transplants from the North or from Europe. The men who dominated the bankruptcy dockets also tended to be those who held political and social influence prior to the war. Thompson includes enough individual examples to make her description more powerful. For instance, Wade Hampton filed for bankruptcy in 1868 and was able to reorder his finances. His participation in bankruptcy did not harm his later political career, as he was elected South Carolina's governor in 1876 on a platform that stressed a rejection of federal intervention in state affairs. It seems that Hampton viewed the Bankruptcy Act in practical, rather than ideological terms, a viewpoint shared by many of his fellow southerners.

A relatively small proportion of women were involved in bankruptcy proceedings; about two percent of voluntary filers and about seven percent of the involuntary bankruptcies concerned women. Thompson does an admirable job ferreting out their life stories.

For example, she describes how Mrs. C. A. Cogniasse, a milliner from Vicksburg, petitioned for payment from clients across Mississippi and Louisiana. The case of Cogniasse and those like her show that women could actively partake in the commercial sphere as merchants or skilled workers. Thompson wisely, however, does not push her evidence too far. The low number of women who filed also attests to their limited ability to involve themselves in occupations, professions, and activities that typically were reserved for males.

Corporations also filed for bankruptcy, but few southern companies used the law's provisions. Southerners preferred resuscitation of businesses rather than a division of assets. Most business filings—and they were numerous—were partnerships. Thompson argues, with some difficulty, that the predominance of partnerships shows that southerners believed that the federal courts served local interests. A voluntary bankruptcy in a federal court, her argument runs, is better than involuntary bankruptcy in a state court, which is presumably hostile to business interests.

Thompson's research is well grounded. She examined approximately 3,800 bankruptcy filings from three federal courts: eastern Tennessee, South Carolina, and Mississippi. Her reading of the cases is enhanced and strengthened by cross-checking census records, periodicals, and a few manuscript collections. Her description of the three regions contains some surprising statements, particularly regarding South Carolina and Mississippi. She depicts the two states as being in "sharp contrast" (p. 8) regarding their loyalty to the Union, but then describes both as strongholds of Confederate sentiment. More puzzling is the statement that "[u]nlike South Carolina, Mississippi experienced much physical destruction as a result of the Civil War" (p. 9). Historians of the Civil War normally assert that General William T. Sherman's soldiers reserved special vitriol for South Carolina. It seems that Thompson tries to establish significant differences between South Carolina and Mississippi in order to strengthen the reach of her study.

The book's conclusions are in keeping with current historical interpretation of Reconstruction: "the Bankruptcy Act of 1867 helped to stabilize and entrench southern society's class and race structure after the Civil War" (p. 140). Since the Bankruptcy Act tended to favor local interests, it blunted the implementation of Reconstruction. The men who had most influence prior to the Civil War used the Bankruptcy Act as a tool to make the most of their diminished status. They shook off past obligations even as they reasserted their authority and, in the process, made certain that Reconstruction would be an unfinished revolution.

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FRANNY NUDELMAN. *John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence, and the Culture of War*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 226. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

It has long been a staple of Civil War historiography that the blood sacrifice of the soldiers—over 600,000, North and South—provided an organic element that the United States had heretofore lacked: a cement to the unity of the nation. In this book, Franny Nudelman sets out to historicize the notion that “violence regenerates”: that bloodshed is “the necessary unrivaled means of re-energizing our commitment to national life” (p. 2). Such legends, she argues, obscure both the horrors of war and the role of state-sponsored violence in “disciplining a national public” (p. 11). The power to regenerate lies not in death but in cultural constructions of death.

Nudelman finds a variety of meanings in Civil War constructions of death. John Brown’s death was a seminal event in the creation of a wartime nationalism that relied on individual self-sacrifice. The song “John Brown’s Body,” which celebrates both the decay of Brown’s physical being and the immortality of his soul, encouraged citizens and soldiers to believe that the losses they suffered would revitalize the national community. Brown’s African American co-conspirators met a different fate: buried at the site of the gallows, John Copeland’s body was disinterred by medical students and dissected. In one of her most compelling chapters, Nudelman contends that postmortem dissection, the fate of many African American bodies in the nineteenth century, deprived blacks, even in death, of self-ownership, undercut the rituals that gave death its redemptive power, and was used by a pseudo-scientific community of ethnographers to reinforce notions of racial inferiority.

Examining images of death in Civil War poetry, Nudelman shows how Walt Whitman depicted the dead as a source of redemption: decaying bodies becoming one with the land provided a central motif for the production of nationalism out of individual suffering. Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address reinforced this notion, as did the national graveyard it commemorated. Other Civil War poets, Herman Melville among them, challenged this organic vision. Refusing to find meaning in the incomprehensible suffering of the war, they forced their readers to consider the possibility that death offered neither immortality nor redemption. This theme can also be found in Civil War photographs. A sentimental tradition of postmortem photos suggests that antebellum Americans cared for their loved ones’ bodies with tenderness and viewed death as a transitional state between life and eventual reunion. Civil War photos shattered this illusion: bodies left to rot in the field could not be cared for and reminded Americans of their distance from loved ones. Such bodies were not regenerating anything but instead appeared abandoned.

One of Nudelman’s chief arguments is that images of wartime death as regenerative worked to cloak the ambitions of a national state that sought principally to empower itself. In Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, for example, “the power of the dead to inspire the living effectively obscures the power of the state to inflict vi-

olence on its citizens” (p. 38). Images of execution suggest that soldiering could present as a form of enslavement to the state. This was particularly true for black soldiers, who faced discrimination in the service on many levels, among them a disproportionate rate of execution. Nudelman challenges the notion that black soldiering restored manhood to the slaves and merit to the war. In a study of Thomas Waterman Wood’s “A Bit of War History,” a triptych depicting the life of a black soldier, she points to the final image of the disabled veteran saluting and argues that the salute is a “servile gesture . . . Far from entitling the black soldier to autonomy, physical suffering leaves him dependent on the federal government” (p. 156).

Nudelman’s book is original and provocative, and parts of it are compelling. Viewing Civil War death through the lens of race and sentimental culture, she brings new insight to the ways in which bodies were used to forge a national consciousness and mobilize a national community. Her analyses of dissection and Civil War photos are particularly enlightening. But historians may well find parts of Nudelman’s book frustrating. It is laced with jargon from literary criticism: sentences such as “Viewed as the object of our gaze, Babo’s skull reproduces the fantasy of recalcitrant interiority that motivates diagnostic violence” (p. 54) may make the book difficult to traverse. More problematic are Nudelman’s failure to consider political context and her consequent reification of the national state. Nudelman’s state is engaged in a zero-sum contest with individual freedom; it is a Foucauldian state that disciplines and punishes. But the Civil War national state was for a time mobilized on behalf of individual freedom and resisted by states-rights, white-supremacist Democrats. When Wendell Phillips, the most prominent wartime white abolitionist, called on Americans to “Build the State at once!” he believed that state would construct a meaningful freedom for blacks. Nudelman’s interpretation of the Wood print suggests that blacks’ military service was for naught, but it was the valor of black soldiers that helped persuade many northerners—Lincoln among them—to include African Americans in a new definition of American identity. Although the failure of Reconstruction spelled the end of Phillips’s hopes for the state and stripped black freedom of its meaning, the principles of political and civil equality embodied in the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments laid the groundwork for the revival of the African American struggle for freedom.

This is in many ways a perceptive book. But Nudelman’s perspective leads her to treat the national state as always and everywhere implicated in the exploitation of death. One wishes she had historicized constructions of death by placing them not only in the context of nineteenth-century culture but in the context of Civil War politics as well.

MELINDA LAWSON
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JOSEPH MOREAU. *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. 403. \$35.00.

When it comes to American history, Joseph Moreau's book shows that writing it has never been left solely to the historians. Moreau analyzes more than one hundred school textbooks in American history published between 1824 and the end of the twentieth century. These works were chosen for examination because they best represented the controversies of their times and were not necessarily the most popular or widely adopted texts. But they illustrate the social and political debates over the character of what children and young adults should read about history. Moreau uses these schoolbooks to discuss the conflicts and the dominant controversies of each era and "how these battles have shaped the texts themselves" (p. 16).

In the introduction, Moreau refers to Frances Fitzgerald's thesis in *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (1979) that the study and teaching of American history changed as a result of the activism of the 1960s (p. 2). Moreau sets out to show that pressure groups with their own political and educational agendas have existed in the United States from the country's beginnings; there never has been one unified, cohesive vision of American history. The theme traced throughout the chronological organization of the study is that various political and pressure groups have sought to impose their version of American history through school textbooks. Moreau shows how visions of the United States changed and evolved through chapters concentrating on particular eras and their dominant controversies. For example, the idea of the nation-state is traced through the nineteenth century and is summarized in the observation of the change in reference from the United States "are," at the founding, to the singular "is," in the years after the Civil War up through the early 1900s.

Moreau shows the effects of such controversies on publishers as they sought to please, or not offend, the various factions. The textbook industry helped to appease the South in the latter nineteenth century and altered the depiction of Civil War history. Moreau also shows how politicians sought to fan the controversies for their own ends and how the groups and the controversies did influence the course of events. This book deftly illustrates the shaping of American history through the controversies that influenced its depiction in school textbooks. The subject is controversial, but Moreau offers a dispassionate, thorough examination.

Moreau's work and Jonathan Zimmerman's *Whose America? Culture Wars in the Public Schools* (2002) were published within two years of one another. While both books cover the same ground, Zimmerman's is broader in focus, showing the range of activities of the factions, interest groups, and political parties that fought to control public school education as well as other agendas. Moreau concentrates specifically on the controversies

as reflected in the contents of the textbooks espoused and manipulated by these same groups.

In addition to an obvious audience of American history majors and cultural historians, this work should be required reading for courses in the sociology of education and educational administration, public administration, and government. It is probably too much to hope for, but those who sit on textbook selection committees and school boards could profit from knowing the historical context of their positions. Librarians, journalists, parents, and other stakeholders allied to education would also find much of interest. The analysis is well documented, and while the writing style could not be termed "lively," the author does have a talent for the apt metaphor or analogy, humorous at times. The "List of References" should be labeled "List of Schoolbooks Examined," as the references for each chapter are contained in a "notes" section at the end of the text. A bibliography of the citations from the notes section would have been helpful.

ANNA H. PERRAULT
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JOHN R. NEFF. *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xiv, 328. \$34.95.

Despite the enormity of the problem of Civil War fatalities—an estimated 620,000 dead—scholars have paid scant attention to how Americans confronted the various dimensions of wartime mortality. John R. Neff tackles the problem, partly with the aim of documenting the losses and the means by which northerners and southerners coped with death, but more importantly with the aim of reconsidering recent scholarship that documents the rapidity with which white Americans "clasped hands across the bloody chasm" and sealed the deal of reconciliation. Specifically, Neff challenges the reunion narrative and finds that dealing with the dead—in terms of grieving, commemorating, burying, remembering, and honoring—threw up noteworthy obstacles to the conciliatory process and served to perpetuate sectional hostility.

Toward this end, Neff offers a considerable amount of persuasive evidence. He writes movingly of the personal grief and devastation that northerners and southerners experienced in grappling with dead soldiers; he shows how Unionists not only bitterly mourned the assassination of Abraham Lincoln but interpreted the killing in ways that renewed their commitment to sectionalism; and he demonstrates how, for white southerners, the death of Jefferson Davis managed to instill a new outpouring of support for the memory of the Confederacy and the principles of the Lost Cause. Along the way, Neff brings home the intensity of suffering and underscores how "the soldier dead never lost their symbolic value" (p. 37) in promoting particular northern and southern interpretations of the war.

Those conflicting interpretations, for Neff, are de-

fined in terms of the southern idea of the "Lost Cause" and what Neff calls the northern myth of the "Cause Victorious." His elaboration of the "Lost Cause" flows from what scholars have documented over the last two decades regarding southern whites' efforts to imbue their quest for independence and their ultimate defeat with a sense of honor and nobility. His elaboration of the "Cause Victorious" treads on much less familiar ground, suggesting the way northerners created a myth that asserted loyalty and reunification well before these features had come to characterize national life. Yet, his discussion of this northern myth prompts questions about just how much that occurs in the process of nation-building can be rightly characterized as "myth." Certainly, the assertion of national unity at the end of the Civil War did rest, to a considerable degree, on the powers of imagination. Yet, not all federal actions fall so clearly under the rubric of "myth," especially with respect to the treatment of dead soldiers. Unionists drew on the traditions and institutions of a nation that predated the Civil War and helped elaborate an even stronger sense of nationalism, institutionally as well as ideologically, after the war had ended. And while ideas could run ahead of practice, the Union position could always ground itself in a kind of reality that was unavailable to former Confederates. In fact, as Neff himself demonstrates, Unionists brought a very powerful tool to the process of postwar burials that the former Confederates lacked, specifically in the form of bureaucracy. Thus, at times, what Neff sees as the perpetuation of sectional sentiments among northerners may have had less to do with sentiment and more to do with the creation of a federal bureaucracy that, by necessity, defined the scope of its work by separating those who had been loyal to the United States from those who had been traitors.

Race, of course, figures as well into Neff's questions and analysis, and he recognizes, in noteworthy ways, how much race was a factor in both actual Civil War deaths and in the postwar rhetoric of commemoration. Thus he observes a persistent Union pattern of treating black lives cavalierly, thereby driving up the death rate for black soldiers during and after the war. He discusses, too, the tension between the Unionist myth of inclusive national identity and a decidedly racist view that assigned black Americans a second-class status, most obviously, for the purposes of this study, in segregated sections of national cemeteries. Still, Neff misses the opportunity to explore fully how black Americans understood Civil War deaths in their own terms. One wishes that the detailed analysis Neff brings to white memorial activities had been extended to African American commemorations. Such a discussion would have strengthened what is already an important contribution to Civil War scholarship.

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WILLIAM A. BLAIR. *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865–1914*. (Civil

War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 250. \$34.95.

Even before the recent outpouring of scholarship on the construction of memory, historians of the American South have since the 1930s sought to understand how this region commemorated the Civil War. Until recently, most historians had studied how white southerners remembered the "Lost Cause." One of the strengths of William A. Blair's book is his effort to document how both white and black southerners sought to remember this conflict. Although interested in questions of memory, Blair's approach is not cultural; rather he seeks to understand the "political role of commemorations" (p. 4). In his case study focusing on Virginia, with additional evidence drawn from Louisiana and South Carolina, Blair shows how white and black political leaders sought to use rituals of mourning and commemoration to advance their respective political agendas. Blair focuses on two holidays—Memorial Day and Emancipation Day—to ground his study.

In contrast to earlier interpretations of the origins of Confederate Memorial Day, Blair stresses how white southerners initially used the Confederate war dead as symbols of resistance to federal domination under Reconstruction. Cemeteries served as convenient places of protest in a period when federal authorities often banned former Confederates from marching on the street in their grey uniforms or holding other commemorative activities. Blair sees a subversive quality in the efforts of the southern Ladies Memorial Associations to repatriate the Confederate war dead from northern gravesites and rebury them in cemeteries such as Hollywood in Richmond.

Reconstruction offered African Americans considerable space to commemorate the Civil War as a struggle for freedom and to display their allegiance to the national government. In sharp contrast to the white southerners, African Americans embraced not only federal Memorial Day but also the Fourth of July. Under Reconstruction, black militia units and civic organizations could openly parade on these holidays. African Americans remembered emancipation, but on varying days. For many African Americans, January 1, the anniversary of when the Emancipation Proclamation took effect, was the date of commemoration. In Richmond, the black community remembered emancipation on Evacuation Day, April 3, which marked the day that the Union Army entered the city.

The end of Reconstruction did not halt African American efforts to shape a memory of the Civil War, but their white allies were disappearing. In many southern communities, only African Americans turned out for federal Memorial Day ceremonies. Emancipation Day continued to be commemorated on varying dates that mirrored the political divisions within the community. Most African American leaders were loyal to the national Republican Party but were frustrated at the GOP's growing embrace of a policy of national reconciliation between the North and South. In Blair's view,

the growing emphasis on self-reliance in Emancipation Day orations reflected an effort by African American leaders to forge a united front in an era when white political allies were unreliable at protecting the black community.

Since black voters were not disenfranchised until the late 1890s, they remained a potent political force. In the case of Virginia, the black vote allowed the emergence of a biracial coalition that came to power in Virginia in the election of 1879 and lasted until 1883. Blair sees the emphasis by conservatives in honoring the average Confederate soldier, especially the crippled veteran, as part of an effort to reach out to poor whites in such a way as to split this emerging biracial coalition. By the same token, conservatives in Blair's account remained equally adept at trying to divide the black community and offering a veneer of moderation. For instance, black organizations and individuals were often invited to participate in ceremonies commemorating the Confederate past.

Blair is not the first historian to see the decision of the federal government to allow the creation of a separate Confederate section in Arlington National Cemetery as a crucial turning point in how both southerners and northerners remembered the Civil War. Reconciliation, at least between white Americans, would be symbolized by the unveiling of a Confederate monument at Arlington in 1914. But is this Confederate memorial the definitive symbol of national reconciliation? The case can be made that the placing of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington after World War I was far more important in recasting this cemetery from a symbol of sectional division to one that embodies national unity.

As with any case study, the inevitable question is how representative is the pattern Blair found in Virginia? Blair says little about organized veterans organizations, such as the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Confederate Veterans, and how they shaped the politics of remembrance. These caveats aside, this is a book worth reading, especially for those interested in questions of memory and commemoration.

G. KURT PIEHLER
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LISA A. LONG. *Rehabilitating Bodies: Health, History, and the American Civil War*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 332. \$49.95.

Lisa A. Long is fascinated by Americans' fascination with the Civil War. The war, Long concludes, is the ground beneath our feet; but it is unstable, shifting and undulating like the mounds of dying soldiers left unburied on the battlefield. Standing on this moving surface can be jarring to the senses and wears on the joints, so each generation attempts to stabilize the terrain by writing its own history. Seeking rehabilitation on the Civil War battlefield, however, is no easy feat, for it is littered with bodies and half-answered questions about antebellum relations of race, gender, and class, ques-

tions that prove to be as unsettling for Americans today as they were for our forebears.

Long's Civil War is "an imaginative space where Americans attempt to form rehabilitative strategies specific to contemporary needs" (p. 20). To explore this space, Long assembles a familiar group of late nineteenth-century authors of fiction and nonfiction and recasts their work as an effort to heal battlefield wounds, both visible and invisible. The healing framework works better in some cases than in others. Doctor S. Weir Mitchell, for example, the scourge of so many upper-middle-class female hysterics, appears here as he attempts to cure his own post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) by authoring battlefield fiction featuring nerve-damaged veterans and multiple amputees. Novelist Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, in *Gates Ajar* (1868), presents to a mourning nation a heaven where dead soldiers live on and where traumatized survivors can feel whole again. Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage* (1895) is framed as a eugenic warning of white men's potential for savagery and self-destruction. And nurses Mary Livermore, Susie King Taylor, and Mary Ann (aka Mother) Bickerdyke come together as progenitors of a healing "mother power," poised to nurse the postwar nation back to health. In some cases, the subjects—female nurses, for instance—seem more intent on healing the bodies in front of them than the body of the nation, and in others an early onset of modernist angst seems to have precluded healing of any kind.

This is not a history of Civil War-era literature, and as a historian I am ill equipped to comment on the book's merits as literary criticism. The author offers readers interested in the history of the Civil War little help understanding the period or why so many Americans still turn back to it to know something of themselves. The book is tricky to read. Long alternates between Chicago and MLA citation style, making her text difficult to follow in places. She often fails to mention a title or author for several pages, leaving the reader flipping back and forth in order to follow the argument. Like a battlefield, the book is littered with its own hazards, including academic jargon, mangled metaphors, and distracting editorial oversights. There are too many bodies: unfeeling bodies, amputated bodies, diseased bodies, dead bodies, reenacting bodies, and disembodied bodies. Perhaps I prefer the strenuous Teddy Roosevelt, who found remembering the war to be just what the doctor ordered, rather than those, like Mitchell, for whom the war was "a gnawing wound, a persistent ghost, an incurable disease" (p. 57).

That said, nimble readers will appreciate Long's innovative perspective on writing the war as a process of healing. Those interested in an accessible history of popular literature would do well to read Alice Fahs's *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865* (2001).

JUDITH ANN GIESBERG
Villanova University

SARAH E. GARDNER. *Blood and Irony: Southern White Women's Narratives of the Civil War, 1861–1937*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 341. \$39.95.

Literacy is a powerful weapon in war: when combatants utilize words to construct and disseminate meaning, they advocate a political vision, sway public opinion, and shape the historical record. The battle over interpretation—especially rendered through the written text—is as significant as the battle over human life, land, and resources. Sarah E. Gardner's study of southern white women's writing about the Civil War amply demonstrates the validity of these claims. More than anything else, Gardner's book shows how white southern women used private and public writing to fight for a white supremacist, patriarchal political order that they fervently believed should be the national model. "I am a totally unreconstructed Confederate," Caroline Gordon, one of the novelists Gardner discusses, told an audience in 1974. "I came to believe . . . that the fact that we lost the Civil War was not only a disaster for the South but for the whole nation" (p. 262). Gordon's remarks indicate the pernicious resonance of the ideas Gardner uncovers.

This is a prodigious work of scholarship. Redressing a gender bias in Civil War history, Gardner studies "the mass of writings by southern women" (p. 3) as a way of understanding how they made meaning of the war over a seventy-five-year period and, in the process, "fashioned a new cultural identity for the postbellum South" (p. 4). Gardner identifies a tradition of southern white women's Civil War writing from its origins in the 1860s to its demise in the 1930s that provides an illuminating new context for better-known white southern writers such as William Faulkner and Margaret Mitchell. Examining an extensive variety of primary texts, including letters, diaries, novels, biographies, histories, and reminiscences, Gardner argues that southern white women participated equally with their male peers in creating a discourse about the South and the Civil War that had as its hallmarks the transformation of racism into philanthropy and of defeat into victory. Whether they glorified the Confederacy, aggrandized their soldier husbands, or mourned the tragic losses incurred by war, these writing women created a unified, coherent literary legacy that fiercely contested northern interpretations of the war. According to these women, the South was forced into battle because the North refused to abide by "constitutionally guaranteed liberties" (p. 27), and national reconciliation was neither desirable nor possible because the South was politically, morally, and culturally superior.

Gardner traces the evolution of white southern women's "distinctly southern story of the war" (p. 5) by employing a historical organizational structure. In addition to an introduction and an epilogue, each chapter is devoted to close readings of literature written during six distinct periods, including the war years, Reconstruction, New South boosterism, and modernism. This

framework enables an examination of the ways in which writers' visions were shaped by larger historical occurrences, such as increasing industrialization and World War I, as well as how various writers revised certain elements of the standard story in different historical moments. The tradition ended when the discourse lost its distinctive southern details, becoming instead a "regional variant of the national story." Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936) epitomizes this shift.

The crucial role the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) played in the "paper battle over the authoritative version of the war" (p. 5) is Gardner's most interesting finding. Founded by white, middle-class, urban women in the mid-1890s, the widely popular organization believed the creation and preservation of the "true" story of the Civil War was a divinely ordained mission. To this end, members organized chapters across the country, encouraged the writing of histories and reminiscences, formed history and textbook committees, instituted study plans, and appointed historian-generals to establish rules and procedures. The UDC not only sanctioned women's writing about themselves and history; it also created a market for the stories they produced. Issuing guidelines, reading lists, and historical texts, the organization became the official custodian of the South's collective memory, as well as its cultural gatekeeper. Moreover, because of its influence, the UDC wielded significant power in the publishing industry. Editors made decisions about manuscripts based on whether they received UDC endorsement.

In the early twentieth century, Gardner informs us, Ellen Glasgow contested the UDC's stronghold by invoking "blood and irony" as metaphors for the revitalization of "a rotting southern culture" (p. 142). By adopting this phrase as a title for her study, Gardner suggests that she shares Glasgow's sentiment. Recognizing how the South's white female "pen and ink warriors" fought vigilantly and valiantly to establish, and publicly circulate, their version of history "revitalizes" southern and women's history scholarship. But Gardner's analysis says precious little about the ways this "battle" upheld a political system premised on white racial superiority and women's traditional familial roles.

LINDA M. GRASSO

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CAROLYN ROSS JOHNSTON. *Cherokee Women in Crisis: Trail of Tears, Civil War, and Allotment, 1838–1907*. (Contemporary American Indian Studies.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 227. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$29.95.

This book will be of interest for scholars and students as well as the general reader. It focuses on the dramatic changes in the lives of Cherokee women between 1838 and 1907. Carolyn Ross Johnston describes her search for Caldonia (p. xii), an ancestor who died in 1843.

However, this book is not just about one woman but about Cherokee women of her era and their place in history. It is disappointing that the records do not allow Caldonia to appear as a fully realized individual, but in the search Johnston uncovers a more complex story.

One strength of this narrative is Johnston's theme of class as vital to understanding gender in the historical record. The only place this theme falters is in the first chapter, which explores the traditional culture of the Cherokee women. Unfortunately the descriptions are not well integrated and, unlike the rest of the book, the discrete differences between classes and categories of people are not apparent. Further, the nature of matriliney and the clan system, which is vital to understanding the later changes, are not fully explored. Given the long tradition of ethnohistory that calls upon the strengths of both anthropology and history, a more expansive discussion of the literature would have been especially welcome. An ongoing conversation between anthropologists and historians on this topic is sorely needed.

The heart of the book lies in the history of the Cherokee from 1838–1907, which Johnston divides into three periods: the years leading to the Trail of Tears, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the allotment era. Before the Civil War, bureaucrats and missionaries focused on transforming Cherokee concepts of gender equities and sexual openness to the Christian ideals of the day that subordinated women to their male relatives. Johnston argues that the degree of acceptance of this colonial message correlated with class. Wealthier women largely accepted a middle-class European gender status, while the majority of Cherokee women did not. By the end of this period, however, economic changes eroded the positions of even the most traditional women. In 1827, the new Cherokee constitution disenfranchised women, denying not just their right to vote but also their ability to hold formal offices. During the removal, women's experiences differed from men's. Rape and difficult pregnancies on the trail debilitated women, while the inability of men to protect and provide for their families injured them. Family, the heart and soul of Cherokee life, fell victim to this massive calamity. The experiences of the rich, who were often married to whites, and those of the poorer Cherokees contrasted dramatically.

During the Civil War and Reconstruction, both the importance of class distinction in experiencing the horrors of the time and the depreciation of women's roles continued. By 1863, a third of Cherokee women were widowed and primary family caretakers. However, their families were now fundamentally disrupted, as were the formerly strong women's alliances. Elite women, who had relied on slaves and husbands, found themselves toiling in unfamiliar ways. The Cherokee nation ended the war once again having to rebuild and redefine itself.

After the war, pressures to assimilate continued to increase, and the federal government, which viewed the Cherokee as southern supporters, showed little flexibility. A highlight was the Cherokee Female Seminary that educated women in a Western style. It produced

many professional women who served their people in important ways. However, less than ten percent of the students were full-blooded Cherokee. Marriage with non-Cherokee spouses continued at an increased rate. In divorces, courts recognized that Cherokee women, unlike their Euro-American sisters, had a tradition of property ownership that in part was used to determine property distributions. But domestic violence appears in court records as well. The allotment era saw the division of Cherokee lands, and this fundamentally attacked traditional gender definitions. Men were officially designated as heads of households, and community lands that had anchored the matrilineal clans were officially divided into private plots. The act was opposed by traditionals but supported by some elite women. All ultimately suffered, however, since over half the land in question soon was lost to the Cherokee.

The conclusion of this book ties many of the threads of this history together in an elegant and helpful overview. Some questions remain, such as the context of intermarriages for both Cherokee and non-Cherokee cultures during the important periods. These problems are not major, however, and the book is a valuable addition to a growing literature on Native women. It takes its place with Theda Perdue's *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835* (1998).

LAURA F. KLEIN
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CONEVERY BOLTON VALENČIUS. *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land*. New York: Basic Books. 2002. Pp. viii, 388. \$20.00.

Conevery Bolton Valenčius's prize-winning book represents a bold and fresh perspective on a time-honored, even hoary theme in U.S. historiography: the settlement of the nineteenth-century frontier. She melds insights from the history of medicine (which is the field of her graduate training), environmental history, and postmodern critical analyses of the body in order to recapture ordinary Americans' attitudes toward the western landscape, and, by extension, raise issues that are much more broad ranging and profound. Indeed, as Valenčius argues, early settlers in Missouri and Arkansas drew few of the distinctions between what she terms the "exterior world" and the individual body that we assume so implicitly and completely today. In their minds, the well-being of nature, the body, and the nation were interconnected and subject to the same principles and processes.

At the heart of Valenčius's analysis is the notion that the land itself can be healthful or injurious, and that early nineteenth-century settlers, physicians, and commentators were keenly aware of what made it so and evaluated it on those terms. Borrowing from the title of Hippocrates's ancient treatise, the book has separate chapters on "Airs," "Waters," and "Places" that recapture popular attitudes toward these features of the landscape. Just as decay and blockages were sources of

concern for the body, malodorous miasmas and stagnant, unmoving bodies of water were warning signs about the deleterious qualities of specific sites on the frontier. These connections between land and body shaped much of medical science during the period, and were manifested in the proliferation of detailed local studies under the rubric of medical geography. Likewise, they also influenced farming practices—what made sense for nurturing the body also made sense for cultivating the land and vice versa. And, like any fundamental cultural truth, these attitudes reflected and reinforced prevailing racial hierarchies and ideologies, and Valenčius offers fascinating discussions of African Americans' attitudes as well as the ways in which slave-owning white society racialized land-body connections. All of these examples, as well as the many more that fill the book, are based on meticulous and thorough research in contemporary letters, diaries, and publications, and they are presented in prose that is a delight to read.

At a higher level of abstraction, Valenčius suggests that nineteenth-century settlers saw few distinctions among the salubrity of the body, the land, and the nation as a whole. In this vein, Frederick Jackson Turner's old notion of the frontier as a safety valve takes on new meaning and becomes almost literally the sociological equivalent of a laxative on the body politic. In contrast to her closely researched discussions of popular and medical attitudes toward the land and the body, however, these connections to the nation rest on a much slimmer evidentiary base and are much more speculative.

This is a rich study, and it is nothing if not suggestive. It is, however, something of a challenge to know what to do with its many suggestions and insights. Valenčius makes too few attempts to speak directly to other scholars who have worked on the history of the frontier and to contextualize her own work and her findings in that historiography—a strategy that, perhaps, reflects her publisher's attempts to reach a broader audience and eschew maps, traditional forms of citation, and other scholarly apparatus. Still, this is a fresh, novel, and potentially important piece of scholarship. Perhaps, like a strong breeze on the Missouri frontier, it will clear the air and have a stimulative effect on a field of study that has tended toward stagnancy.

HAL S. BARRON

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TERRY L. ANDERSON and PETER J. HILL. *The Not So Wild, Wild West: Property Rights on the Frontier*. (Stanford Economics and Finance.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 263. \$24.95.

This book by Terry L. Anderson and Peter J. Hill offers an engaging and succinct look at how property rights developed in the American West during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The authors take on the myth that the American West was a place

marked by lawlessness and violence and replace it with images of cooperating individuals who worked with one another to create agreements, contracts, and institutions that protected property rights, which led to the increased value of property in the West.

Anderson and Hill take a sweeping look at some of the most iconic moments in the history of the American West. For example, they examine the systematic dispossession of Native peoples from their homelands, the creation of mining legal regimes in California, the emergence of rules for governing the open range, and the development of prior appropriation for allocating water rights. These scholars ask if the settling of the West was really as violent and fraught as historians and *Deadwood* have led us to believe. Their answer is a decisive "no," and through some in-depth research in both primary and secondary sources, the authors make a compelling case for historians to use economic analysis in reexamining these important moments.

The first two chapters outline the free-market, libertarian theories that undergird Anderson and Hill's economic and historical analysis. The authors insert themselves within the ever-widening divide within western history by telling a story of "institutional entrepreneurs" who were neither the heroic nor the villainous individuals portrayed by neo-Turnerians or the New Western Historians respectively. Rather, Anderson and Hill assert that collectives of individuals cooperated to create new institutions and property regimes on the frontier. These economic pioneers helped to make sense of an ever-changing social and economic landscape and brought legal and economic order, which benefited new immigrants. Anderson and Hill conclude that it was not in the best interest of individuals in the West to resort to violence; rather the vast majority of these pioneers chose negotiations and rent-seeking behavior to solve disputes over property.

The most compelling chapters deal with the property rights of Native Americans and how the new immigrants and their attendant governmental institutions systematically dispossessed them of their rights and land. They tell a persuasive story of how Native peoples "owned" land and allocated property rights prior to the arrival of Europeans. While they do not attempt to understand specific indigenous ways of knowing and possessing land, they do make a clear case that Indians had a sense of what belonged to them, and that new immigrants were usurpers into these property regimes. The authors point out that prior to the arrival of the institutions associated with empires and federal governments, individuals on the frontier were much more willing to negotiate and make accommodations with one another in order to settle property disputes. In an argument that echoes Richard White's *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991), they point out that absent the power of one side to dominate the other, "trading rather than raiding" was the preferred method for individuals to cooperate and mutually benefit one another.

This “middle ground,” however, passed once a standing U.S. Army was created by the demands of the U.S.-Mexican War and the Civil War. As a result of the militarization of the frontier, the U.S. federal government systematically used violence to enforce its vision of property rights, which conclusively excluded Native peoples’ claims to land and property. Anderson and Hill argue that because the distant federal government did not have to shoulder the personal costs (in terms of loss of property and life) of enforcing its legal regimes, as locals had during the “middle ground” period, it was willing to use force rather than negotiation to acquire property rights. The authors further point out that the legal and legislative “violence” that ensued against Native peoples after the end of the Indian Wars, from the Dawes to the Indian Reorganization Acts, were extensions of the federal government’s ability to force its view of property rights onto Native peoples.

The authors are not shy about their libertarian viewpoint, and some readers may be put off by the free-market, procapitalist spin on their historical narrative. Indeed, issues of difference, race, ethnicity, class, and gender fall completely out of the story they tell. Anderson and Hill seem to imply that all people will make economically rational decisions that are in their best individual interest, regardless of cultural background or value systems based on communitarian ideas of property and society. Nevertheless, despite what can sometimes seem like a one-sided analysis, this is an important book and adds new insight and value to the stories that are told about how the West was won—or not.

MARIA E. MONTOYA
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GARY LAWSON and GUY SEIDMAN. *The Constitution of Empire: Territorial Expansion and American Legal History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 272. \$40.00.

This provocative book by Gary Lawson and Guy Seidman examines an underexplored chapter of American constitutional development: the tensions created by the accommodation of American territorial expansion within the constitutional system. The authors’ goals are to restore territorial law to its central role in American constitutional studies, and to explore what it would mean to take the Constitution seriously in this area by testing the legality of America’s solutions to territorial acquisition and governance over the past 200 years. Although other works have explored aspects of the constitutional implications of American imperial expansion, the work differs from them in its comprehensive sweep in addressing the various permutations of territorial acquisition and governance, and in applying an exclusively originalist perspective to questions of constitutional legitimacy.

The book proceeds by setting forth the authors’ sense of original understanding and its implications for the power to acquire territory, and then analyzes the legality of events in America’s nineteenth-century terri-

torial expansion and governance. Lawson and Seidman are purported originalists, with a self-avowed fascination with form over function in constitutional analysis. In the first of several controversial moves, the authors define original understanding, not in the traditional sense of relying on the historical record of what the Constitution’s drafters and ratifiers actually said and understood, but as what a “fully informed” eighteenth-century public would have understood the Constitution to mean. They thus rely on a peculiar “rational reconstruction” of what a necessarily mythic figure (somewhat akin to Ronald Dworkin’s Judge Hercules) would have believed in the eighteenth century.

Perhaps equally controversial is the authors’ conclusion, after a lengthy parsing of constitutional text and structure, that the treaty power is a purely “implementational” power rather than an independent substantive grant of authority to the national government. In their view, acquisition of territory via the treaty power, without more, is therefore insufficient to bestow constitutional legitimacy. To be constitutional, territory acquired by treaty must serve some other enumerated power of the national government, such as the power to admit states or to establish naval bases.

Although in their conclusion, the authors acknowledge some uncertainty about their interpretation of the treaty power, their approach ultimately does not significantly affect their assessment of the validity of most landmark events in American territorial expansion. Indeed, the authors conclude that many events in American territorial expansion that others have considered constitutionally infirm—including the Louisiana Purchase and the annexation of Texas—were entirely lawful, as an implementation of the power to admit new states. Alaska and Hawaii, although more complex candidates for statehood, also appear to fall on the acceptable side of the constitutional calculus. The only territorial acquisitions that the authors find constitutionally problematic are those reaching territory held neither in anticipation of future statehood nor as an exercise of naval power—of which the acquisition of various Caribbean “guano islands” and the Philippines in the later part of the nineteenth century are the most prominent examples.

The second half of the book, which addresses the constitutionality of territorial governance, is more scathing in its critique of the legality of the American territorial project. “From an originalist perspective,” the authors conclude, “serious constitutional problems have pervaded nearly every institution of territorial government since the nation’s founding” (p. 124). Here the constitutional infirmity lies not with denying representative government to the inhabitants of federal territories but in granting too much representative government. The authors argue counterintuitively, but persuasively, that in delegating aspects of territorial governance to officials elected locally by territorial inhabitants, Congress has violated Article II’s command that executive officers be appointed by the president, with high level officers also confirmed by the Sen-

ate. Other prominent examples of unconstitutional territorial governance include the establishment of territorial judges who do not satisfy the rigors of Article III, and the executive's peacetime military governance of California and Puerto Rico, until Congress established lawful territorial governments in there.

It is surprising that the acquisition of Puerto Rico, the largest U.S. possession that for over a century has been granted neither statehood nor independence, receives almost no attention in the book. The authors assume that Puerto Rico (in contrast to the Philippines) was a plausible candidate for eventual statehood when it was acquired, and thus it satisfies their formalistic constitutional inquiry. But Puerto Rico, with its large, impoverished, non-English-speaking, Catholic population was a much more dubious candidate for statehood in 1899 than even Hawaii, and was sufficiently alien for the Supreme Court to proclaim the island's peculiar status as "appurtenant and belonging to" but not "part of the United States." Also underaddressed in the book is the thorny relationship between citizenship and territorial inhabitants, which was a driving concern behind the Supreme Court's tortured resolution of the status of the so-called "Insular possessions" at the turn of the last century. That story, however, has been eloquently explored elsewhere, by Gerald Neuman and Alex Aleinikoff, among others.

The strength of the book lies in its lucid and succinct description of the history of the various stages of America's nineteenth-century territorial expansion, its vivid exploration of the constitutional problems posed by Congress's failure to create a government for California for more than a year after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and its insistence on reinvigorating examination of constitutional questions that, while largely neglected by twentieth-century scholars, were frontburner issues in the nineteenth century and continue to exert significant influence over large areas of constitutional doctrine. Paradoxically, the authors' emphasis on the divergence between U.S. constitutional doctrine and their view of original understanding also serves to underscore how little originalist approaches have actually contributed to American constitutional development.

SARAH H. CLEVELAND
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ERIC T. L. LOVE. *Race over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865–1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 245. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

Eric T. L. Love has written a brief, clearly argued, thesis-driven study of U.S. imperialism in the late 1800s. Love upbraids mainstream historiography for asserting that "white supremacy . . . armed the imperialists of 1898 with a nearly impenetrable rationale" for seizing territory in the Caribbean and Pacific (p. xi). The truth, according to Love, is very nearly the contrary. The racist "structures and convictions" of the time powerfully buttressed anti-imperialist arguments, and imperialists

largely shared the racist assumptions of their opponents. Far from calling for uplift or trumpeting "the white man's burden," annexationists "reacted with silences, disingenuous evasions, and denials that race had anything to do with their . . . projects" (pp. xi–xii).

Although its subject is racism, this is not a theoretical work. Indeed, it focuses unabashedly on "the thoughts, words and actions of policymakers" (p. xiv). Love defines racism pragmatically as "exclusionary relations of power based on race" (p. 17). On occasion he notes the mutability of racial categories—the Portuguese in Hawaii were white to annexationists, "scum" to their opponents—but Love is not interested in the construction of race along the lines of historians like Matthew Frye Jacobson. Race here remains monolithic and inert rather than contested and mercurial. "The arguments that were set against imperialism at the start of the 1890s," Love notes of racist opposition to empire, "were not only familiar but . . . had also not evolved much since 1870" (p. 106).

The book first examines two cases of annexation denied or delayed: the Dominican Republic in 1869–1870 and Hawaii in 1893, after American planters overthrew Queen Liliuokalani. Later chapters analyze the about-face that led to Hawaii's absorption in 1898 and the more controversial acquisition of the Philippines after the defeat of Spain. For each case Love traces the machinations and debates of policymakers chronologically and in great detail.

According to Love, the success of annexationists after 1898 had little to do with changes in racial ideology. Instead, new facts on the ground favored annexation, above all the sea change in public opinion created by the war with Spain and, in the case of the Philippines, the fait accompli effected by U.S. naval victories in the Pacific. Although imperialists warned before 1898 that rapid Chinese and Japanese immigration threatened the "American character" of Hawaii, even fear of "Mongolian supremacy" was not enough to close the deal before fighting broke out with Spain (p. 136). Only then did "the groundswell of nationalism, patriotism, and support for the war effort" give Hawaii annexationists the chance they needed (p. 148).

In making the case that racism worked against empire rather than for it, Love quotes extensively from race-baiting policy makers including Hamilton Fish (who after seeing Cuba's splendid landscape concluded that in the Caribbean "only man is vile"), Charles Sumner, Carl Schurz, James A. Garfield, John Tyler Morgan, and even the dean of naval strategy, Alfred Thayer Mahan (p. 39). These men drummed home the idea that tropical peoples were unassimilable and incapable of self-government. Since American policy had always extended citizenship and voting rights to residents of new territories, annexation meant that "savages" recently weaned from cannibalism would help shape American laws and elect presidents. Love asserts that this prospect, rather than concern about undermining republican traditions or escalating naval expenditures, was the bottom line of anti-imperialism.

In public discourse before 1898 imperialists rarely invoked race. The best they could say was that tropical peoples were not very numerous and perhaps already on the road to extinction. By the time Hawaii was annexed, Sanford Dole and the white minority had excluded Japanese and Chinese residents from the franchise. When Congress voted to absorb the Philippines, it explicitly prohibited Filipino citizenship. Southern Democrats upbraided northern imperialists for having imposed the Fifteenth Amendment on the South while allowing disfranchisement in the new tropical territories.

By focusing on the formal empire that came into being in 1898, Love puts the issue of fitness for self-government, conceived in racial terms, front and center. Love admits that he is not the first historian to identify racism as an obstacle to imperialism; Frederick Merk did so in the early 1960s, and other scholars have followed suit (pp. 2–11). The fact is, however, that the trajectory of U.S. foreign policy was not toward empire but toward alternatives that promised the annexation of trade rather than territory. Secretary of State William Seward recognized as much in the 1860s when he complained that Americans valued “dollars more and dominion less” (p. 30). Only on the last page of this study does Love suggest a connection between racism and the Open Door. This competent work would have been more interesting had it explored how the peculiar American combination of racism and constitutionalism shaped a foreign policy that largely avoided formal empire.

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JOHN M. NIETO-PHILLIPS. *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s-1930s*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 312. \$32.50.

In the late nineteenth century there was a furor for all things Spanish. From California, through Texas, and all the way to Florida, Spanish-Romanesque architecture—with its archways and red-tile roofs best represented by the Stanford University campus—held sway. Literary works like Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona* (1884) became populated by dark-eyed *señoritas* and good-natured priests. Most impressively, author Charles Fletcher Lummis, archaeologist Adolph Bandelier, and historian Hubert Howe Bancroft were actually able to make money by selling to the American public the multisecular Indian-Spanish past of the southern tier of the United States. Nowhere was this movement more heartily embraced than in New Mexico. Spanish-speaking New Mexicans proudly celebrated their Spanish heritage and displayed their ties to Spain and its involvement in North America. In New Mexico this feeling was so deep and pervasive that when a twist of fate precipitated a war between the United States and Spain in 1898, *nuevomexicanos* became suspect.

John M. Nieto-Phillips’s book constitutes the first monographic treatment of how and why New Mexicans came to embrace this hispanophilia with such a fervor and tenacity. This clear and well-written account argues that a series of struggles against political and social marginalization, coupled with a burgeoning tourism industry and a drawn-out fight in Congress over the admission of New Mexico to the Union, shaped a particular “discourse” or “language of blood” that purposefully sought to emphasize the connections between Spain—a white, European nation—and New Mexico. Such language emerged during a critical period of New Mexico’s history—roughly from the 1880s through the 1930s—and was advocated by key residents who were able to resurrect and transform archaic notions of “purity of blood” that harked back to the era of the Spanish conquest.

Two things are especially noteworthy in Nieto-Phillips’s treatment. First, he locates the emergence of this “language of blood” in a multiplicity of sites. The author begins by exploring the nexus of beliefs around “purity of blood” as it was fashioned by Christians, Muslims, and Jews in medieval and early modern Spain who sought to come to terms with each other and with the inhabitants of the New World. He then goes on to show how these notions were later recovered and shrewdly redeployed toward the end of the nineteenth century. Rightfully, the book treats “purity of blood” not as a timeless ideology but as a malleable rhetorical device that enabled New Mexicans to meet a series of specific challenges associated with the advancement of New Mexico’s political and economic agendas.

Second, the author is able to show that the adoption of a Spanish American identity was not only the result of a willful appropriation by Spanish-speaking New Mexicans but also the product of a broader coalition of forces that included plenty of Anglo Americans who supported this process for different reasons. Anglo-American developers, for instance, emphasized New Mexico’s Spanish roots as a way to entice midwesterners into seeking new horizons and spending time in New Mexico. New Mexico was thus transformed into the storied “land of enchantment.” Similarly, Anglo-American as well as *nuevomexicano* politicians highlighted New Mexico’s Spanish (i.e. white) past in order to sway their skeptical Washington, D.C. colleagues into inducting New Mexico into the exclusive society of statehood. Such a nuanced understanding of New Mexico’s Spanish past and its conspicuous resurrection at the turn of the last century will inevitably advance the discussion of these identities.

Like any book, this one has its flaws. For instance, the relentless focus on New Mexico misses an opportunity to show the scope and validity of its ideas in a larger setting and in a more comparative framework. After all, not only New Mexico experienced a measure of hispanophilia; it also flourished in other areas of the United States that were not necessarily developing as tourist destinations—nor were they struggling to attain statehood. At the same time, New Mexico was excep-

tional in ways that are not fully discussed in the book. During the 1880s to the 1920s, Mexican migrants in effect re-Mexicanized large portions of the American Southwest, vastly outnumbering the old "Hispanic" populations that had lived for generations in places like Texas and California. This did not happen in New Mexico. One is left wondering how its Spanish American identity would have been affected had New Mexico been able to attract significant numbers of Mexican immigrants, or whether it was precisely the dearth of Mexican immigrants that permitted New Mexico's peculiar brand of Hispanic nostalgia.

These are minor quibbles (or possible extensions) in what is otherwise a superb treatment of a very relevant and timely subject.

ANDRÉS RESÉNDEZ

University of California,

Davis [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

KRISTYN R. MOON. *Yellowface: Creating the Chinese in American Popular Music and Performance, 1850s-1920s*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 220. \$23.95.

Similar to recent works on U.S. orientalism, Krystyn R. Moon's book argues for the centrality of popular cultural discourses on Asians and Asian Americans in shaping American culture and national identity. Moon's monograph examines how white, Chinese American, and African American songwriters, musicians, and performers have constructed and contested racial differences and hierarchies through the practice of "yellowface," a set of racially coded modes of musical production and theatrical practices that conveyed notions of "Chineseness" as inherently foreign and inferior to American or European culture and society. While previous scholars have discussed yellowface as part of their inquiry into the formation of American orientalism, Moon is the first to provide a broad survey of yellowface performance and music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

By placing the history of yellowface alongside more familiar forms of racial performance such as blackface minstrelsy, Moon points out that yellowface's emergence was part of the broader formation of a national racial vernacular on the American stage that delineated the boundaries of American identity, marking certain racial groups such as blacks as American and others such as the Chinese as perpetually foreign and incapable of national incorporation. Even as yellowface performances became more totalizing and codified with specific practices ranging from costume, makeup, orchestrated gestures, dialect, props, and musical sounds, Moon argues that yellowface constructions of racial difference and hierarchies remained unstable and ambivalent, with Chinese simultaneously taking on the polar extremes of "aversion and fascination." She proposes viewing the history of yellowface performance in dia-

lectical terms as a contestation between white musical composers and performers and Chinese and Chinese American performers. Even as white performers and songwriters highlighted the exoticism or cultural and physical inferiority of the Chinese in their racial performances, Chinese and Chinese American performers through their physical presence and performance on stage challenged white hegemony over the constructions of Chineseness.

Moon narrates the history of yellowface through three distinct periods. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be seen as a precursor to later American yellowface performances with the importation of European cultural hierarchies that defined Western music as art versus non-Western, or more specifically, Chinese music as noise. The mass arrival of thousands of Chinese migrants to the American West during the mid-century Gold Rush marked the beginning of a new historical period that involved the reimagining of Chinese people from quaint and exotic foreigners into a newly emerging race problem. In music and stage, this reconfiguring occurred through the popularization of musical tokens that signified Chinese foreignness and the figures of "John Chinaman" and Bret Harte's the "heathen Chinee," portrayed as cultural misfits with racialized, gendered, and sexualized ambiguities that would lend support and justification for the passage and maintenance of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Acts. The last period, the early twentieth century, involved the arrival of Chinese immigrant and second-generation Chinese American performers on the vaudeville circuit. This social history of Chinese vaudeville comprises Moon's most original research. Her use of newspaper clippings, immigration case files, oral history interviews, and personal correspondences recuperates forgotten performers such as Lee Tung Foo, "arguably the first Chinese American in vaudeville" (p. 1). Still, more discussion of the emergence of a distinct Chinese American performance aesthetic would have been appreciated. How did Chinese performances of Tin Pan Alley songs in Cantonese work to subvert racial caricatures? How did the insertion of "Chinese movements" into the cakewalk or foxtrot challenge white constructions of Chineseness?

An engaging read, the study is at times narrowly focused. Moon seldom leaves the world of the theater to consider the ways in which yellowface music and performances functioned among other popular amusements. How did the performance and consumption of Chineseness through the phonograph or piano roll in the privatized domestic space of the parlor differ from the collective public experience of attending a fully staged theatrical production with live performers in yellowface? Beyond demonstrating how yellowface worked to consolidate an American national identity, it would have been useful for Moon to consider how it also functioned in Asian American racial formation. That is, Moon mentions the deployment of yellowface motifs in other cultural productions with Asian, but non-Chinese, themes or subjects, pointing out the "in-

terchangeability of representations of China and Japan" (p. 105). But examples of Filipino actor Leon Alarcon "passing" as a member of the Chinese comedy quartet or "Turkish captivity" operas inspiring notions of Chinese femininity suggest the need to consider further how theatrical practices worked to consolidate "oriental" as a racially defined social and cultural category where Chinese along with other Asian groups would come to be grouped in discriminatory legal and social practices.

By scrutinizing the music itself, Moon's study offers an important and significant contribution to the emerging scholarship on American orientalism. The reprints of musical scores accompanied by insightful textual and musical analysis suggest the range of racial meanings conveyed through musical notation and instrumentation. Along with the appendixes of songs and theatrical productions with Chinese subjects and themes, this book provides a good resource for future researchers and students interested in the history of race in American popular music and performance.

MARY TING YI LUI
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AMY L. FAIRCHILD. *Science at the Borders: Immigrant Medical Inspection and the Shaping of the Modern Industrial Labor Force*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 385. \$48.00.

In this book, Amy L. Fairchild explores the complex and multilayered role of the U.S. immigrant medical examination from the time period beginning in 1891, when immigration law required Public Health Service medical officers to inspect immigrants, until the mid-1920s, when restrictive immigration legislation along with other social and economic factors resulted in the declining use and significance of the medical examination at U.S. immigration stations. The book is an original contribution to the growing scholarship on the interwoven histories of U.S. immigration and public health. Whereas previous scholarship has importantly illuminated the exclusionary function of public health bureaucracy in immigration history, Fairchild's study provides us with a nuanced account of how the immigrant medical examination functioned in order primarily to discipline, but ultimately to include most immigrants. She argues that the structure of the medical examination conveyed social and industrial norms to immigrants by paying special attention to those diseases and conditions that might compromise an immigrant's capacity for labor and, by extension, industrial citizenship. By conceptualizing the medical exam as a technology that classified and managed the working body into those who were able to work and those who would be susceptible to dependency, Fairchild illuminates an important class dimension that creatively links the history of immigration inspection and processing with labor history.

The book is divided into two parts entitled "Numbers Big" and "Numbers Small," titles that underscore Fair-

child's use of quantitative data to support her major arguments. An appendix on data collection describes the three main databases utilized for this study. Fairchild created these impressive databases from Public Health Service and Immigrant Service annual reports. Through these databases, Fairchild charts the rates of certification of various diseases and the proportions of immigrants medically certified by the Public Health Service from the 1890s to the 1930s in several U.S. regions and along multiple coasts and borders. However, the book also effectively uses a range of archival documents—poetry, operettas, photographs, and, most powerfully, oral interviews—to foreground the indelible role that medical inspection played in the American immigrant experience. As a result, this is a model for studies that aim to integrate quantitative and qualitative research methods and findings.

The first part of the book focuses primarily on Ellis Island and it is there, among European immigrants, that Fairchild's main argument about the disciplining function of the immigrant medical examination is most applicable. She notes that immigration officials at Ellis Island discussed medical examination problems among European immigrants almost exclusively in terms of class but astutely points out that categories of class were sometimes racialized in this discourse as seemingly immutable "steerage types" and "trachoma types" (p. 129). However, the analytical category of race plays a defining role in the second part of the book. Although Ellis Island was the nation's largest port of entry between 1892 and 1930, with seventy percent of all immigrants attempting entrance there, Fairchild importantly notes that it was only one port. From 1891 to 1930 immigrants arrived at sixty-two ports throughout the nation.

The second part of the book is an ambitious attempt to compare how the immigrant medical examination functioned on the West and Gulf coasts and along the Canadian and Mexican borders. The medical examination of Asian immigrants on the West Coast's Angel Island markedly deviated from the medical examination of European immigrants on Ellis Island; Asian immigrants were stripped for examination and microscopic examination of their feces was conducted. Certifications due to parasitic and skin conditions were statistically high and these conditions racialized Asian migrants as unsuitable for national inclusion. Thus, Fairchild argues that the function of the medical examination at Angel Island Immigration Station in San Francisco Bay, in sharp contrast to Ellis Island, was exclusion. Neither discipline nor exclusion played a major role along the Gulf Coast and the Canadian border, but issues of class and race informed medical examination at the Mexican border. Well written and well researched, this book is important reading for immigration, medical, and labor historians and a model for cross-regional and multiple-border studies.

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TODD DEPASTINO. *Citizen Hobo: How a Century of Homelessness Shaped America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xxv, 325. \$32.50.

When an army of unemployed men marched on Washington, D.C., in 1894, it launched more than a century of fascination with the "hobo." By no means was homelessness an invention of the 1893 depression, Todd DePastino notes in this book, but from the Gilded Age onward homeless Americans were more mobile, more vulnerable to unemployment, and more numerous.

DePastino's goal is not to write "a comprehensive history of American homelessness" (p. xix) but to explore "what Americans have meant by home—and, by extension, its absence—since modern homelessness first emerged" (p. xviii). He argues that "the specter of white male homelessness so haunted the American body politic between the end of the Civil War and the onset of the Cold War that it prompted the creation of an entirely new social order and political economy" (pp. xviii-xix). If his book falls short of proving this ambitious argument, it succeeds on many other counts. Whereas labor historians by definition tend to study people who worked, DePastino offers a fascinating look at a little-known sector of the laboring class that often did not work. In so doing he contributes to a welcome trend in which historians are redirecting attention from the workplace to the community in order to understand more fully the texture of working-class life.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this book is its vivid descriptions of life in the urban "main stems" (p. 72) where hobos made their "homes" when not on the road. A distinctive counterculture thrived in these lodging house neighborhoods, characterized by open sexuality (homosexual and heterosexual), fierce commitment to white male privilege, and rebellion against middle-class norms of propriety and acquisitiveness. Particularly threatening to a nation embracing Victorian domesticity was that "homeless men stripped housing of the familial attributes of home in their nightly exchange of wages for rent" (p. 139).

DePastino is sensitive to the gendered and racialized nature of this subculture. Hobohemia was the preserve of young, single white men of native birth or northern or western European stock, who jealously guarded their main stems and labor camps against outsiders. This exclusive focus undermined efforts by the Industrial Workers of the World to present hobos as the revolutionary vanguard that would lead the working class out of wage slavery.

One point driven home by this interesting book is that the man without permanent residence—known at various times as "vagrant," "tramp," "transient," "hobo," "bum," or the more neutral term "homeless"—has captured the American imagination since the Gilded Age. For many Americans, the "hobo" (to use the author's term of choice) represented an irresponsible rejection of regular work and domestic life. To others, homeless men symbolized the financial vulnerability that many Americans feared as economic rela-

tionships became more precarious, thus serving as "screens onto which middle-class Americans projected their insecurities" (p. 4). To others, the hobo was an enviable role model of rugged manly independence. Hobos, for their part, alternated between describing themselves as "honest workingmen" (p. 49) down on their luck and celebrating their counterculture through such devil-may-care pronouncements as "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum!" (p. 59). This ambivalence underscores DePastino's point that hobos were agents as well as victims: disadvantaged by their status as casual labor, yet choosing the "romance of the road" over the restrictions of domestic life.

Hobohemia enjoyed its heyday in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and began to decline after World War I. This was not the result of efforts to reduce homelessness by providing cheap temporary housing, which DePastino suggests only perpetuated and legitimated the transient life. More effective were "the civilizing forces of the machine, the home and the settled community," which by the 1920s had "tamed the wage-workers' frontier" of the West (p. 176). Federal policies implemented during and after the New Deal had the effect of "resettling the hobo army" (p. 169) by providing affordable suburban housing for the (white) masses. When homelessness reemerged as a major problem in the 1980s, it had become a largely female and nonwhite phenomenon. By taking this important story up to the present day, DePastino offers a historical perspective on a vexing contemporary problem and a book that will be of interest to labor historians as well as social workers and policy makers.

EVELYN SAVIDGE STERNE
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JAY HATHEWAY. *The Gilded Age Construction of Modern American Homophobia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. 232. \$45.00.

Historians of sexuality have paid close attention to the scientific "discovery" in the late nineteenth century of homosexuality as a new paradigm for understanding same-sex attraction. Scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have meanwhile uncovered a gradual shift during the early modern period toward the assumption that sexual acts expressed a persistent and specific sexual character, presaging that later paradigmatic revolution. A growing number of historians are also exploring the ways in which negative responses to same-sex attraction during both periods reflected the dominant values and fears of the societies in which they appeared. Jay Hatheway's study of the broad cultural context that shaped the American medical community's reactions during the Gilded Age to new scientific theories about homosexuality is a helpful contribution to an emerging history of homophobia.

The crux of Hatheway's argument is that the medical community's "discovery" of homosexuality coincided with a period of profound anxiety in the United States about the emergence of a modern, urban, industrial so-

ciety. American responses to this medical "discovery" were conditioned by fears that modernity and its psychological impact posed a threat to the moral integrity and unique destiny of the United States. Same-sex attraction, seen as a symptom of nervous exhaustion brought on by the stresses of modern life, exemplified the perversion of sexual instincts that in their more "normal" and "healthy" manifestations promoted order and stability through the institution of marriage and reproduction. Whereas some medical writers in Europe advocated "a 'positive' identity" for homosexuals (p. 163), none of their American counterparts followed that lead. Discussion of how to cure, contain, or even eliminate the homosexual took place in the context of a debate over how to save America's soul. "The disease of homosexuality thus became a bit player in the larger drama of national regeneration and renewal" (p. 7).

Hatheway captures effectively the complexity and variety of late nineteenth-century theories about homosexuality. He shows how the particular preoccupations of the medical community in the United States (including its quest for professional respectability and a sense of purpose linking it to national interests) shaped the ways in which debates over homosexuality were received and then evolved within the United States. Unfortunately, the reconstruction of medical debates sometimes diverts attention from the supposedly central theme of homophobia. A more determined focus on the latter would have made this a more effective book.

The author argues, along with most historians of sexuality, that during the nineteenth century "scientific theories" supplanted "older theological positions" on same-sex attraction (p. 2). Hatheway's rather cursory discussion of earlier religious paradigms misses an opportunity to highlight by contrast what was distinct and significant about new models in terms of their impact on hostility toward same-sex attraction. Early American theologians explained illicit sexual drives in terms of a universal depravity that was not specifically sexual and that afflicted everyone. In sharp contrast, late nineteenth-century scientific theories saw homosexuals as a cadre of diseased individuals, "biological freaks of nature" quite distinct from the rest of the population (p. 194). This crucial change surely had (and continues to have) profound implications.

Hatheway acknowledges that "Christianity still set the tone for all public and private assumptions regarding morality," yet he pays little attention to what religious spokesmen were saying (p. 2). By the late nineteenth century, American Christianity had undergone profound transformations, and it would be fascinating to see how these changes effected religious responses to the new category of homosexual. It is difficult to see how a discussion of modern homophobia could be complete without examining the ways in which scientific and religious discourses related to each other.

Historicizing homophobia is just as crucial as historicizing homosexuality itself. Hatheway's book is a welcome step in that direction. His thoughtful and com-

PELLING study of the ways in which medical reactions to new theories of homosexuality were conditioned by broader cultural debates and anxieties should prompt historians to explore other aspects of the history of homophobia in the United States.

RICHARD GODBEER
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MARK WAHLGREN SUMMERS. *Party Games: Getting, Keeping, and Using Power in Gilded Age Politics*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 352. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

For those appalled by the workings of the American electoral process in recent years, Mark Wahlgren Summers offers a tough-love response: what did you expect? With acerbic wit and an incomparable grasp of period detail, Summers paints a picture of U.S. democracy, late-nineteenth-century style, that would hardly pass muster in Iraq or Mexico today. As he pithily notes, "The system was not run *for* the people, and not, in the largest sense, *by* them, even when they voted in record numbers. It was a system of the politicians, created by the politicians and for the politicians, and generally speaking for the politicians in the two main parties" (p. 17). That Summers lays the root of Gilded Age "misrepresentation" at the doorstep of a winner-take-all electoral system and consequently fierce two-party partisanship, moreover, implicitly offers a continuing indictment of the system that prevails today.

Although regularly feeding at the trough of big business, Summers's Gilded Age politicians were not the weak supplicants of the period's economic titans that historians like Richard Hofstadter made them out to be. Rather, party leaders themselves exercised a considerable degree of both artifice and autonomy in securing or safeguarding political power. Summers offers a particularly compelling portrait of party control over the nitty gritty of electioneering: bankrolling party newspapers, mobilizing campaign clubs, printing and distributing ballots, buying votes (including the bloc of "resurrectionists" [p. 111] who regularly came back from the dead on election day), generally spreading fear of one's opponent, and (especially but not only) in the South resorting to mob violence to influence electoral turnout and outcomes. At the national level, to be sure, Democrats manipulated the system by disfranchising black voters; but Republicans made up for such chicanery by prematurely admitting (and thus gaining Congressional representation from) states like Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming. Against the resources of the dominant parties, the third parties who regularly dogged them—and regularly siphoned off sizeable protest votes during off-year elections—had, according to Summers, no chance to prevail. As he would conclude about the Greenback Party of the 1880s, "Absolute power may indeed corrupt. But the absolute *lack* of power corrodes" (p. 207). In this reckoning, party leaders, ultimately beholden to an electoral majority and nothing more, might even trump robber barons: the

railroads, as Summers convincingly documents, ultimately looked to legislatures more than the courts for protection.

If extraparty rivals were doomed to failure, Summers is hardly more sanguine about the changes effected by contemporary Mugwump critics of the party culture itself. For decades, civil service reforms inaugurated by the Pendleton Act of 1883 only added a written test on top of a partisan one for public office. The secret, or Australian, ballot that arrived between 1888 and 1892 did not so much disrupt the parties as serve as a "literacy test for the unlettered" (p. 243). And "anti-corruption" registration laws, in addition to generally disfranchising the mobile poor, handed state registrars numerous new ways to apply their own, or their party's, prejudice in the rejection of would-be voters.

For all their effectiveness, the book's organization and style do produce a few frustrations. Thematic emphasis on the structure of politics necessarily relegates the actors and events themselves to cameo roles. Summers offers tantalizing glimpses of a gatling gun campaign for the governorship in Maine in 1878, the cruel choices facing Iowa's insurgent James B. Weaver in the 1880s, and the remarkable legislative reforms engineered under New York Governor David Bennett Hill in 1886, but the context for these, and many similarly fascinating narrative tangents, is (necessarily) thin. Similarly, when Summers occasionally departs from his preferred perch as wry, sardonic observer to draw lessons for posterity, his good sense tantalizes without refreshing his readers. A proportional representation system, he counsels, might have substantially reduced electoral corruption. And, given the system as it was (and remains), insurgent groups, he suggests, are obliged to try to take over one of the dominant parties, rather than challenge them outright. How embattled Populists, split between Democratic cotton growers and Republican wheat growers, could have functionally internalized such wisdom is unclear. More generally, Summers offers no way out of the party-defined limits on American democracy. Nor does his party-centered gaze capture less official political organizing, whether African American "infra-politics" or a burgeoning women's public sphere growing up, in part, out of Mugwump reforms. Yet, when the most the critic demands is "more," the author can allow himself a contented smile.

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ERIC RAUCHWAY. *Murdering McKinley: The Making of Theodore Roosevelt's America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2003. Pp. xiv, 250. \$25.00.

This is a thin, well-written book on the bigger story behind one president's assassination and his successor's rise. The death of William McKinley, as Eric Rauchway puts it, has long been described as "a terrible but effective way of clearing the decks" for "political mod-

ernization" (p. xi). Thus, the dour McKinley gave way to the racy, globe-straddling Theodore Roosevelt, the smoke-filled rooms of Gilded Age politics gave way to the public moralism of the Progressive era, and nothing would ever be the same again. This book tells the story of McKinley's "two killers" (p. xii), the first Leon Czolgosz, who pulled the trigger, and the second Roosevelt, who buried his predecessor's legacy beneath a pile of aggressive social policies.

The union of these men's lives makes for an interesting narrative, bringing kaleidoscopic attention to the life of a literal nobody—he gave the false name "Niemann" to the police after the firing his weapon—alongside those of two presidents, one of them stodgy and bland, the other a public superman with abundant political conviction. Throughout, Rauchway brings economic and labor history into dialogue with the narrative of the assassination and the subsequent trial, raising a series of wonderful questions about politics (how was Roosevelt different?), social responsibility (who was to blame for Czolgosz's madness?), the economy (where did this mess come from?), poverty and ethnic discrimination (what was it like to be poor or an immigrant or black?), and reform (what do we do about all of this?). There was, Rauchway also concludes, no consensus on the meaning of the madness of Czolgosz. Was he insane? If not, what did that say about the United States, and about the assassination? If he was, what should be done about it?

To make sense of all of this, Rauchway provides a social history of nineteenth-century America intertwined with biographical narratives of the three principal characters and a history of the awkward relationship between a legal system grappling with insane acts and a psychiatric profession worrying over insane people. Czolgosz was not, Rauchway deduces, so much a hardcore anarchist as a representative of Cleveland's hard-working, poor immigrant class, saddled with dangerous labor and having little chance to rise up the American social ladder. He was inspired by Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), and by the dream of a better, more humane world, governed by a social-democratic form of community rather than rapacious capitalism. When that dream failed to materialize and when the social ladder proved to be nothing but an illusion, he turned to anarchism and, ultimately, to assassination. At his best, Rauchway follows the alienist Lloyd Vernon Briggs, who traveled across the upper Northeast seeking to understand Czolgosz's sensational crime. In doing so, Rauchway makes a kind of far-flung sense of the assassination, revealing it to be no less awful and far more rational than has previously been supposed. The sections on Czolgosz, his life, his social world, and his mind are breathtakingly fast-paced and read, as the glowing blurbs on the back of the book put it, as if they were part of a novel-thriller. They hold the bulk of the original research here.

Rauchway juxtaposes the world of Czolgosz with an examination of Roosevelt's ability to spin the assassination to suit multiple agendas, a reflection of TR's

somewhat less famous political cunning. It is unclear how much of this treatment of Roosevelt is truly new. I am not aware of anyone who has argued the contrary position—that Roosevelt was a political animal driven by unfettered instinct, lacking political savvy—or who could disagree with Rauchway's plain statement that "Roosevelt acutely understood that stories were a means to political ends" (p. xiii). Rauchway vaguely gestures, in that same early paragraph, toward "biographers and historians who describe Roosevelt as a boyish, romantic, immature, or impulsive" (p. xiii), but the footnote at the bottom of the paragraph cannot direct us to these people or their histories. At times, Rauchway seems to be writing against Roosevelt's contemporary critics rather than present-day historical work. Few, I will admit, have directed as much sustained attention to Roosevelt's repeated public use of the assassination, and fewer still have narrated this event as accessibly as has Rauchway.

That accessibility is, I believe, a principle goal of the author. Written by a professional historian, this book seems aimed at the elusive "larger market" and is therefore poised to capture a college-age audience hungry for history with present-day significance. The book is well written and integrated, shifting easily from greater to lesser levels of magnification, from new research to the nameless summary of someone else's work. The story of Czolgosz is fascinating, and the consideration of Roosevelt and his exploitation of a social crisis for political advantage will seem familiar and relevant. But this is not, first and foremost, a book written for other historians, a charge that bears less and less weight outside of the pages of this journal and its peers. Historians will rightfully complain that Rauchway (or his editors) have needlessly tucked all of the historiographical debate away in a short "Notes on Controversies" section at the end of the book, or point to the denuded footnotes and the overuse of boilerplate at the expense of careful hair-splitting. These things matter to us and for good reason. But everyone else will just love this book.

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JOHN HENRY HEPP IV. *The Middle-Class City: Transforming Space and Time in Philadelphia, 1876–1926*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 278. \$36.50.

John Henry Hepp IV uses Philadelphia to examine the transformation of urban space and middle-class culture at the turn of the twentieth century. The rituals and rhythms of everyday life, the author asserts, reflect the common assumptions that comprise culture. The study focuses on the quotidian interaction of the middle class with three institutions—department stores, newspapers, and urban transit—to examine how the bourgeoisie molded the social and physical space of the city. All three urban institutions developed to attract a middle-class clientele and simultaneously grew to encompass

its values. Middle-class men and women, Hepp argues, used contemporary science to shape and order these sites of "consumption, communication, and movement" (p. 8). Science, technology, rationality, and taxonomy fueled urban transformations and the shape they assumed.

Hepp's study underscores the enduring legacy of Robert H. Wiebe's classic *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (1967). Wiebe revealed a postbellum society struggling with the traumatic dislocation brought about by industrialization, geographic mobility, and urbanization. A new, increasingly cohesive professional corps emerged to combat the frightening disarray. Middle-class professionals instituted administrative and bureaucratic reforms—such as those associated with the Progressive movement—that successfully "rationalized" diverse elements of American society by the second decade of the twentieth century. Hepp identifies a comparable quest for rationality. It is one based not on fear but rather on bourgeois "faith in progress and the future" (p. 209). The search for order was no negative reaction to industrialization and urbanization; it was an assertive, positive effort to apply rational and scientific faiths to cultural and subsequently political realms. Hepp's middle class sought a "logical and rational and well-cataloged" (p. 2) city inspired by the application of science. And it initially succeeded. At the turn of the century, however, efforts to sell more transit, clothes, and newspapers to working-class Philadelphians meant that middle-class urbanites had to struggle to retain control over space and institutions. The Progressive movement, therefore, was a struggle to retain an order that was already in place.

Hepp gives life to Philadelphia's middle class by allowing members to speak through diaries, letters, and memoirs. Law students who rode the streetcars and trolleys, young women who shopped at Strawbridge and Clothier's department store, and businessmen who subscribed to metropolitan newspapers reveal ways the bourgeoisie moved through, claimed, and remade the urban physical and cultural landscape. Hepp uses photographs, business records, and maps to complement personal experiences and to demonstrate the increased size and categorization of urban institutions. In his case study of the department store, for example, Hepp chronicles its transformation from the mid-nineteenth-century dry goods store to the turn-of-the-century consumer palace. Retailers organized interiors to allow bourgeois consumers to shop their way through the stores. They introduced low prices, returns, ancillary services, restaurants, ladies' lounges, and seasonal sales to draw middle-class shoppers into their establishments. Success led retailers to add more services and departments, demonstrating a continued commitment to rational classification by separating shoes from suits and, subsequently, men's shoes from women's shoes. By 1920, all major Philadelphia retailers had also classified merchandise by class, adding bargain basements to attract working-class consumers. "Adding class (or gender or any other category) to the existing spatial divi-

sions also made the taxonomy more precise and hence more scientific" (p. 162). As a result, however, middle-class women and men lost dominance over this defining commercial institution. Train stations and transit, newspapers, and, finally, urban residential space underwent similar transformations.

While Hepp succeeds in situating real middle-class men and women within major urban transformations, the contours of change in these commercial and cultural enterprises are familiar. Readers can turn to Hepp's case studies for the specific Philadelphia stories. Hepp's main argument, however, succeeds less well. Did Philadelphia's middle-class men and women actually invoke science (a category inadequately analyzed by Hepp) or express taxonomic urges as they went about ordering their environment? The links between cause and effect remain elusive.

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JIM PHILLIPS and ROSEMARY GARTNER. *Murdering Holiness: The Trials of Franz Creffield and George Mitchell*. (Law and Society.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2003. Pp. x, 347. \$29.95.

Jim Phillips and Rosemary Gartner locate their book in the case-study approach to social history, a technique that uses well-documented events to shed light on peoples and processes that are ordinarily obscured. Their judicious, thoughtful, and very well-researched examination of a sensational holiness sect illuminates the history of religion, deviance, gender, law, journalism, and more.

Franz Creffield left the Salvation Army to form his own sect in Corvallis, Oregon, in 1903. The movement became increasingly extreme, and townspeople charged members, including daughters of respectable families, with burning possessions and animals and engaging in sexual immorality. Creffield and his leading assistant were tarred and feathered, and Creffield spent most of 1904 in the state penitentiary for committing adultery.

Creffield emerged from prison "transformed from a prophet to the Messiah himself" and soon reinvigorated his movement (p. 95). But at least three men were determined to kill him, and George Mitchell, the brother of two of his followers, soon shot him dead on the streets of Seattle (p. 95). Mitchell was acquitted by a jury that upheld a widely accepted "unwritten law" giving men the right to kill men who had seduced their wives, daughters, or sisters. But the acquitted killer was in turn gunned down by his sister Esther, the very woman whose honor he had defended.

True to their microhistorical method, the authors pair their meticulous research of these extraordinary events with the work of diverse scholars to explore fruitfully several themes, including the holiness movement, vigilantism, and asylums. The ease with which authorities were able to commit to institutions the movement's

female members, for example, illustrates how community leaders used asylums to enforce social conformity. But the book's strongest section employs newspapers and court documents to detail how Seattle leaders and opinion makers used Creffield's murder for their own political purposes as they struggled to balance support of the old-fashioned "unwritten law" with fears of lawlessness.

The second homicide, Esther Mitchell's killing of her brother, raised a much thornier set of problems—and little promise. The authors point out that commentary on the first trial had been overwhelmingly male. But now a woman had violently injected herself into the narrative by killing her purported protector, and she defended her decision with the same set of justifications that her brother had used. Her victim had destroyed the life of an innocent person (by killing Creffield) and "ruined my reputation" (by publicly claiming "that Creffield had seduced me") (p. 198). She had to take the law into her own hands when the law failed to produce a just result. Seattle's elite did not have the stomach for another high-profile murder trial, particularly one that raised such disturbing questions at a time when jury members seemed to be making law rather than applying it. Esther Mitchell and Creffield's widow, who had conspired in the second murder, did not stand trial. A panel of medical experts judged them insane and shipped them back to Oregon.

Phillips and Gartner also use a gendered analysis to examine why the sect attracted more women than men and alarmed so many respectable men. But some of the book's broader examinations could be more sustained and ambitious. The forest is at times lost among the trees. The authors are very concerned with assessing the evidence of exactly how much and what sort of sexual immorality transpired within the sect. Their conclusion, as always, is measured, reasonable, and cautious. This reviewer wished for more attention to the "so what" aspects of the subject: what did sex represent to the group's participants, and why was the larger community so obsessed with it? Likewise, the authors' explanations of why women from middle-class, respectable families joined Creffield's movement seem too circumscribed and circumspect. This is arguably the central question raised by the Creffield sect: why would women in comfortable circumstances, in a place and time not much given over to religious enthusiasm, become so devoted to this man? The authors promise to provide deeper insights into the religious and social lives of ordinary people, but it is not clear to what extent sect members were quirky exceptions or representative community members expressing, albeit in peculiar ways, obscure but widely shared social and cultural characteristics.

But these are exceedingly difficult questions to get at. This book does not fully elucidate Creffield's charms, but it is a well-written, meticulous, and thoughtful work that enriches the scholarship of several fields.

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JAMES M. O'TOOLE, editor. *Habits of Devotion: Catholic Religious Practice in Twentieth-Century America*. (Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. 289. \$39.95.

Inspired by religious historians' turn toward the study of practice and sustained by the collaborations of Notre Dame's Twentieth-Century America Project, the authors of the four essays collected in this useful volume set out to analyze American Catholics' "deeply ingrained habits of devotion" during the twentieth century, especially between 1925 and 1975 (p. 1). By focusing on this period, the authors self-consciously assess the significance of Vatican II (1962–1965) for U.S. Catholics. They aim to "see how the world of Catholic belief and practice both changed and remained the same after that important gathering had adjourned" (p. 4). Yet the central task of the book is to trace the shifts in the "key elements" of the "week-to-week religion" of Catholics in twentieth-century America: prayer, Marian devotion, confession, and the Eucharist (p. 4).

The initial chapter, Joseph P. Chinnici's "The Catholic Community at Prayer, 1926–1976," is the longest and most inclusive. Chinnici divides his impressive chapter into three sections. The first chronicles the "explosive changes in the pattern of Catholic prayer in the 1960s" (p. 10). The second section—perhaps the most important for revising the usual historical narratives—traces the "continuities" in the decades before the Second Vatican Council, just as the final section identifies the "discontinuities" that emerged in middle of the 1960s. In the conclusion of this detailed essay, which spans seventy-eight pages and includes 309 endnotes, the author ponders the "rupture" of the 1960s and analyzes the reception of "transformational reform" (pp. 82–87). Chinnici argues that "the initial liturgical adaptations were generally accepted within the community" (p. 82) because the earlier religious practice had "encoded a social world that no longer existed" (p. 83). So Americans received the Second Vatican Council in this context of social and religious change, and "its decrees provided both the grammar and the words for the creation of a new public language that made experiential sense" (p. 85).

Paula Kane, who chronicles Marian devotion between 1940 and 1985, also assesses the impact of Vatican II. She agrees with Chinnici's claims about continuity and suggests that the Council bolstered "a process already underway" (p. 116). Kane argues that devotion to the Virgin Mary flourished among ethnic communities during the interwar years and the Cold War era, when "militant anticommunism" influenced the practices of laity and clergy (p. 90). After a decline during the 1960s, there was a devotional "resurgence" in the 1980s that "centered on apparitions, apocalyptic warnings, and pilgrimages" (p. 90). Kane interweaves this historical narrative with a provocative analysis of those changes in the "religious economy of devotions" that is indebted to the rational choice theory of sociologists

Rodney Stark and Roger Finke (p. 114). Kane applies that theory to help explain the rise and fall of Marian devotionism, including "the failure of progressive Mariology." That failure "illustrates" the axiom that "when religions liberalize their rules, they decline and cede influence to rival religions or to new cults that place stricter demands on members" (p. 124).

James M. O'Toole, who also edited and introduces the volume, is less inclined toward sociological explanations in his account of the history of confession between 1900 and 1975, but he agrees with Kane about the significance of Vatican II. It was one of the forces—along with the rise of feminism, the impact of psychology, the rethinking of sin, and the change in eucharistic practice—that led to the "collapse of confession" between 1965 and 1975 (p. 168). In this carefully organized and judiciously argued essay, O'Toole draws on a range of archival and published sources to argue that confession had been "central" to U.S. Catholic practice from the late eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. As with Marian devotion, during that time the sacrament had served "as an important marker of denominational identity: it was something that Catholics did but Protestants and others did not" (p. 185). Yet that identity marker had all but disappeared by the 1960s.

The decline of confessional practice arose, in part, from changes in eucharistic practice, O'Toole proposes (p. 180), and that is the topic of the final essay in this volume by Margaret M. McGuinness. Emphasizing the ways that the liturgical and extraliturgical practices established "boundaries" between Catholics and Protestants, she analyzes the reception and adoration of the Eucharist between the twenty-eighth Eucharistic Congress in 1926 and the forty-first Eucharistic Congress in 1976. Over those years, eucharistic theology endured but practice changed. The campaign to encourage frequent communion "finally succeeded during the 1960s and 1970s" (p. 221), but adoration of the Eucharist declined and "eucharistic etiquette" began to change. Those changes signaled a shift from the consecrated host as Jesus's "real presence" to communion as a spiritual meal (p. 223), and the origins of that shift in attitude and practice, McGuinness argues, "can be found much earlier" than Vatican II (p. 191).

Taken together, these essays make an important contribution to the conversations about the influence of Vatican II and the relation between Catholics and Protestants. The authors suggest that Vatican II was more or less decisive, depending on the issue at hand, and they show that ritual practice fortified religious boundaries, giving Catholics a shared sense of identity. Perhaps most important for readers of this journal, the essays situate this religious history in the American cultural context. And what is true of most collections is not true of this one: there is no weak chapter, even if some historians might be uneasy with Kane's use of sociological theory (I was not) and some readers might want the volume to include a wider range of practices (I did not). Historians should feel free to use any help-

ful theoretical tool as they try to explain change over time, and the choice to narrow the volume's focus to just four practices works well. The book gains in depth what it loses in breadth—and it is more than broad enough. In fact, this wide-ranging study of ritual practice is an indispensable resource for interpreters of U.S. Catholic history and twentieth-century America.

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SAMANTHA BASKIND. *Raphael Soyer and the Search for Modern Jewish Art*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. x, 260. \$39.95.

Among its many treasures, the Jewish Museum in New York boasts a 1926 oil painting entitled "Dancing Lesson" in which a young couple gingerly essays the latest dance steps as various family members, arrayed on the living room couch, look on with a mix of bafflement, consternation, and utter indifference. "Dancing Lesson" also takes pride of place in Samantha Baskind's book, the most recent in a very long series of attempts, some of them dating back a hundred years or so, to get at the thorny and all-too-elusive issue of what makes art Jewish. Is it subject matter? The ethnicity or religion of the artist? The neighborhood in which the artist grew up? Or is it, perhaps, a matter of sensibility, the more rueful the tone, the better?

Training her sights on Raphael Soyer, the painter of "Dancing Lesson" and of hundreds of other works that can be found in prestigious museum collections across the United States and Europe, Baskind claims this painting—and with it, a goodly portion of Soyer's numerous canvases, prints, lithographs, and watercolors—as vivid illustrations of an art in which "Jewish qualities are encoded" (p. 2). As for the artist himself, he, too, is said to have "encoded, coped, modified, adapted, retained, eschewed and embraced different aspects of his ethnicity and his Otherness in the Diaspora" (p. 199).

Soyer, a Russian-born painter who immigrated to the United States along with his family in 1912 and trained at both the National Academy of Design and the Art Students League, would have none of this. In both interviews and in a series of published autobiographies, he hotly repudiated the idea that he was a Jewish artist, the "Isaac Bashevis Singer of painting" (p. 1). Throughout his lengthy career, which spanned nearly seventy years, he took great pains to identify himself as a "nonparochial painter," a devotee of realism. Even so, Baskind insists on defining him as a parochial painter through and through, eager, as she puts it, to "tease out the influence of Jewishness in [his] work" (p. 7). Sounding the same note repeatedly, almost as if she is stuck in a groove, the author, assisted by contemporaneous reviews, reads Soyer's paintings as visual manifestos—or, at the very least, as visual manifestations—of his Jewish background. By her lights, "Dancing Lesson," to take but one example, is less about form, shape, color,

and composition than it is an "important comment on Soyer's Jewish experience, and the experience of many Jewish American immigrants" (p. 62). In this instance, as in so many others throughout the book, art is approached as if it were a sociological document rather than a matter of aesthetics.

Baskind's determination to categorize Soyer as an emblematic Jewish artist and, along the way, to interpret him as an object lesson, a case study in how to define Jewish art, does not so much enrich the discussion as delimit it. Having characterized Soyer, his own self-imaginings to the contrary, as a Jewish artist, then what? What does that assessment add to the literature? Where does it take us? How does it affect our appreciation of his way with paint or his use of color? Apart from suggesting, here and there, that Soyer's Jewishness negatively affected his reputation, precluding the artist from receiving his full due (but why?), Baskind does not elaborate much on these issues. Instead, her account is fueled uncritically by the notion that resolving the question of Soyer's fidelity to Judaism or his ethnic background is key both to unlocking and savoring his art.

In the end, Baskind's handsomely produced and clearly written work, the first full-length biography of Raphael Soyer, would have been even better served had it made abundantly clear what was—and is—at stake in claiming him as a Jewish painter. Like so many critics before her, she assumes rather than accounts for the perceived importance of this exercise in identity politics. Taking the discourse about Jewishness or foreignness or otherness for granted instead of subjecting it to sustained and critical analysis, her account ultimately stops short of clarifying why it matters. In strenuous pursuit of her subject's Jewishness, she leaves larger questions unanswered—and the reader hungry for more. In her introduction, Baskind expresses the hope that her insights "might have liberated Soyer from the constraints of personality and the promotion of public image," and pleased him, too. Would that she were right.

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LINDA R. ROBERTSON. *The Dream of Civilized Warfare: World War I Flying Aces and the American Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 481. \$35.95.

By 1917, the war in the trenches was beginning to be viewed with increasing despair as machine-age weapons systematically slaughtered a whole generation of young men in the mud of the Flanders Plain. Only in the heroic duels in the skies above the squalor of the Western Front was there to be found any trace of honor or romance. Here, it was believed, noble young warriors fought their single combats according to the rules of chivalric engagement. In reality, of course, the war in the air was just as vicious and just as bloody as the war on the ground, but in the last years of the war, the image

of the air fighter, the heroic lone eagle, was seized upon by the propagandists as a last desperate attempt to ennoble a brutal war and preserve the mythos of the warrior hero in spite of a technology of mass destruction. Manfred von Richthofen, Albert Ball, Eddie Rickenbacker, and the other air fighter "aces" became public figures, powerful symbols that embodied the spirit of their nations. After the Armistice, these notions became embedded in the popular memory of the war, widely disseminated through memoirs, pulp fiction, and Hollywood movies, misleadingly suggesting that even in an industrial age, chivalric forms of warfare could survive, that fighting in the air was different—a better and more civilized way of waging war.

But equally misleading were the exaggerated claims made on behalf of the flying machine by the apostles of air warfare. Here, they claimed, is a weapon that will make armies and navies redundant, that will end wars by striking deep at the industrial heart of the enemy and destroy their means to wage war: a weapon so terrifyingly powerful that war itself may well become impossible. By 1917, when the United States became involved in the European war, it was already clear that modern war was a brutal business. Politicians and military thinkers, horrified at the casualties in France, were desperate to minimize the slaughter of young Americans. Beguiled by the seemingly heroic and noble characteristics of the air fighter and greatly overestimating the destructive potential of the airplane, they created a seductive vision of civilized warfare in which America could create a vast aerial armada and thus transform the nature of the war. Embedded in such a theory was the notion that the nation with the most powerful air force would inevitably have to assume the role of international peacekeeper, a theme that resurrected Rooseveltian notions of the United States as the world's policeman and that would underpin the future vision of strategic air power.

Linda R. Robertson's book is an attempt to examine these ideas about air warfare and explore their consequences: to tell the "story of how war-as-imagined gave birth to the dream that America could design, build, and fly the largest aerial armada in the world and use it to become the arbiter of war and peace" (p. ix). Although Robertson has certainly unearthed some fascinating material, there are several flaws in the study. For example, the author seems to suggest that it was only after 1914 that theorists began to "imagine" war in the air, whereas of course it has long been established that America's romance with aviation began well before 1914, and that the theoretical basis of the air weapon had already been formulated in the last decade of peace—particularly in the works of H. G. Wells, and in the pre-1914 essays of Giulio Douhet. Yet there is no reference at all to this material. It is also surprising that while the author claims American theories were shaped by British and German propaganda, a number of important sources seem to have been ignored, particularly the material created by the British propaganda bureau at Wellington House and specifically targeted at Amer-

ican readers: pamphlets like R. Wherry Anderson's *The Romance of Air Fighting* (1917) or Wells's newspaper articles of June 1915 calling for mass bombing attacks on German cities.

Robertson's most interesting contributions to our understanding of the subject are her detailed research into how the vast air program was envisioned and her examination of how the mythology of the European ace was translated into an American idiom, where the pilot became an icon of national values and character. Although most nations exploited the image of the air fighter as a symbol of the spirit of the nation, the notion of rugged individualism, the lone gun, clearly had special appeal for the American imagination. There is much of interest here, particularly for students concerned with the birth of the air service and with the significance of the representations and cultural history of the first war in the air, but the book is ultimately a little disappointing, adding only marginally to our understanding of the origins of American air power.

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LEE M. A. SIMPSON. *Selling the City: Gender, Class, and the California Growth Machine, 1880–1940*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 215. \$49.50.

This book challenges established paradigms in urban history, women's history, and western American history. Lee M. A. Simpson argues persuasively, if not always conclusively, that women were important participants in California's "growth machine," a coalition of land-based business elites and local politicians working to increase property values through city development. Simpson's contributions are twofold. She shows that women played significant roles in the activities of the growth machine and that the work of that machine, "instead of harming the majority of the population . . . made possible a wide range of economic policies designed to enhance quality of life as well as overall wealth" (p. 2).

Simpson begins by looking at women as property owners and business people in developing urban centers. From what Simpson calls an "apprenticeship" in property owning and managing, middle-class women moved increasingly into public affairs, blurring lines separating private from public spheres. They adopted a capitalistic frame of mind aimed at protecting property and increasing returns from their investments. Women's clubs, Simpson shows, were especially important in providing "a forum in which women could create a coalition designed to enhance the overall wealth of the city" (p. 40). Women also became involved in the work of chambers of commerce, either as members on their own or as members of women's auxiliaries. Simpson concludes that this engagement "suggests that in California men and women shared a vision of city growth that was designed to enhance business, social, recreational and spiritual opportunities" (p. 79). Club and chamber work in turn led women into urban politics and

into deep involvement in various forms of urban planning, ranging from beautification projects to more comprehensive planning work and to nascent zoning efforts. Simpson presents convincing portraits of the important, often leading, roles women took in several cities, most notably Santa Barbara, in concerted efforts to stimulate urban growth. In the most original chapters of her study, Simpson offers a reappraisal of gender roles in planning. For California women, much more than urban housekeeping was at stake in improving their cities. Economic growth in a time of fierce intercity rivalry was the name of the game.

Thoroughly researched, this book will be of considerable interest to a broad range of scholars. Urban historians will learn of important contributions women made to city development; women's historians will learn more about the blurring of public and private spheres and significant roles women played in politics; business and economic historians will learn about the roles women played in the formulation and implementation of public policies; and historians of the American West will learn of additional ways by which women spurred regional economic growth. As a pioneering work, however, it is sometimes more suggestive than definitive and raises questions about women in the West. Simpson looks at second-tier and third-tier cities, mainly Oakland in northern California and Redland, Santa Barbara, and Riverside in southern California. How typical were these cities in their patterns of growth and in the roles women played in them? What was the case in first-tier cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, which lay at the heart of California's growth machine? In 1904, no women were among the twenty-six founders of the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco, the organization that spearheaded urban planning in the Bay Area metropolis during the Progressive era. Were middle-class women unified in supporting city planning measures? Middle-class men were not. Simpson provides glimpses of the opposition of some women to planning in Santa Barbara, but more on this topic is needed. Finally, how many women actually owned properties or businesses? Simpson writes that there were many. She is probably correct, as national studies by such historians as Angel Kwolek-Folland and Wendy Gamber suggest. More than anecdotal evidence about California women as property owners is called for, however. All in all, this book is valuable both for its substantial accomplishments and for the questions it raises.

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MARK FANNIN. *Labor's Promised Land: Radical Visions of Gender, Race, and Religion in the South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 355. \$40.00.

In this study of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers (BTW) and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU), Mark Fannin argues that the two organiza-

tions challenged the "traditional" southern ideas about race relations and social power. According to Fannin southerners' ideas about race and class supported the interests of elites. That "common" southerners, such as the men and women targeted by the STFU and the BTW, embraced those ideas revealed how effective the hegemonic discourse of the powerful had been. By keeping whites and blacks divided, employers and others who had traditionally wielded power in the region could continue to dominate the social order. The leaders of the two unions understood that whites and blacks would have to unite to achieve their goals as they struggled to overcome the manipulations of employers.

Fannin provides a detailed examination of the conditions in which the BTW and the STFU emerged. After the Civil War the timber industry became one of the largest in the South. Because many of the workers in the timber industry and on plantations functioned like independent contractors and were dispersed, they were very difficult to organize. More daunting, according to the author, was the racial tension that divided tenant farmers and timber workers. As Fannin carefully explains, among white workers there existed little support for interracial organizing when leaders of the unions began their work. Leaders attempted to bridge the divide in various ways. The BTW organized blacks in separate unions at times and at times attempted a more egalitarian form of organization. The STFU organized blacks separately from whites. Fannin closely analyzes the strategies of the two unions, arguing convincingly that both attempted to convince potential recruits that they defended southern traditions even as they appeared to be challenging racial conventions. As Fannin demonstrates, this was a difficult line to walk, given the determined efforts by employers to foster racial strife, and the contradictions inherent in the strategy frequently caused internal strife.

The two unions also challenged gender conventions according to Fannin. In both cases, women supported their husbands. But, as Fannin explains, wives went further than this more typical role and became active in organizational campaigns and in strikes. Here again union activists turned the southern commitment to the defense of "southern womanhood" against employers. Often women described the suffering they and their children suffered because of employer policies.

Fannin has thoroughly mined the well-worked documents available for these two unions and offers creative interpretations of the organizations' respective contributions to southern labor history. But, like most labor historians, his heavy reliance on the documents produced by the labor movement reinforces a bias in favor of labor. Thus Fannin never seriously interrogates assertions of a divide and conquer strategy deployed by capital or the labor argument that racial tension was the creation of capital. He does not consider the possibility that a majority of blacks had good reason to mistrust unions and may have considered a free market for labor preferable to union control of the labor market that had always benefited whites. (Here Fannin might have ben-

efited from the work of Paul D. Moreno on race and labor markets.) Another problem, particularly in the case of the timber workers, is that practices the author attributes to "southern" paternalism were also used by employers outside the South. It appeared to this reader that the BTW was as likely to make gains with appeals that emphasized the alien nature of the organizations as with the more radical class appeals of the Wobblies. Fannin, to be sure, acknowledges that communities in the South often did resent the activities of these new "northern" invaders, but he really does not develop this line of interpretation fully. Had he done so, he might have moved beyond the confining class analysis he deploys. Nonetheless, this is the most detailed and innovative study of these two organizations to date.

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ALONZO L. HAMBY. *For the Survival of Democracy: Franklin Roosevelt and the World Crisis of the 1930s*. New York: Free Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 492. \$45.00.

In this ambitious work, Alonzo L. Hamby provides a comparative history focused on Franklin D. Roosevelt and Adolf Hitler as charismatic leaders in a time of global crisis. Hamby's account will discomfort celebratory liberals and critical New Leftists, while showing conservatives why scholars perennially rank FDR among the top three U.S. presidents. Summarizing the First New Deal as "a humanitarian success, a political triumph, and an economic failure" (p. 147), Hamby revises how we look at FDR, the New Deal, and Democratic liberalism.

Answering the call for comparative history by John Garraty in "The New Deal, National Socialism, and the Great Depression" (*American Historical Review* 78 [October 1973]: 907–944) and *The Great Depression* (1986), Hamby asks why FDR's New Deal failed to bring economic recovery, while British Conservatives Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain and Nazi fuhrer Hitler achieved significant recovery by 1935. Historians remember FDR as a great liberal reformer, while we overlook or disdain the records of his conservative and fascist counterparts. Hamby places FDR and New Deal reform in international perspective, finding some striking similarities between FDR and Hitler, surprising comparisons of New Deal liberalism and British Tory socialism, and significant differences among the political cultures of the world's three leading national economies in the interwar years.

Using recognized secondary accounts and definitive biographies, Hamby provides a unique cross-national history. He includes finely etched mini-biographies not only of FDR, Baldwin, and Hitler but also Reconstruction Finance Corporation money man Jesse H. Jones, Reichsbank director and Nazi economics minister Hjalmar Schacht, and the competent British chancellor of the exchequer Chamberlain. As do most histories of New Deal reform, this one details the work of Brains Trusters Raymond Moley, Adolf Berle, and Rexford

Tugwell, National Recovery administrator Hugh Johnson, relief administrator Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and labor leaders John L. Lewis and Walter Reuther. Portraits of economic czar and Luftwaffe head Hermann Göring and propagandist Joseph Goebbels precede chilling accounts of Hitler's rise to power. Yet Hamby realizes Nazi job creation, productivity, and social revolution proved both real and popular.

Economist John Maynard Keynes indirectly dominates the policy scene, while Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin makes only minimal appearances until the last chapter. Hamby follows the well-worn path of intellectual history trod by most economists showing how Keynes tried—and failed—to give FDR advice to expand the money supply, increase federal spending, and fund relief and public works. At every turn, Hamby surprises and delights with wry insights that challenge cherished orthodoxies. After criticizing the United States, Britain, and Germany for taking the nationalist path of economic autarchy, Hamby puts international economic, diplomatic, and military events at center stage throughout the decade. He concludes that Britain's plodding, traditional response of budget cuts, unemployment relief, and monetary devaluation proved more successful economic policy than either the expansive, inefficient, and costly social vision of New Deal liberalism or the low-wage, armaments-based Nazi economic policies.

Hamby deploys a mature, considered view of New Deal reform crediting FDR's vibrant, optimistic leadership while presenting newsreel transcripts, fireside chat quotations, and magazine commentaries of the day to give a feel for the times and tie together his narrative. Specialists may quibble with Hamby over a lack of archival research, choice of factual details, and unorthodox interpretive judgments; however, readers will recognize a master scholar and gifted writer at the top of his craft. In suggesting it is well past time to place key individuals and events of the Depression in balanced historical perspective, Hamby chides historians who make after-the-fact moral and political choices preferring Democrats or Republicans, business managers or labor leaders, native-born Protestants or Catholic and Jewish immigrants, opponents of the New Deal or conservative proponents of the Tory welfare state. Hamby rightly makes no bones judging the barbaric values and abhorrent practices of Nazi leaders and compliant German citizens who sought clarity, stability, and forceful leadership. Most importantly, Hamby insists on a comparative view of the greatest economic crisis in world history to argue that despite his flaws, mistakes, and post-1936 hubris, FDR rightly deserves historical recognition as the world's defender of liberal democracy at a time when its survival could not be taken for granted.

PATRICK D. REAGAN

Tennessee Technological University

TETSUDEN KASHIMA. *Judgment without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II*. (The Scott and Laurie Oki Series in Asian American Studies.) Se-

attle: University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 316. \$35.00.

The literature on the United States' World War II internment of Japanese Americans has grown exponentially in recent years, particularly with increased comprehension of what occurred and efforts by some political figures to rectify the injustices through expressions of regret and monetary redress. Most of the literature has dealt with the reasons for the internments, the impact on the lives of the internees, their individual narratives, and case studies of internment facilities and events. In this book, however, Tetsuden Kashima sets out to make available information on the how rather than the who, what, and where. His primary objective is to show the procedures and processes used by the many government agencies to legitimate "incarceration" of Japanese Americans. He also demonstrates that plans for such internment were in place long before Pearl Harbor.

As the author indicates, plans for possible war with Japan were in existence in the 1920s. War plans had also been made for the event of war with other nations, including Canada, Britain, Germany, and New Zealand. Given the continual and rising concerns of army and navy military planners over Japan's actions in the Far East in the 1920s and 1930s, it is not surprising that war plans were under consideration by officials in Washington. Kashima shows that there were also proposals for what to do with the Japanese American contingent of the U.S. population in the event of war.

The author observes that ethnoracial bias was evident against both the Japanese and Japanese Americans. Historians have long understood that cultural and physical differences set Japanese Americans apart and prevented them from merging and blending with the rest of the population, as could Germans and Italians. So, although Germans and Italians also were subject to scrutiny and internment during the war, they did not experience racial bias as did the Japanese. Kashima's chapter on "Abuses, Protests and the Geneva Convention" demonstrates just how cruel and abusive the authorities were in their treatment of the Issei and Nisei held in their custody. It also substantiates the willingness of some authorities to use whatever means available to dispose of problems, both literally and figuratively, that arose from internments. Kashima's examination of the record is enlightening. The government's penchant for shuttling internees back and forth between camps and agencies, and manipulating rules, regulations, and even the Geneva Convention was, as Kashima shows, common practice.

The concluding chapter offers an even-handed summary of the points made in the book. The author makes apparent that the internment of Japanese Americans was more than "simply a tragic mistake," as stated by District Court Judge Donald S. Voorhees (p. 221). Referring to it as such diminishes the scope and suffering resulting from the actions that were taken against a "ra-

cially distinct" but innocent segment of the American population.

The author has provided copious notes to document his findings. Some of those notes add a unique perspective to the narrative on which they are expounding and would have been better served placed in the text itself. There are also several quotes that do not have dates attached to them either in the narrative or the notes. Some bias does creep into the author's narrative, but given his personal connection to these events (he and his family were internees) and the injustice of the internments, one understands the often passionate presentation of the topic.

Kashima's book will be of value to others who work in this and associated fields. Not only has he included materials from personal interviews with former internees, but most importantly he has done the legwork on how internees were processed and by which government organization. Future researchers will be able to use this book as a tool to point them in the right direction. It adds to our broader understanding of the events and their context by providing well-researched background information on internment patterns from beginning to end.

NONA COATES SMITH
Bryn Mawr College

STEVEN SCHWARTZBERG. *Democracy and U.S. Policy in Latin America during the Truman Years*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xvi, 311. \$55.00.

This book presents a reinterpretation of U.S. foreign policy in Latin America during the Truman administration. The commonly held view, articulated by scholars such as Peter H. Smith and John H. Coatsworth, argues that the U.S. quest for economic and geopolitical advantage was the primary force driving its international behavior and foreign policy. Steven Schwartzberg, however, argues for the "civility of Yankee Imperialism" and the importance of U.S. support for the common good of democracy over economic and anticommunist concerns.

Schwartzberg examines several Latin American countries to show this civility. The primary case studies include Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Venezuela during a period where these countries experienced transitions either to or from democratic systems. In all these cases, Schwartzberg makes the argument that intervention or lack thereof by accredited U.S. ambassadors was a driving factor in the success or failure of democratic elections or governance in these countries. Schwartzberg's arguments of ambassadorial predominance are most persuasive in the cases of Brazil and Argentina in the 1945–1946 period. In Brazil, the author credits the deft touch of ambassador Adolf Berle in encouraging Getúlio Vargas to continue with the 1945 elections despite pressures from supporters who sought continuation of his rule. In Argentina, Schwartzberg's unlikely hero is ambassador Spruille Braden, who openly supported Peronist opposition and

published his "Blue Book" of accusations of Juan Perón's collaboration with the Nazis in the weeks preceding the 1946 elections. Schwartzberg, however, excuses this open intervention as prodemocratic and credits Braden with laying the foundation for an aggressive democratizing push in Latin America.

An examination of Berle's and Braden's tenure provides some insights into the mechanics of U.S. foreign relations during the early years of the Cold War. Because Washington was preoccupied with events in Europe and Asia, lower-level officials and ambassadors had for a short period inordinate influence in shaping and dictating events in their countries. This serves to a degree to explain the unusual independence of Braden in Argentine politics in 1945–1946. However, their ability to mold perceptions began changing as the Cold War heated up in 1947 and U.S. policy makers focused increasing attention on the communist threat. This is precisely where Schwartzberg's attempt to extend his line of reasoning runs into problems. In Costa Rica, the author holds that Ambassador Nathaniel Davis exercised great civility by favoring neither antagonist in the 1948 Civil War between Teodoro Picado's government and the insurgents led by José Figueres (p. 184). Schwartzberg fails to address the more persuasive arguments of Kyle Longley's *The Sparrow and the Hawk: Costa Rica During the Rise of José Figueres* (1997), considered the definitive treatment of U.S.-Costa Rican relations during the period. Longley shows convincingly that Davis and other U.S. policy makers saw the Picado government as communist leaning and a threat to stability in the region. Longley argues that "at important junctures, Davis intimidated Picado with explicit and implicit threats . . . an action lauded by the State Department" (pp. 82–83). Davis's actions, rather than neutral, were pro-Figueres and dictated by his supervisors in Washington. Given the sensitivity of the United States to communism by 1948, Longley's arguments seem all the more persuasive.

In the case of Venezuela, Schwartzberg maintains that U.S. Ambassador Walter Donnelly overlooked the opportunity for a "mild intervention" in 1948 that might have helped forestall the military seizure of power and the downfall of Acción Democrática (AD). Unlike Berle and Braden, Donnelly is accused of failing to act to uphold democracy. Schwartzberg, however, seems to discount U.S. diplomatic and business alarm with AD's alliance with the Communist Party. It is therefore unlikely that Berle, Braden, or any U.S. ambassador would have acted to save AD when the chips were down.

Readers of this book will get the impression that Schwartzberg has an axe to grind with current scholars of U.S.-Latin American relations. He accuses them of an "easy cynicism" and seeking "the darker aspects of American policy." However, Schwartzberg fails to adequately address evidence contrary to his arguments in an effective way (especially in the case of Venezuela and Costa Rica) and leaves the impression that he ignores key scholarship that does not fit his thesis. While

the book is a contribution to the scholarship on the Truman era, it does not supplant several of the more well-rounded books on the subject.

ROBERT O. KIRKLAND

Claremont McKenna College

DAVID K. JOHNSON. *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 277. \$30.00.

David K. Johnson has written an important book, one that promises to reorient the historical scholarship on the Cold War. Other historians, most notably Robert Dean and Jennifer Terry, have provided detailed accounts of the anti-gay purges of the Cold War era, but they have done so as part of a larger story. What sets Johnson's account apart is that it places the purges center stage. As Johnson notes, historians usually treat the Cold War persecution of gays and lesbians as a byproduct of McCarthyism, if they treat it at all. But drawing on recently declassified government documents, as well as oral interviews with several of the men and women who were victims of the purges, Johnson shows that the Lavender Scare comprised a distinct episode of the Cold War, one in which Joseph McCarthy, a confirmed bachelor who was himself subject to homophobic taunts, had almost no role. As John D'Emilio pointed out long ago, more gays and lesbians were purged from the federal government than suspected communists and fellow travelers. Indeed, the typical victim of Cold War political repression was a gay man or lesbian who, when confronted by investigators, quietly resigned from his or her job rather than face public exposure.

One of the most interesting aspects of Johnson's meticulously researched account is its richly textured description of the gay and lesbian subcultures that thrived in the nation's capital before the Cold War. Building on the work of D'Emilio, George Chauncey, and Alan Berube, Johnson shows why young single men and women with same-sex desires migrated to the District of Columbia in such large numbers. In addition to providing freedom from the prying eyes of family, the city also provided these men and women with relatively secure white-collar jobs, thanks to the expansion of the federal bureaucracy under the New Deal; such jobs, obtained through neutral civil service examinations, were especially beneficial to women, as they enabled them to live independently of men.

Ironically, the very public-sector employment that fostered lesbian and gay social networks ultimately led to their undoing. Republican members of Congress had long resented the expansion of the welfare state, which they saw as a threat to traditional American values. In 1950, Deputy Undersecretary of State John Peurifoy provided Republicans with the ammunition they needed when, testifying before a congressional committee, he revealed that ninety-one State Department employees had been dismissed for homosexuality. Republican leaders discovered that the party's rank-and-file

cared more about the issue of homosexuality than the threat of communist subversion, and they began to deride the federal work force as a “femmocracy.” Shifting the focus from communists to homosexuals enabled Republican leaders to gain support for an expansion of the national security state at the expense of the welfare state. Importantly, Johnson does not end his story here but goes on to show how the purges led to the formation of what Michel Foucault would have called a reverse discourse. In the late 1950s gays and lesbians began to mobilize against Cold War homophobia and to affirm their loyalty and patriotism as Americans.

As Johnson rightly points out, one of the effects of the purges was to consolidate the emergence of sexual object choice as an overriding principle of social and sexual difference. The state solved the riddle of how to define homosexuality by identifying as homosexual anyone who had had a homosexual experience; in so doing, it contributed to the decline of an older system that depended on gender for classifying sexual actors. But it would be wrong to exaggerate this shift in the organization of sexuality. As Johnson’s evidence indicates, the state continued to depend on gender nonconformity as a signifier of homosexuality, which suggests that the older system did not disappear but continued to exist alongside the newer one. For a more satisfying account of how gender and sexuality intersected in Cold War politics, one must turn to Dean’s *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (2001), which locates the purges in an ongoing struggle between two sets of elites, one midwestern and rural, the other eastern and urban. Johnson’s book would have been even stronger if it had engaged Dean’s arguments. Because it does not, we are left wondering how an eastern establishment style of masculinity, embodied by such statesmen as Dean Acheson and Sumner Welles, came to be recoded in the Cold War era as a form of male femininity that threatened the nation’s security. It may be that cultural critics with a background in queer theory are better equipped to answer this question.

ROBERT J. CORBER
Trinity College

PAUL BUHLE and DAVE WAGNER. *Hide in Plain Sight: The Hollywood Blacklistees in Film and Television, 1950–2002*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 328. \$27.95.

This book is the last of Paul Buhle and Dave Wagner’s three-volume history of the Hollywood Left. *A Very Dangerous Citizen: Abraham Polonsky and the Hollywood Left* (2001) examined the career of Hollywood Ten screenwriter Abraham Polonsky. *Radical Hollywood: The Untold Story behind America’s Movies* (2002) traced Hollywood’s Left intellectuals from the early 1930s until the blacklisting purges of 1947 and 1952. The third volume picks up the story “after the blacklist, when survivors began to find footholds as individuals in the film industry in England, France, and Mexico and

the television industry in New York and, under vastly different circumstances, in Spain, Italy, covertly from time to time, even in the back lots of Hollywood itself” (p. xix). Buhle and Wagner argue that the blacklist was more porous and the continued influence of the Hollywood Left more extensive than previously thought. Although they describe the wide-ranging cinematic efforts of radicals, the authors’ most innovative contribution is their path-blazing account of how dozens of blacklisted or graylisted writers and directors found work in television and helped to shape the social conscience of the new medium during the 1950s, 1960s, and beyond. The TV Left succeeded in working Popular Front themes of democracy, anti-authoritarianism, and antifascism into their shows. By the end of the twentieth century, their “shadows continued to flicker in the press, the cultural journals, film revivals, even home videos—in short, everywhere that cinema [and television] continued to cast its influence” (p. 184).

This is a celebrationist account of the resilience and legacy of the Hollywood Left. The “Golden Age of Television,” the authors argue, was made golden by the progressive writers who entered the emerging world of live TV, often writing using pseudonyms or as fronts. Under the influence of blacklisted writers Polonsky, Walter Bernstein, Arnold Manoff, and Ben Maddow, and directors Martin Ritt and Sidney Lumet, early television was far from conservative, predictable, or boring. Leftists worked on popular shows such as the docudrama *You Are There*, dramas *Danger*, *Studio One*, *Justice* (whose story lines were purportedly drawn from the National Legal Aid Society), and weekly theater programs such as *Goodyear Playhouse*, *Playhouse 90*, *Best of Broadway*, and *Play of the Week*. They also helped pioneer progressive TV shows such as *East Side/West Side*, which in a fifty-minute episode could deal with “racial discrimination, slum housing, joblessness, children’s endangerment, gender issues, troubled teenagers, fearful teachers and students and the force of the civil rights movement” (p. 50).

Buhle and Wagner describe the Left presence in myriad TV genres—dramas, comedies, science fiction, westerns, children’s programs—and offer an encyclopedic compendium of who was who, who wrote what, and who gave starts to a new generation of progressive writers, directors, and producers who carried forth the political sympathies of the blacklisted generation into the last quarter of the century: figures such as Larry Gelbart, Gene Reynolds, and Norman Lear. Baby boomers will be surprised to discover that many of the shows they grew up with were written by Leftists, including *The Donna Reed Show*, *Surfside Six*, *Make Room for Daddy*, *Gerald McBoing Boing*, *The Mighty Mouse Playhouse*, *Lassie*, and *Rocky and His Friends*.

Despite small errors in names, dates, and credits pointed out in other reviews (especially by nonacademics), this is a valuable study of the ideological underpinnings of early television and the impact of the old Hollywood Left on films made during the second half of the twentieth century. My main critique is that the

authors are guilty of "eraism." They assume that the 1930s-1940s Popular Front era was the only era of progressive cinema, that everything afterward was an offshoot of this "Golden Age." In that regard, they do an injustice to politically engaged writers and directors who came before and after. Silent filmmakers such as Edwin Porter, Frank Wolfe, Augustus Thomas, and Charlie Chaplin offered scathing (and often Left) critiques of American society. Likewise, while film and television figures of the 1960s and beyond certainly learned from their predecessors, they also created ideological visions that were shaped by their own particular experiences. Rather than be nostalgic about a political past long gone, Buhle and Wagner might have looked at the ways in which younger progressives use old and new forms of mass communication to reach audiences. I would venture that if the blacklisted writers they focus on were coming of age today, many would become bloggers rather than screenwriters.

STEVEN J. ROSS

University of Southern California

JEFF WOODS. *Black Struggle, Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-Communism in the South, 1948-1968*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 282. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

"Americans of the 1950s and 1960s regarded Communism as an even greater evil than southern racism" (pp. 9-10). Here Jeff Woods takes us to the heart of a conundrum that helped to shape and misshape major contours of American life after World War II. Not all Americans viewed communism as a larger threat to the United States than racism, of course. Few Americans of color shared such an opinion. But most white citizens did, on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. This perspective placed the United States at odds with the majority of the world's nations, newly emerging from European colonial rule and all too aware of the devastating impacts of racial hierarchies, and it complicated U.S. relations with much of what became known as the Third World. At home, this anticommunist priority decisively narrowed the range of mainstream ideas and policies, while at the same time creating pressure for the leader of the "free world" to eliminate the most egregious absence of freedom in the United States: racial segregation and discrimination.

In this thoughtful and well-written book, Woods focuses on the efforts of white southerners to use anti-communism as a tool to preserve white dominion in the states of the former Confederacy. By 1948, the writing was on the wall that legal segregation's days were numbered. That year brought the United Nations Human Rights Charter, the presidential order to desegregate the U.S. military forces, the Supreme Court's rejection of racial restrictions on property covenants, and the reelection of Harry S. Truman to the White House on a platform calling for greater civil rights. The Court had banned the all-white primary four years earlier, and in another half dozen years it would outlaw segregated

schools. By 1957, U.S. soldiers would be enforcing the court-ordered integration of Little Rock's Central High School, and the gathering black freedom struggle would force open the road to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

These victories for equality came at great cost, for the white South reacted to the civil rights movement with often-fearsome violence and intimidation. But Dixie segregationists also responded strategically, with an effort to win nonsouthern white support for their cause by tying race reform to communism. The link was subversion: communists, they argued, wanted to subvert American principles of the rule of law, private property, and freedom of speech and religious worship. So, too, they argued, did race reformers want to subvert the basic traditions of racial distinctions in the South. And communists, after all, supported racial equality.

Anticommunism in the nation as a whole reached its peak in the early 1950s, during the Korean War and Senator Joseph McCarthy's well-publicized investigations. In the South, anticommunist rhetoric rose on a different schedule, following the *Brown* decision of 1954 and the growth of the civil rights movement in the later 1950s. In time-honored white southern fashion, leaders of Dixie's red scare blamed race reform efforts on "outside agitators." They used state sovereignty commissions, state bureaus of investigation, and local law enforcement officials to harass civil rights workers. Woods explores how the "balance between political opportunism and true belief" (p. 7) regarding anticommunism varied among prominent white southern nationalists, such as Mississippi Senator James Eastland and Alabama Governor George Wallace, but he makes clear that the primary issue for them all was race, not communism.

Woods is not plowing entirely untilled ground in this study. Rather, he skillfully weaves together extensive research in southern newspapers and the personal papers of white southern leaders with strands from five established lines of historiography: the black freedom struggle's international ties (the work of scholars such as Penny Von Eschen and Brenda Gayle Plummer); links between the Communist Party of the United States and the civil rights movement (Gerald Horne and Robin Kelley); white southern segregationist leadership (Dan Carter and Numan Bartley); McCarthyism and the national red scare (Ellen Schrecker, David Oshinsky, and M. J. Heale); and the impact of world affairs on domestic race reform (Mary Dudziak and Thomas Borstelmann). Woods builds on this existing scholarship in order to give us the first full-scale history of how white southern segregationists used the language and tactics of the Cold War to resist race reform. Ultimately they were not able to preserve legal segregation, but men such as Wallace and Eastland did help raise white northern doubts about the patriotism of civil rights organizers and thus helped slow the development of national support for the freedom struggle in the South. The Cold War, ultimately, cut both ways. It required U.S. political leaders to eliminate grossly unjust prac-

tices, while it also empowered white supremacists to continue resisting racial equality.

THOMAS BORSTELMANN
University of Nebraska,
Lincoln

BRIAN WARD. *Radio and the Struggle for Civil Rights in the South*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xvi, 437. \$39.95.

Those who are familiar with Brian Ward's groundbreaking treatise detailing the relationship between rhythm and blues and the changing nature of racial consciousness in the second half of the twentieth century may be surprised to find that his latest offering pays very little attention to popular music. After successfully stretching the interpretative and methodological parameters of civil rights scholarship in his award-winning *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (1998), his comparatively conventional examination of black-oriented and owned radio adheres more readily to existing movement and historical literature. This is not to suggest that it is any less insightful or innovative than his earlier work. To the contrary, Ward's fairly straightforward approach to the development of African American radio in the post-World War II South accomplishes the goal he intended: that is, to rescue and retrieve a previously neglected yet vital phenomenon from the margins of the civil rights saga. With sharp analysis and a persuasive and effective writing style, Ward certainly demonstrates that the mass communication medium assumed more than a passive part in the evolution of the black freedom struggle.

Although on occasion one gets the impression that Ward would like to claim more for radio's social impact—that it was central to the black freedom struggle, for instance—he generally refrains from doing so. His tone throughout is cautiously restrained. The acclaimed historian judiciously mines the resources available to him (and given the ephemeral nature of the medium, Ward's extensive excavation of primary material is commendable), ultimately spinning a story based on oral interviews, manuscript collections, civil rights organization records, government documents, Federal Communication Commission radio station renewal files (a veritable treasure trove of various types of texts), and select accounts from entertainment trade and industry papers, popular periodicals, and newspapers. His thorough acquaintance with the secondary literature provides his narrative with exceptional depth and incisiveness.

Organized into three thematic sections that follow a loose chronological order, Ward's account begins with an overview of early attempts by black organizations and progressive groups to liberalize network radio's dissemination of racial issues and images. Most of section one focuses on the development of regional radio during the 1940s and 1950s as a forum for advocating the

mainstream values of the African American middle class. Part two examines black-oriented radio's response to the civil rights movement, with the author targeting particular cities and stations to highlight. Finally, in section three, Ward traces the controversial role that radio played in the black power struggle, an ironic denouement that serves as a fitting conclusion to the book. In the end, Ward proficiently provides for an intriguing and convincing historical investigation.

The approach and sources that he utilizes, however, inevitably require his chronicle to focus more on radio owners and executives than it does on radio audiences. Much is learned as to what went out over the air and how decisions concerning such transmissions were made; much less is ascertained as to how those electronically charged particles were received once they descended and landed in range of assorted listeners. Consequently, Ward has produced an excellent business history of the southern broadcast industry, giving particular emphasis to the trials and tribulations that individual stations experienced in negotiating the transition from the era of Jim Crow to that of civil rights and legal equality. Constantly guided (and constrained) by motivations that stressed profit first and activities of a more "political" nature a distant second, he contends that the obligatory maneuvering between the two necessarily prevented radio from reaching its full potential as a vehicle for social change. Still, Ward is able to document the myriad and often surprising contradictions (and genuine gains) produced when conflicting racial, regional, political, cultural, and commercial considerations coalesced within the mass communication marketplace.

As with his previous work, Ward provides much for scholars to contemplate. He has brought to the forefront a subject that many historians have rarely granted serious attention. By successfully incorporating the unconventional into a familiar story, he has once again helped to legitimize popular culture within his chosen profession. More importantly, Ward has proven that he is one of the leading civil rights historians of his generation.

MICHAEL T. BERTRAND
Tennessee State University

NIKHIL P. SINGH. *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 285. \$29.95.

Nikhil P. Singh takes up an important subject: the degree to which African American political thought has roamed free of the nation-state. Looking at what he calls the "long civil rights era," Singh shows how often intellectuals like W. E. B. Du Bois framed their call for citizenship in international terms as part of the anti-colonial revolt of the 1930s to the 1970s. In so doing, black intellectuals offered an alternative vision to the nation-centered, liberal-democratic perspective represented by *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*, a study directed by Swedish

scholar Gunnar Myrdal and published in 1944. In asserting the power of the American liberal-democratic state to absorb African Americans, Myrdal attempted "to reassure the public that the period of black flirtation with the left was over." To the contrary, Singh argues that an "autonomous" black discourse continued to present African Americans as part of a world population of the oppressed and dispossessed.

In developing these and related ideas, Singh draws on a wide reading of articles and books by African American intellectuals. He has marshaled an impressive array of quotations that form a dense tapestry, although his analysis is sometimes muddled by cultural studies jargon and his selection seems somewhat idiosyncratic. The Trinidadian writer C. L. R. James, for instance, looms larger than Malcolm X, yet James was a politically marginal figure in his American years, while Malcolm X was a giant and had a great deal to say on African Americans' ties with Africa.

Nor does Singh push his history back as far as he might. Briefly passing through the 1920s, he mentions Jamaican Marcus Garvey, obviously an important figure for this theme, but he makes no mention of the Caribbean socialists who formed the African Blood Brotherhood and later made up the African American core of the Workers (Communist) Party. As a number of scholars have demonstrated, Richard B. Moore, Cyril Briggs, and others in their circle linked freedom and justice for African Americans and with freedom for Africans under European imperial rule. To the unrealized claim that America's melting pot could make anyone American, they (romantically) saw the Soviet Union as a better model, allowing individual nations to exist within a larger state. To put forth their views, they spoke to audiences gathered on Harlem street corners and published little papers, creating a small but vibrant black public sphere. To leave out this political community of the 1920s is to remain vague about the ideological origins of the very concept at the heart of this book. From the start, African Americans' radical faith that their destiny was tied to the destiny of other peoples of color was framed by a faith in international socialism and its variant, communism.

In his acknowledgements, Singh thanks Brent Hayes Edwards for reading some of the manuscript. Singh could have strengthened his own book if he had taken a page or two from Edwards's fine study, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (2003). Edwards not only examines the flow of ideas in an international black public sphere; he meticulously describes the political communities out of which these ideas came. Singh's book would be more useful if it, too, grounded ideas in the political lives out of which they emerged. Singh does not even begin to acknowledge the amount of movement that was going on: the travels of ideas and people back and forth across the Atlantic, between the United States, Europe, Africa, the Soviet Union, and the Caribbean. As an example, among the West Indians politically active in Harlem in the 1920s was a young man named Malcolm

Nurse, who joined the Workers (Communist) Party, took the political name "George Padmore," and, until his death in the 1950s, wrote incessantly about the cause of freedom for Africans and people of African descent. Padmore was a diasporic figure of unusual significance to the topic Singh has taken up, yet although Singh refers to him several times, he at no point identifies him as Trinidadian or West Indian; a reader not already familiar with Padmore would assume he was simply an American-born black intellectual who went right on living in America. Yet he was actually doing the writing Singh cites from across the Atlantic, where he first worked for the Communist International from Moscow and Hamburg and then moved to London. Some of the brief facts Singh does offer about him are wrong: for instance, Padmore was the Communist International's head of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, not, as Singh presents him, "Negro section chief" of the American party (p. 110). These errors are worrisome, but even more worrisome is Singh's failure to place the internationalization of black American discourse on race in the context of what was happening on the ground.

CAROL POLSGROVE
Indiana University,
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PETER B. LEVY. *Civil War on Race Street: The Civil Rights Movement in Cambridge, Maryland*. (Southern Dissent.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xvii, 242. \$55.00.

South African satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys once wryly observed that the future is certain; "It is the past that is unpredictable." This is an apt description of the vicissitudes of civil rights movement scholarship in recent years. The first movement histories were constructed around a heroic narrative in which Martin Luther King, Jr., guided by the doctrine of nonviolence, successfully organized a movement and triumphed against Jim Crow. Historians' deification of King continued over the years, culminating in Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer Taylor Branch's anointment of King as the "moral metaphor" of our age. In the 1990s many scholars broke from the interpretation that the movement was defined by the actions of elite leaders and national organizations and instead emphasized the role of broader and intangible forces, including the black church, newly formed direct-action organizations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), grass-roots and local movements, the Cold War, and the mechanization of agriculture.

Along with abandoning the "top-down" interpretation, the new scholars also rejected the notion that any single factor was paramount in impelling and shaping the movement. Consequently, many retreated into the intellectual safety of empiricism, in which all the historical actors had the same number of lines—and no one got the lead. What was the motor of the movement? Everything. Yet, if something is everything, then it is

nothing. The empiricist interpretation allowed no room for contradictory or mutually exclusive forces within the movement. Instead, conflict and contradiction faded into a kinder and gentler world laced with classy sounding words like nuanced, complex, diverse, multivariate, and multicausal. Civil rights history became a reunion at which all was forgiven. Moderates became militants, and militants became moderates. Martin and Malcolm walked hand in hand, right off the poster and into the history books. Ironically, while scholarship grew more empiricist and took fewer intellectual risks, the public imagination underwent a rapture that transformed the movement into a civil religion, complete with its own gospel of redemptive suffering and pantheon of demigods in the form of King and Rosa Parks.

Peter B. Levy has gathered all the evidence necessary to challenge the empiricists' interpretation. The fiery and violent movement that shook Cambridge, Maryland, beginning in 1963 was remarkably militant and independent and could be interpreted as a formidable and irreconcilable challenge to the traditional national civil rights organizations. Although Levy's evidence begs this analysis, he stops short of the conclusion. While most authors err to the side of exaggerating the importance of their subject (how else do we justify our obsessions?), Levy is too modest about his. Nonetheless, his book should give us pause about the prevailing view of the movement and remind us of how instrumental mere mortals were in the black freedom movement.

The origins of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC) can be found in the Freedom Rides organized along Route 40 in Maryland. Out of that protest arose a local desegregation movement in Cambridge led by Gloria Richardson, an imposing, well-educated, and articulate African American woman. Part of a respected black middle-class family in Cambridge, Richardson had done nothing of political note before she entered the movement, but by the force of her intelligence, resolution, and leadership she managed to prevent the national nonviolent organizations from colonizing and disarming the local movement—politically and literally.

Richardson went to great pains to bring working class people into the CNAC leadership. She set an uncompromising example when she called for black voters to boycott a referendum on a municipal antidiscrimination law. Resonating with the arguments of Malcolm X, Richardson argued that black people should not beg for freedoms that were inalienable rights. She openly advocated the right of armed self-defense and did not hesitate to rebuke King's offers to assist the movement in Cambridge. King was too "egotistical" and too wedded to pacifism for Richardson's taste. Richardson also disagreed with King on the overriding importance of civil equality, arguing that civil rights were only part of a larger struggle for economic and social equality. In this instance she reflected the ideas of her base as much as shaped them: a survey in Cambridge's black community found that only six percent of the respondents believed that "equal access to public accommodations" should

be the movements' top priority. Unemployment was the issue that registered the greatest support.

Forcible and coercive direct action was at the heart of the Cambridge movement. Black riots first erupted in Cambridge on June 14, 1963, coming on the heels of similar riots against police and Ku Klux Klan violence in Birmingham the month before. The repudiation of nonviolence in Birmingham so alarmed President John F. Kennedy that he gave his first and only nationally televised speech on the crisis and ordered massive federal intervention. Nonetheless, the nonviolence narrative so dominates the literature that this pivotal media event is completely omitted in the most widely read account of the Birmingham movement: Diane McWhorter's *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama—The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (2001). In the same vein, the Cambridge movement is scarcely mentioned in most movement histories, even though the Cambridge riot was constantly front-page news and ultimately hastened Kennedy's announcement of his civil rights bill. In an unprecedented move, the president also dispatched his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, to broker a truce in Cambridge. The incident constituted the most "direct intervention of the Kennedy Administration" in racial politics (p. 2).

There is much that is new and useful in this book, including a detailed account of the unique role of a woman as a leader in the militant wing of the movement. Richardson's leadership of men challenges the notion that masculine values and patriarchy inherently excluded women from leadership in the South. Levy gets bogged down at times in the Resource Mobilization (RM) theory, which he methodically uses to analyze every aspect of the Cambridge movement. Theory belongs in the footnotes or the conclusion. Nevertheless, Levy favors readers with a concise and fascinating account of a local movement that triumphed by rejecting the creed of nonviolence, adding to the growing list of local campaigns that make fiction of the nonviolent King-as-martyr interpretation.

LANCE HILL
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RHONDA Y. WILLIAMS. *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women's Struggles Against Urban Inequality*. (Transgressing Boundaries.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 306. \$29.95.

By the late 1960s, public housing in the United States had gained a widespread and wholly negative image, tainting its residents as drug dealers or loafers and symbolizing the ills of postindustrial cities. Rhonda Y. Williams does not sidestep issues of rising crime rates and poverty, deteriorating buildings, and government neglect, but she does seek to paint a fuller picture by including the voices and efforts of activists, mostly black and mostly women, who lived in public housing and fought for social justice for their communities. From the earliest days of federal low-income housing, when optimism pervaded the experiment, women who lived

in public housing organized for better neighborhoods and respectability. As the decades wore on, argues Williams, the circumstances activists faced changed drastically, but the search for respectability—which included having material needs met as well as demands for respect and dignity—linked the generations of residents who became community leaders and attempted “to make the government live up to its ideals and promises” (p. 8).

The setting for this story is Baltimore, Maryland, where public housing emerged during the late Depression era to offer homes to the working poor. The location and composition of the earliest developments and those built to ease housing shortages during World War II cemented growing racial segregation, but African Americans welcomed the access to new housing after years of severe shortages and did not initially challenge these policies. During the 1940s, community members launched self-help activities and worked closely with management. When the views of residents and officials increasingly diverged in the 1950s, community leaders began challenging existing practices and demanding the right to contribute to policy formation.

By the 1960s, additional subsidized housing had been built and high-rise developments also appeared, but more than just the quantity and architecture of public housing had changed. Impoverished African Americans, many women with children and many receiving welfare, edged out whites and the working poor, and what had been a good place to live fell prey to government neglect and negative media attention. The richest of Williams’s sources, a group of oral histories with community leaders of the 1960s–1970s, makes this the most compelling section of the book. Inspired by the community work of those who had come before and the New Left and Black Power movements of the later 1960s, tenant activist grew more confrontational, demanding improved policing and long overdue maintenance as well as a greater voice in setting policy. They helped launch the welfare rights movement and started credit unions and food cooperatives. In these efforts, they took advantage of opportunities presented by Great Society programs. “War on Poverty legislation,” at least according to Williams, “did have impact on the local level—but only to the degree that black communities and black women in particular forced responsiveness and used the agencies as a channel for organizing” (p. 12).

Williams ends the story of Baltimore public housing with the successful 1978–1979 rent strike by residents of one complex, although, as the epilogue explains, the problems facing residents and the efforts of committed activists to battle for decent living conditions and a modicum of respect were still alive and well in the 1990s. Considering this, the book’s argument about the persistence of black women’s struggles would have been strengthened by a full-scale analysis of the closing decades of twentieth century.

Williams’s claim that we need to see the history of public housing from the perspective of the people who

lived it—those who saw the deterioration, those who experienced the crime and fear, those who suffered the neglect—is compelling. Laudable attempts to include the larger histories of public housing, social movements, and urban development, however, often take the book away from the focus suggested in the title. While Williams sets out to explore the particular perspective of poor black women, for example, the history of public housing activists also included white women and black men; tenant activists overlapped with civil rights and welfare rights groups; African American managers and other officials were both friends and foes to residents. The boundaries of who fits where and why are not always easy to discern.

Despite the author’s tendency to tell too many stories at once, the book takes an important look at how the trajectory of public housing in the country was experienced, embraced, contested, and resisted by those who lived in the developments. Housing residents tell housing officials, and by extension readers, “Treat all of us like you want to be treated” (p. 233). That means including their perspectives and their commitment to dignity and respect in the story of public housing. Williams does this, reminding us that while public housing may have failed, that does not always mean that those who lived there failed.

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JOYCE BLACKWELL. *No Peace Without Freedom: Race and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915–1975*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 241. \$55.00.

Joyce Blackwell has written a much-needed history of African American women’s involvement in the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). The problems with such a study are major. Since there were so few African American women in the predominately white organization, the book has a tendency to degenerate into a recitation of biographical details, and the account of membership recruitment strategies and numbers is too lengthy. Second and more important, although feminist analysis could have been used to understand how both black and white members viewed the organization, gender is seldom mentioned, whereas “the race card” is always played—by both Blackwell and the historical figures she discusses. Thus, although WILPF was made up almost entirely of women, except for their names there is little recognition of gender difference in attitude or ideology.

What Mary Church Terrell, the first African American member of the WILPF, said in 1919 in Zurich at the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (the first international gathering since meeting in the Hague in 1915) remained true for the next sixty years: “White people might talk about permanent peace until doomsday but they could never have it till the dark races were treated fair and square” (p. 188).

Terrell, Thelma Edwards Marshall, Vera Chandler Foster, Bertha McNeill, and others all insisted on the link between racial justice and world peace. They worked in the anti-lynching campaign, on the Scottsboro boys case, and on desegregation and other civil rights issues, as well as in opposition to U.S. involvement in Haiti, to the proposed conscription of women during World War II, to the Vietnam War, and to apartheid in South Africa. Still, African American peace activists faced a dilemma during wartime: they were opposed to war but favored the higher-paying war industry jobs that blacks could get, which helped the war effort.

The description of WILPF's connecting of lynching violence with the peace movement is one of the best analyses of the book. The organization, led by African American members, put significant resources behind the movement to gain anti-lynching legislation in the 1930s (which was never passed by Congress).

Blackwell's assertion that black women in the WILPF had to join other liberal organizations for racial justice (like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) because they could not depend on their white WILPF colleagues to work for racial equality is questionable. Most activists, both white and black, were members of several organizations and divided their time and resources in several ways at different times. However, her critique of other WILPF histories that claim there was little racism in the organization seems well founded. She observes that "racism is not as evident when black women are not present" (p. 192), because the issue is not raised and it does not appear in archival or interview material. This does not mean that racism is not therefore present. Her observation may be the most important justification for this book, and Blackwell provides ample evidence of the difficulties faced by the tiny minority of African American WILPF members.

Chapter five summarizes U.S. involvement with the black republics of Haiti, Liberia, and Ethiopia over the past two centuries. Penning an excellent historical overview of what she calls "America's empire of darker people" (p. 117), Blackwell details both the American government's interference and the position of the WILPF, especially in the campaign to protest Benito Mussolini's takeover of Ethiopia. As with much of the book, however, there is very little gender analysis. What did it mean that black women (as opposed to men) were protesting U.S. intervention in Haiti or Liberia? Only during the Vietnam War did black women specifically talk about "maternal pacifism" and the racism inherent in the loss to so many black women of so many black sons.

One other caveat: Blackwell's strategy of beginning several chapters with a fictional scenario about one of the African American members, although labeled with a footnote as "partly fictional," is not well integrated into the rest of the material. The shift back to more objective reporting has no transition. This stylistic device, coupled with her habit of positioning the topic sentence of the next paragraph as the last sentence in the previous paragraph, makes for frustrating reading.

Still, the book abounds in surprising and relevant detail (such as the organization of the International Council of Women of the Darker Races in 1920) as the author has mined the WILPF papers for evidence of the work for peace and freedom that African American activists carried out in the midst of the racism inherent in the organization, and in American society, for sixty years.

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BENITA ROTH. *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 271. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$23.00.

Benita Roth's timely and insightful sociological account of second-wave feminism combines two trends in the recent surge of writings on 1970s feminism: new attention to memories/memoirs of activists, known and unknown, and the search for a way out of the myth that feminism did not matter to women of color. Roth addresses both and along the way makes headway in working out a number of historiographical issues that have long burdened histories of the second wave.

In terms of oral history, Roth's is a compensatory strategy intended to bring in histories of women and groups whose manifestos and position papers did not appear in edited collections like Robin Morgan's *Sisterhood is Powerful* (1970) or Toni Cade's *The Black Woman* (1970) and whose voices have not been well archived. The group of feminists under examination came of age politically in what Roth calls a "competitive social movement sector" in the late 1960s and 1970s when the ferment of reform and revolution had the potential to divide political allegiances of women. Using interviews done in 2000, Roth treads her way through the familiar story of female activists facing the sexism of their male peers in movements like black nationalism, Chicano rights, and the New Left. To this she adds the recollection of those women who chose to leave women's caucuses within (for lack of a better term) home movements to form organized feminist groups. Their memories record the disappointment and anger at the restricted roles they as "women" played in student movements and the hostility and ridicule they faced from their male peers as they created their own race and class-specific feminisms.

Significantly, Roth does not separate gender activism from race and class activism. In doing so, she neatly steps over the old problem of which activism should be called "feminist" and which not. For black and Chicana women active in nationalist movements, their feminist consciousness and feminist theory emerged in and through race activism. For white women coming out of the New Left and civil rights, their race shaped their feminism through their preferred (and problematic) framework of universal gender oppression. While all women did battle against aspects of traditional gender roles, Roth is careful to note the different feminisms

each group produced. For women of color, this entailed addressing the idea that feminism was a white import. Chicanas argued that strong and politically engaged women existed throughout Mexican and Mexican American history and that gender inequality was the true import from white America. Chicanas, as members of a numerical minority in the 1970s, opted to stay more firmly within the Chicano movement. In contrast, black women tended to form independent feminist groups. African American feminists labored under the gendered weight of the liberal myth of black matriarchy as articulated in the Moynihan Report and the revolutionary import of empowered black masculinity in the black power movement, in addition to decades of civil rights activism. As Roth reminds us, feminisms were articulated in diverse political communities, and women of color came to feminism on their own terms, not simply as a result of racism in the white women's movement.

Roth grounds her analysis in the feminist concept of intersectionality and interestingly shows the term's emergence in her history. As a theory, intersectionality analyzes the production of identity through overlapping, mutually reinforcing oppressions of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sometimes sexual oppression. The theory itself, however, is the accomplishment of feminists of color who in the late 1960s and 1970s refused to theorize gender apart from other systems of oppression. This insight shaped white feminist theory and activism and has, after much effort, resulted in the near-standard use of the plural when discussing feminism.

What is most refreshing in Roth's account is her ability to demonstrate the ways in which America's second wave emerged out of many kinds of political activism and resulted in a much wider variety of feminism than previous accounts have reflected. The book achieves a number of important effects: it decenters white feminism as the model from which all other feminisms came; it moves past the effort to parse out the divides among liberal, radical, and cultural feminisms; and it offers a way to chart similarities and differences among feminists in the 1970s. For scholars looking for a deep archive, Roth's book will not satisfy. She interviewed nine feminists and used published accounts, primary and secondary, to strengthen her analysis. For scholars looking for a new way to think about women's activism in the 1960s and 1970s, they will surely find guidance in Roth's analysis.

JANE GERHARD
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OWEN D. GUTFREUND. *Twentieth-Century Sprawl: Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 297. \$35.00.

Nothing altered twentieth-century America more than the widespread adoption of motor vehicles and the road and highway improvements that sought to sustain, if not increase, their utility as transport. The nation's geography was remade: cities, for example, were not just de-

centralized but literally turned inside out in terms of how they functioned. In this book by Owen D. Gutfreund, explanation is offered for why and also for how automobility was imposed. The author reviews the history of the federal highway program; more importantly, he demonstrates in three case studies (Denver, Colorado; Middlebury, Vermont; and Smyrna, Tennessee) how that program variously played out in differing local communities.

Chapter one, entitled "Highway Federalism," is a useful synthesis of how the federal highway juggernaut grew, focus being placed on the evolving highway lobby dominated by vested commercial (especially industrial) interests, and the evolving planning and engineering bureaucracies that likewise became quite self-serving. Reviewed are the long-term implications of various Federal Aid Road Acts (1916, 1921, 1944, 1956, 1968, 1973, and 1974) as well as other relevant Congressional legislation, such as the Hayden-Cartwright Act of 1934 that reduced grant-in-aid to states that "diverted" gas tax revenues to "nonhighway" purposes. The Highway Trust Fund, formally put in place in 1956, was especially important, the sole instance of a federal revenue stream being solely directed at a single programmatic emphasis. Created was "a system of transfer payments from urbanized regions to rural regions, and from all taxpayers generally to those who drove automobiles" (p. 27). Neglected was the nation's urban transportation infrastructure, especially that of mass transit around which American cities had previously been structured. Implicit was not just an anti-urban bias but "an outright rejection of existing urbanization patterns" (p. 41). The unintended consequence was a full prioritizing of urban decentralization over centralization.

Two chapters illustrate the impact that federal highway mandates had on metropolitan Denver: first the problems that peripheral highway building generated for the central city, and then the opportunities that those initiatives offered developers in creating a new kind of sprawling, auto-oriented suburbia. Explored are the peculiarities of Colorado law (which, for example, restricted the City of Denver in its annexing of new territory), the political agendas of leading politicians (vis-à-vis the embrace of highway building), and the role of real estate developers (who ultimately came to exert great influence on road projects). Metropolitan Denver is presented as a rapid growth area of considerable size where suburbanization, promoted as inevitable, became absolutely impelling. Two chapters each are also given to Middlebury and Smyrna. The former is presented as a conservative place of deliberately slow growth that had automobility thrust upon it. The latter is presented as a fast-growth town that fully embraced automobility in vigorously promoting economic growth, which came to include a major automobile assembly plant. In Vermont, as in every state, motorists were persistently undercharged when it came to funding highways. But unlike many other states, Tennessee included, lack of a rapidly expanding tax base (one fostered by hyper growth) resulted in a federally man-

dated highway system that state government found it could ill afford to maintain. It was also a highway system that, in promoting suburban sprawl around Middlebury and other towns, generated land use and other environmental problems, solutions for which proved equally difficult to fund. At Smyrna, by contrast, a host of federal spending initiatives, in addition to highway building (including New Deal spending through the Tennessee Valley Authority and federal defense spending at several nearby military installations), wrought not just growth but prosperity, a prosperity fully translated into sprawling, auto-oriented redevelopment. Taken together, the three case studies demonstrate just how varied the automobile's impact was. Nonetheless, all three localities came to share similar land use outcomes. Automobility's transforming effects were both pervasive and ubiquitous.

Gutfreund might be faulted on several grounds. Nowhere does he rationalize his choice of case study localities. One is left to guess why he found their stories particularly impelling. Does he see these places as especially typical, or are they just different? Whereas his introductory review of the Federal Government's involvement in highway building is well targeted, it barely mentions many of the other federal programs that directly encouraged suburbanization in the United States: for example, the mortgage guarantees of the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration. So also does he neglect the consequences of federal tax law: for example, the effects of income tax deductions for house mortgages and the effects of investment tax credits and accelerated depreciation allowances in regards to commercial real estate. With the Denver case study, the role of racial integration in the public schools, an important cause of "white flight" to the suburbs, is barely mentioned. How did automobility facilitate racism's playing out? With the Middlebury case study, Vermont's advocacy of open space preservation and other innovative land use initiatives is also given only cursory mention. To what extent were such initiatives car-related? With the Smyrna case study, the town's close proximity to Nashville is hardly considered at all. Might not the geographic base of his analysis be misdirected? Nonetheless, Gutfreund does effectively treat an important aspect of twentieth-century American history. The reader is provided with the details of just how automobility's most important land-use effect—urban sprawl—played out in three localities, places presumably representative of the nation's landscapes at large.

JOHN A. JAKLE
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LARRY D. KRAMER. *The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 363. \$29.95.

For the last two generations, the central preoccupation of constitutional historians seems to have been to pro-

vide a historical foundation to support the work of the Warren, Burger, and Rehnquist Courts in expanding the reach of the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection and Due Process clauses, in order to prevent state legislatures or state law enforcement officials from abusing the rights of criminal defendants, religious and ethnic minorities, women, and homosexuals. Liberals cheered these developments, and liberals wrote those histories that made it seem that from the time of John Marshall forward it had been the job of the United States Supreme Court, consistently with our constitutional scheme, to protect minorities from discrimination by the majority. Conservatives, not much in evidence in the academy, tended to view these Supreme Court decisions with some suspicion, believing that the Court was making up purported constitutional rights out of whole cloth, that the Supreme Court had been legislating rather than judging, and that such conduct was inconsistent with the Constitution, which leaves matters of making up new law to the legislatures and to the people themselves.

Since 1995, however, the United States Supreme Court has begun to move in a new direction, deferring more to the federal executive, and to state legislatures and state and local prosecutors. To the alarm of many defenders of the Warren and Burger Courts, it shows signs of cutting back on many of the rights-expanding decisions of the 1960s and 1970s. In response, liberal constitutional scholars have begun to lay a new foundation, one that would relegate the Supreme Court to a secondary role in construing the Constitution. Larry D. Kramer's book is part of this project.

Kramer demonstrates, in a convincing manner, that throughout most of U.S. history the Supreme Court has actually not had the last word in constitutional adjudication, and that it is the American people themselves who have always had the ultimate responsibility and power to say what the Constitution means. This they have done, Kramer shows us, from 1776 onward, even after the written Constitution of 1787, not only by demonstrating out of doors in massive rallies or even armed insurrections, as was done at the end of the eighteenth century and at the time of the Civil War, but also by the formation of political parties, by aggressive electioneering, and by the constitutional amendment process. Kramer also shows us that it is only in the last generation or so that there has been general acceptance among the chattering classes that the Supreme Court ought to have the final governmental say about the constitutionality of acts of the legislatures and the executive, and that before that a theory now called "departmentalism" reigned, whereby each of the branches had considerable discretion to interpret the constitutionality of its own actions, and none was bound to defer to the pronouncements of the others. Thus, for example, President Andrew Jackson, pursuant to the theory of departmentalism, could ignore the Supreme Court's pronouncements on the executive branch's policies regarding Native Americans, and the Jeffersonian-controlled Congress could eliminate federal judgeships

created by the Federalists, even though the Constitution seemed to require removal of judges only by the impeachment process. Kramer's implicit suggestion is that we should return to departmentalism and to popular constitutionalism if a Supreme Court begins to move in a direction of which the American people may disapprove.

One does not have to be a political liberal to appreciate the massive research that has gone into this volume, the careful (one might say, judicious) use of historical materials, and the encyclopedic knowledge of the literature of history, law, and political science that Kramer deploys. Indeed, even conservatives, who often fancy themselves populists, will find much of which to approve here. This book is a major achievement, it will deservedly garner a plethora of awards, and it will be ignored at the peril of anyone who seeks to understand constitutional history or future politics.

STEPHEN B. PRESSER
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DAVID A. HOROWITZ. *America's Political Class under Fire: The Twentieth Century's Great Culture War*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xii, 290. Cloth \$90.00.

In this ambitious examination of populist reactions to the increasing prominence of policy intellectuals and experts in twentieth-century America, David A. Horowitz attempts to move beyond Richard Hofstadter's pioneering *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963) both in time period covered and in interpretation. Beginning with the 1920s, Horowitz's episodic narrative extends through the end of the twentieth century and presents a less hostile view of populist anti-intellectualism than did Hofstadter. Horowitz is not uncritical of those who have attacked America's political class. He acknowledges that ethnocentrism and prejudice have at times been features of populist attacks and that conservative elites have also appealed to populist sentiments for self-serving purposes. In contrast to Hofstadter, however, Horowitz downplays the purely irrational elements of this tradition and argues that populist criticism of America's political intelligentsia cannot simply be dismissed as either the product of ignorant opposition to progress or as a cynical effort by traditional conservatives to manipulate popular fears in defense of their own vested interests.

Horowitz considers a wide range of cultural and political responses to the rise of America's "New Class" of social service professionals. His case studies include the Scopes trial and resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, resistance to Franklin D. Roosevelt's efforts at government reorganization, popular resentment directed at the Office of Price Administration in World War II, opposition to David Lilienthal's nomination to head the Atomic Energy Commission, the development of McCarthyism, George Wallace's populism, the growing hostility to affirmative action in the Nixon years, and the negative reaction to the Clinton health care plan. Other historians have thoroughly examined these epi-

sodes, and Horowitz does not offer any radically new interpretations of events taken individually. However, Horowitz develops an important overarching thesis by highlighting in each instance the persistence of what he sees as an understandable and at least partially justifiable fear among Americans of the antidemocratic consequences of the nation's growing reliance on experts and professionals to determine public policy. Thus the Scopes trial represented a defense of local control over schools, and opposition to the Clinton health care plan stemmed, at least in part, from the lack of open public input into the plan's formulation and the proposal's overreliance on experts to carry out its complicated provisions.

Horowitz acknowledges that because his focus is on public reactions to the growing prominence of experts, the actual role of the New Class in modern American society is beyond the scope of his study. Thus, he leaves unexplored the basic issue of whether policy professionals have, in fact, exercised the independent power attributed to them by their critics, or whether they have been more or less the servants of other more powerful interests in society—a charge often made by those on the left. He repeatedly cites the argument made by populist critics throughout the twentieth century that policy intellectuals are predisposed to support liberal policies in order to create more jobs for themselves in an expanding government bureaucracy, but he does not attempt to assess the validity of the argument.

This work builds on Horowitz's previous book, *Beyond Left and Right: Insurgency and the Establishment* (1997) in trying to move the discussion of modern American politics beyond the familiar categories of liberal and conservative. Horowitz convincingly argues that concerns about a loss of democratic control that do not fit neatly into a left-right dichotomy have contributed to the recurring expressions of popular hostility to intellectuals. Yet, it can hardly be coincidental that all the incidents of anti-intellectualism he discusses involve attacks on policy elites identified with liberal causes. Although one of the most significant developments of the last quarter century has been the growing prominence and influence of New Right policy experts and conservative think tanks, Horowitz cites no instance of a negative populist reaction to the growing power of this element of America's political class. Populist fears of a too-powerful government bureaucracy clearly contributed to the opposition that developed to FDR's executive reorganization plan, price controls, LBJ's Great Society, and Clinton's health care reform proposal, but Horowitz never fully addresses the question of whether traditionally conservative interests were in these cases still the driving force behind such opposition.

LARRY G. GERBER
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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

JORGE LUIS CHINEA. *Race and Labor in the Hispanic Caribbean: The West Indian Immigrant Worker Experience in Puerto Rico, 1800–1850*. (New Directions in Puerto Rican Studies Series.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xv, 227. \$59.95.

Official accounts of Puerto Rican history, particularly those centered on the nineteenth century, routinely take note of the *Cédula de Gracias* (1815), the Spanish decree designed to encourage white immigrants to colonize the island's highlands. Typical of most immigration studies focused on the Americas, those analyzing Puerto Rico commonly emphasize European settlement. Images of African slaves arriving in San Juan are consigned to the recesses of our historic imaginations. Jorge Luis China takes us down a sparsely traveled path exploring West Indian immigration to Puerto Rico in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In keeping with the author's goal of presenting newcomers in their "polyphonic totality," this work highlights the course of immigration from neighboring islands. A common thread running throughout the book is the multidimensionality of this immigration. Contrary to popular imagery, some West Indian immigrants were white. Spain sometimes encouraged West Indian immigration; at other times it feared these newcomers and questioned their loyalties. While many were penniless, others arrived with desperately needed skills. In order to immigrate legally, many exaggerated their assets and misrepresented their devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. Legal immigration represents but one episode in the West Indian saga. Indeed, one of the most ambitious and laudable facets of this book is China's commendable attempt to account for illegal immigration. Escaping slaves from neighboring islands were not always returned to their Dutch and English masters. Yet the author does not romanticize nineteenth-century Puerto Rico as a slave refuge. West Indians were intermittently harassed by Spanish authorities, they were perennially suspected of subversion, and at times they were captured and forced to wear Spanish shackles.

Beyond the parameters of immigration studies, China's book subtly pierces a much larger debate over the nature of Puerto Rican identity. Traditional studies focusing on white newcomers fortify the myth—expounded in Antonio S. Pedreira's *Insularismo* (1934)—that the island's cultural nucleus lies in its Spanish legacy. Nevertheless, José L. González's *Puerto Rico: The Four-Storeyed Country* (1993) counters that the island's true heritage is located in its African past. Slaves, and most free blacks, did not have the option of leaving. Presumably black and mulatto Puerto Ricans remained century after century while whites came and went.

The findings in this book strike at the heart of González's thesis. China underscored that not all black and mulatto Puerto Ricans can trace their ancestry to slaves who arrived early in the island's colonial history. Instead, many are descended, at least in part, from early

nineteenth-century West Indian immigrants who relieved severe labor shortages. Of course, the same thing can be said of white Puerto Ricans. How many of them have West Indian ancestors? Spain constantly balanced its enduring fear of slave rebellions with the economic benefits that black immigration, free and enslaved, provided.

A problematic aspect of this book is the Taíno survival controversy. Spanish chronicles reported the massacre of the majority of the island's aboriginal peoples early in the sixteenth century. Their numbers were so few that by the early nineteenth century Spanish censuses did not even bother listing "*Indio*" as a racial category. China notes that population figures before the mid-nineteenth century were rather unreliable. He proposes that Spaniards exaggerated the Taínos' demise and that many simply fled into the hinterland where their descendants eventually intermixed with Puerto Ricans of European and African ancestry. The discussion takes on renewed significance in light of contemporary claims of indigenous ancestry on an island where, supposedly, few Taíno survived Spanish swords and diseases.

If indigenous peoples mixed with immigrants in the hinterland are their descendants still aboriginal peoples? Speculation about a Taíno survival becomes even more suspicious when we recognize, as China noted, that some maroons in Saint Domingue made believe they were aboriginals. There is little evidence in this book that we are on the verge of rediscovering a community that historians forgot. Instead, China's investigation suggests that those self-identified Taínos, to borrow a page from Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, are engaging in an invention of tradition.

China's work enriches our understanding of the West Indian dimension of Puerto Rican immigration history. History students should use this work as an example of how to reconstruct and account for unofficial events, such as illegal immigration. Moreover, the book will fuel future arguments and scholarly research on the origins and development of Puerto Rican identity.

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VALENTINA PEGUERO. *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic, from the Captains General to General Trujillo*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. x, 263. \$55.00.

Do decades of dictatorship and long histories of a military presence in politics produce societies characterized by authoritarian or "militarized" cultures? Valentina Peguero suggests that in the case of the Dominican Republic they did. In this book, Peguero offers an impressively balanced and comprehensive account of Dominican military and political history, focused on the expansive role of the national military in Dominican society during the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina (1930–1961). She contends that the armed

forces played a central role in Dominican politics and society prior to Trujillo's reign, but that "militarism" greatly expanded under his rule as a strategy for sustaining the regime. In addition, she argues, this strategy helped consolidate an enduring "military culture" that would persist among Dominicans even decades after the dictatorship, as evinced, for instance, in what she believes to be a widespread culture of obedience to authority (p. 187). Whether or not one accepts this last, more problematic assertion, Peguero's book makes a significant contribution to the literature. Most notably, she incorporates rare and valuable interviews that she conducted with former soldiers, officers, and political leaders of the Trujillo state. These interviews supplement the U.S. State Department records and secondary sources on which the book is largely based. Peguero also draws at times on her own memories of growing up in the Dominican Republic during and after the Trujillo years.

Although primarily a study of the military and society during the Trujillo regime, Peguero's work contains introductory chapters on the pre-Trujillo period, including a solid overview of the first United States occupation of the Dominican Republic (1916–1924). In addition, Peguero charts the interesting and ambivalent course of U.S.-Trujillo relations. Most central to Peguero's guiding themes, however, is the second half of the book, which chronicles the expansion of the military under Trujillo. Here she treats the military's escalating budget, troop and weaponry levels, and training at home and abroad as well as its extension into further reaches of Dominican society. Under Trujillo's aegis, she shows, the military's professionalization did not eliminate but rather coincided uneasily with a form of intense politicization. Soldiers continually had to proclaim—and demand of the population—fealty to Trujillo, and the upper ranks, in particular, were often promoted or demoted for political and nepotistic reasons. Peguero argues that Trujillo's policies helped expand the military's role as a key avenue for social mobility, making it a particularly desirable profession for rural and poor young men and therein a mechanism by which the regime gained elements of popular support. Such support is evinced in the interviews she conducted with former servicemen. Peguero also analyzes these interviews for what they reveal about a paradoxical color politics within the regime. Trujillo, a light-skinned mulatto, was remembered as showing a preference for and seeking to demonstrate to foreign leaders his command over white troops through his presidential guard (which accompanied Trujillo abroad as well as in the National Palace). Overall, though, former soldiers represented Trujillo's military as evenhanded and broadly reflective of Dominican society (i.e. predominantly of African descent).

Despite glimpses into popular military experiences through her interviews, Peguero's treatment of the armed forces and the Trujillo regime in general remains essentially top-down. This left me curious about unexplored aspects of important events in Dominican mil-

itary history. For instance, what were the effects of the massacre of some 15,000 ethnic Haitians—a large portion of whose families had lived in the northwestern Dominican frontier for generations—on the Dominican soldiers who perpetrated this infamous atrocity in 1937? Could Peguero's research have cast new light on comparative questions of military obedience to genocidal orders and compliance with state terror? Peguero's generally top-down approach also appears to have conditioned her analysis of the mechanisms by which Trujillo sustained his long rule. She moves beyond much existing literature focused solely on the dictator's elaborate machinery of repression by emphasizing instead the putative powers of the regime's deceptive propaganda and seductive rituals of rule to win adherents. Indeed, throughout the book, Peguero asserts the causal efficacy of Trujillo's "demagoguery." Yet we would need more evidence of popular perspectives for this argument to be convincing, as even effusive public deference may be far from a transparent reflection of private sentiments that supposedly deified Trujillo (p. 158). Furthermore, explanations of Trujillo's exceptional endurance that rest on assumptions of widespread "indoctrination," "brainwashing," deception, and the development of a "culture" of obedience (pp. 107, 160, 162, 175–176, 181) seem to underestimate the capacity for reason, informal resistance, and complex consciousness of Dominicans.

Finally, despite what one may infer from the book's title and its introductory arguments, this work does not treat the militarization of cultural practices (broadly speaking), nor does it really demonstrate how—or that—convergences of military and political power since colonial times have shaped patterns of what used to be called authoritarian political culture. To investigate the latter would have required more exploration of popular discourses and perspectives. Notwithstanding these limitations—perhaps ones inhering somewhat in the book's expansive reach and quick pace—this is a crisply written, balanced, and informative account of Dominican military and political history in the national period focused on the Trujillo regime. Peguero has provided this account, moreover, amid a limited body of academic work on Dominican history, particularly in English. She has thus contributed to the historiography of the Dominican Republic a scholarly treatment that will be useful to students of Dominican history at all levels.

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JAIME LARA. *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. x, 299. \$65.00.

Jaime Lara's central thesis in this well-researched and copiously illustrated volume is that the sixteenth-century mendicant architectural complexes of colonial Mexico embodied the friars' eschatological and millen-

nial ideas to an extent previously unrecognized. The eschatological theme is familiar from earlier studies: the friars who evangelized New Spain tied their work to an imminent end time, heralded by the discovery of the New World and to be hastened by the conversion of its inhabitants. The massive colonial churches that loom over Mexican towns have also been extensively documented. Lara interweaves these two topics more thoroughly than any previous scholar has done. The friars were not creating a "new Jerusalem" simply by trying to turn Indian towns into Christian utopias. They were literally rebuilding Jerusalem's monuments in the Indian towns of New Spain and decorating them with apocalyptic insignia.

Lara traces the relevant strains in European apocalyptic thought, from commentaries on the Book of Revelation, through the influence of the Sibylline Oracles and Joachim of Fiore, to the identification of Charles V as a second Charlemagne and as the last world emperor, who would surrender his crown to the returning Christ in Jerusalem. This event was to be heralded by the appearance in the sky of the cross and the instruments of the passion—motifs that decorate many Mexican structures, as do motifs that refer to Charles. Always tied to apocalyptic ideas was the image of Jerusalem, "the metaphor at the center of Judeo-Christian space-time and the teleological goal of human existence" (p. 94). There was the historical city with its destroyed or extant temples: Solomon's, Herod's, Constantine's Holy Sepulcher complex, and Islamic structures that Christian visitors mistook for long-gone Judaic ones. Any of these temples could serve as a synecdoche for the whole city. And this "earthly" Jerusalem city/temple was conflated with the celestial one, glimpsed and described by Ezekiel and John, which would be realized on earth at the end of time.

Medieval architects built new Jerusalems all over Europe. To qualify, a structure had only to evoke its model by some similarity of shape or proportion, not to reproduce it in detail or at full scale. By the time the mendicant friars reached Mexico, practical guides for building Jerusalems, based on travels to the Holy Land and interpretations of Ezekiel, were widely available. The most influential was the fourteenth-century work of the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra, which Lara sees as the model for the mendicant evangelization centers, with their tripartite, single-nave churches with flat roofs and crenellations, and their atria with corner posa chapels and with a central cross, which replaced but also evoked the altar of holocausts. The posa chapels Lara links to actual structures in Jerusalem and also to an artistic convention of using such structures as stage sets to depict events in the holy city; this convention also influenced the open chapels. Some open chapels were modeled on Lyra's conflation of the Al-Aqsa mosque with Solomon's Hall of the Forest of Lebanon. And it was not just the churches that recreated Jerusalem but whole towns: Lara traces the grid plan of colonial Latin American towns and cities to another Franciscan,

Francesc Eiximenis, who designed an ideal Christian city based on the visions of Ezekiel and John.

Detailed descriptions of a number of Mexican structures show the execution of these ideas in stone and paint. Lara attends mainly to the structures but gives some attention to their use: the "liturgical theatrics" of the volume's title refers to the dramas that were performed in the atria and open chapels but also to the broader program of catechetical instruction, processions, liturgical chants, confession, and other activities enacted in these spaces. The whole "mendicant complex might be understood in some degree as an elaborate stage set for an eschatological drama" (p. 36). Here the native people acted out their new identities as the converted "Lost Tribes," subjects of the millennial New Jerusalem.

Lara, striving to avoid the old "spiritual conquest" view of the friars' work, correctly presents the native people as active partners with the friars in building both the new churches and the new religious practices. He stresses similarities between Christianity and precolumbian religion (as well as architecture) that allowed for harmonious convergence and synthesis. This is too Panglossian: he skirts dissonant and irreconcilable elements, the friars' growing despair over the Indians' seemingly diabolical otherness, the nonspiritual reasons native people had for performing a Christian identity in their public spaces, and the ability of native exegetes to find meanings in Christian symbols that were neither precolumbian nor European but reflected their colonized condition and other ongoing concerns. Nevertheless, the volume is highly informative about Old World apocalyptic ideas and their execution in New Spain, and it makes a valuable addition to the literature on a colonial interchange that, although often examined, is still incompletely understood.

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ELLEN GUNNARSDÓTTIR. *Mexican Karismata: The Baroque Vocation of Francisca de los Ángeles, 1674–1744*. (Engendering Latin America.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 305. \$29.95.

Ellen Gunnarsdóttir's examination of the life and writings of a seventeenth-century holy woman is a welcome and important addition to the growing literature on the manifestations of female religiosity in colonial Latin America. Gunnarsdóttir's subject is Francisca de los Ángeles, a religious laywoman or *beata* whose extraordinary life developed in the context of the Mexican high baroque. Francisca was also a *queretana* at a time when Querétaro had become the base of operations for the 1683 Franciscan mission to the north; moreover, Francisca grew up saturated by the intense popular piety of the Counter Reformation, which would culminate in the Querétaro demoniac scandal of 1691. Her life was thus touched by some of the most important currents in

seventeenth-century Mexican society, and her story makes fascinating reading.

Born in 1674 on the outskirts of Querétaro, Francisca was one of nine children of impoverished but respectable parents. From childhood, she showed signs of unusual devotion and a mystical bent. At the age of nine she began to confess with the Franciscan friars of the newly founded Colegio de Santa Cruz; they quickly acknowledged her precocious spirituality, convincing her father to allow her to don the habit of a Franciscan tertiary. From that point until her death in 1744, Francisca consistently manifested spiritual gifts that earned her the patronage of Franciscan friars and the inhabitants of Querétaro. She was trusted by the friars to advise on evangelization and even, reputedly, bilocated to Texas to serve as a missionary herself. Unlike some of her contemporaries, she emerged successfully from a brush with the Inquisition and became foundress of an important religious institution. At the end of her life in 1744, Francisca presided as headmistress over the daughters of Querétaro's lower elite while retaining her reputation for sanctity. Gunnarsdóttir's careful study does justice to the manner in which Francisca's religious career developed and to the tensions implicit in the role of a neighborhood holy woman. Her natural tendency was to the interior life of prayer and meditation; however, her ability to sustain herself depended upon the piety and patronage of fellow citizens. As her gifts became more widely acknowledged, she moved from the (anyway risky) path of mystical union and bilocation to the more practical and less perilous occupations of a foundress. In so doing, she consolidated what must be one of the longer and more successful careers enjoyed by a Mexican holy woman. But while her success as a foundress may have taken her to a more stable and secure position than that of a neighborhood visionary, it may also have cast her into the relative obscurity from which Gunnarsdóttir has rescued her.

Any biographer must navigate between the attractions of the particular and the importance of context, and every biographer steers by a different measure of where the balance between the two must lie. While Gunnarsdóttir provides a wealth of contextual information in her first and final chapters, context might have been enhanced in various locations in between. For example, it seems clear that Francisca was a reluctant foundress pushed into creating a *beaterio* by the twin forces of financial need and the hunger of *queretanos* for foundations. Gunnarsdóttir misses an opportunity to integrate this foundation into a more general tendency within Mexican urbanism, exemplified by but not limited to Mexico City. Furthermore, Gunnarsdóttir's life-cycle approach is a useful way to study a long and complex life, but at times she forces the consonance between Francisca's life and her career. For example, although 1713 may have represented a period of consolidation for Francisca, it may be a bit premature to decree that the thirty-seven-year-old *beata* had entered "old age." And finally, though the author believes that a study of high baroque piety yields "a more fruitful

perspective" than would a gender-based analysis, Francisca's biography offers the opportunity to integrate both. Her identification as a "tomboy" in childhood, her sense of herself as a "spiritual male," her feelings of superiority to upper-class nuns, her conflicts with sometimes capricious male confessors and benefactors: all cry out for an analysis that acknowledges Francisca's rootedness in gender and class hierarchies. Indeed, one of the characteristics of baroque popular religion was its capacity to effect the kind of class and gender inversions that allowed a young Mexican girl from an impoverished family to become the adviser and confidant of educated Spanish missionaries. These inversions, however, were never permanent, and an understanding of how a woman like Francisca could simultaneously occupy the role of spiritual colleague and obedience-bound confessant demands a nuanced treatment of gender and class. Still, Gunnarsdóttir's treatment is meticulously researched, thoughtful, and thorough, and its focus on the spiritual context offers its own rewards. This is a useful and important book. Readable and engaging, it will be essential reading for those interested in Mexican women's history and Counter Reformation religiosity.

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TIMOTHY HAWKINS. *José de Bustamante and Central American Independence: Colonial Administration in an Age of Imperial Crisis*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2004. Pp xxviii, 283. \$40.00.

Our knowledge of how independence was achieved throughout Spanish America favors those who fought to overthrow the imperial yoke and, by so doing, became icons of the nations that were forged in the aftermath of often brutal armed conflict. Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos figure prominently in the liberation and construction of Mexico, just as Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín dominate the emergence from colony to republic in the countries of South America. As is frequently the case, Central America marches to the beat of a different drum. Administered as the Kingdom of Guatemala, which stretched from Chiapas to Costa Rica, the isthmus of Central America produced no inspirational leader who could galvanize secessionist fervor. As noteworthy as the transition to independence is the story of the man who did his royalist best to prevent it. José de Bustamante was a steely Spaniard who, between 1811 and 1818, did much to ensure that Central America did not experience the autonomous seizures that undermined Spanish authority elsewhere in the New World.

Timothy Hawkins begins his study of Bustamante by dissecting the extant literature. He observes that scholars, especially those from Central America, have traditionally portrayed Bustamante as "the personification of Spanish absolutism, supervising a 'reign of terror' that stifled dissent and crushed overt opposition" (p. viii), thus creating a "Bustamante myth" (p. xvii). In his

revisionist critique, Hawkins focuses on “the preservation of empire rather than the struggle for independence,” examining “the methods utilized by imperial officials to maintain order” and illuminating “the degree and nature of support for Spanish rule in the colony” (p. xxvi).

Hawkins takes care to chart key elements of Bustamante’s career before his arrival in Central America. He discerns formative experiences in Bustamante’s training at the naval academy in Cádiz and his partnership thereafter with Alejandro Malaspina in convincing Charles III, figurehead of the Bourbon reforms, to fund “a voyage around the world that would combine geographic exploration and scientific discovery with a thorough investigation of the political, social, and commercial status of the Spanish colonies” (p. 8). Both Malaspina and Bustamante “were products of the Enlightenment,” but the mother country they sailed from in 1789 was not the one to which they returned five years later. A once “energetic, activist state” now had Charles IV on the throne, a fickle heir who “allowed a young and inexperienced favorite named Manuel Godoy to assume the reins of power,” precipitating “almost permanent crisis” (p. 10). The outspoken, liberal-minded Malaspina fell foul of Godoy and soon found himself “stripped of all his titles and honors and imprisoned” (p. 12). Bustamante, in stark contrast, “presented the [C]rown with a detailed report on how to secure the commercial and defense needs of the colonies in the midst of the European hostilities” (p. 13). Godoy was impressed by Bustamante’s strategic thinking. While Malaspina languished in jail in La Coruña, Bustamante was dispatched to Montevideo, where he served as the crown’s highest representative for “seven successful years” (p. 18).

Bustamante’s “proven record” in Montevideo, Hawkins makes clear, paved the way for his appointment in 1810 as “captain general, governor, and president of the Kingdom of Guatemala” (p. 21). With Spain and its empire in turmoil—the French invasion of 1808 had resulted in the overthrow of Godoy and the abdication of Charles IV—Bustamante arrived in Central America in 1811 with an uncompromising vision. “The masses confuse the words *patria* and *pais*, patriotism and citizenship,” he declared. “The country where one is born, where one develops reason, where one’s soul forms its most permanent impressions, deserves and inspires affection. But how distinct is the wide, true love for the *Patria*, which includes all of the peoples united by the same social bonds, all those under one Religion, one King, one Law, one culture, one will, and one character.” Bustamante’s firm belief—for him, as for all “good Spaniards,” there was “no distinction between kingdoms, nor between the provinces which comprise the vast extent of the Monarchy” (p. 84)—was matched by a resolute sense of purpose, of what to do on behalf of the crown in order to protect its interests.

Hawkins depicts Bustamante at work with telling detail, responding to unrest in El Salvador and Nicaragua by devising “a counterinsurgency state” (p. 115) that

marshalled the manpower of “some four thousand troops.” Bustamante’s “active military forces” (p. 141) were deployed in Oaxaca to stop Mexican moves for autonomy from spilling over into Central America. He intercepted the mail, kept a close watch on the movement of goods and people, and imprisoned anyone who aroused suspicion. When, ruling in the crown’s name, the Cortés of Cádiz promulgated the Constitution of 1812, its progressive ideas were decidedly at odds with Bustamante’s, who saw the blueprint for a new colonial order “as something to be tolerated when possible and obstructed when necessary” (p. 143).

Bustamante became “a figure of hatred at the highest levels of colonial society” not just because his policies curtailed elite privileges but because “his guarded nature and reserved manner, his dislike of ostentation, and his scrupulousness in refusing gifts or bribes” (p. 186) clashed with elite pretensions and proclivities. Professional substance combined with personal style to offend creole pride and diminish creole prestige. When, in 1818, Carlos de Urrutia replaced him, Bustamante’s departure was celebrated by the creole elite, who cooperated gladly with Urrutia in drawing up a list of forty-seven charges against Bustamante when his term of office was formally reviewed. The admiral from Asturias, however, was not only cleared of all accusations but went on to serve the crown in several subsequent positions, dying in Madrid in 1825 after a half-century of “continuous service to Spain and its empire” (p. 212).

The interpretive acumen by which Hawkins contemplates evidence and argues his case is striking. His conclusion—that “the controversies that so deeply marked Bustamante’s tenure . . . resulted from a struggle for power between rival institutions during a particularly unstable time” (p. 210)—does not dispel the “Bustamante myth” so much as clarify why it might have been useful to construct it in the first place.

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ALINE HELG. *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770–1835*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 363. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Aline Helg opens her book with three questions about absences in Colombian, especially Caribbean Colombian, history: “Why did Caribbean Colombian lower classes of color not collectively challenge the small white elite during this process [of nation formation]? Why did race not become an organizational category in the region? Why did the Caribbean Coast integrate into Andean Colombia without asserting its Afro-Caribbean-ness?” (pp. 6–7). By asking these questions, the author proposes to offer some explanation for the origins of “Colombia’s long-lasting self-representation as a mestizo nation” (p. 7) that effaces its African roots.

Asking why people in the past did not behave in ways that we might expect is a tricky proposition. One fears

anachronism or the stuffing of evidence into ahistorical categories. Such is not the case in this meticulous and vigorous study of Caribbean Colombia in the late colonial period and the early decades of independence. What the author successfully conveys is a broad portrait of this society and the interests and identities that shaped it. This work joins a recent spate of excellent studies in English—for example, those by James E. Sanders, Marixa Lasso, and Nancy Appelbaum—on the politics of race in independent Colombia. Helg, however, goes deeper into the colonial roots of racial identities and conflicts.

Helg depicts Caribbean Colombia as a colonial backwater, resistant to the efforts of Bourbon officials to transform it. Through the central and later decades of the eighteenth century, crown and church sought to stabilize and populate the frontier and to install the institutions of the Spanish monarchy and Catholic Church. However, in the vast hinterland beyond coastal cities such as Cartagena, several groups repeatedly defied the bringing of what the Spanish considered civilization. Unvanquished Indians such as the Wayúu of the Guajira Peninsula, maroons, and *arrochelados* (squatters on unclaimed lands) were the targets of vice-roys and missionaries from the 1740s through the 1780s. These campaigns to remake the frontier, though, were short-lived. The fantasy of control was disabused by the colony's remoteness. Other Bourbon projects of renewal failed, too, including attempts to revitalize the slave trade to the region.

In the cities of Caribbean Colombia, however, Spanish institutions and values took firmer hold, although not always in the ways expected by the colonizers. Helg focuses especially on the dynamics of racial identity and privilege in coastal enclaves like Cartagena and Santa Marta where people of color, free and enslaved, formed the majority of the population. She finds that, while the dominant classes sought to defend white privilege and endogamy, the laws and customs that regulated racial status in other parts of the empire were more permeable in Caribbean Colombia. For example, when the monarchy introduced in 1795 the process known as *gracias al sacar*, by which colored people could legally purchase white status, creole elites in neighboring Venezuela protested vehemently, forcing the crown to reaffirm the "stain of slavery" as a social and legal handicap in colonial society. The metropolis formally reinforced white privilege, as it would continue to do until the last days of colonial rule in South America (the Constitution of Cádiz of 1812 reproduced the biases against African-descended people). In Caribbean Colombia, in contrast, the mechanism of *gracias al sacar* warranted no protest whatsoever. In Helg's view, the lack of response to this controversy demonstrates the "fuzziness" (pp. 100, 254) characteristic of urban society in this corner of the empire, despite tacit recognition of hierarchical norms regnant in other parts of Spanish America.

Another symptom or recognition of the distinctive racial patterns in the colony was the urban militias

formed in the later eighteenth century to bolster the imperial defenses against the British. In other Caribbean colonies like Cuba and Puerto Rico, the colonial regime recruited free people of color to serve in the militias, which offered significant privileges, but segregated blacks and mulattos in separate units. However, in Caribbean Colombia, there were no separate *pardo* and *moreno* units but militias *de todos los colores* (pp. 100–105).

The next three chapters of the book take a different tack, moving from the social structures, institutions, and values of late colonial society and focusing on the politics of decolonization and independence in the early nineteenth century. In this section, Helg pays far closer attention to the ideas and actions of political and military elites as they sought to liberate the colony and consolidate a national state. One such example is the rivalry between two *caudillos*, Simón Bolívar and José Padilla, a mulatto general whom Bolívar, a former slave owner from Venezuela, suspected of imposing a *pardocracia* (rule by Colombia's colored population). Thus, while preoccupation with race was more muted in Caribbean Colombia during the latter phase of colonial rule than in other Spanish American colonies, such as Venezuela or Cuba, the wars for independence apparently brought it to the fore.

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IRENE SILVERBLATT. *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 299. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

In this book Irene Silverblatt sets out to reformulate ideas about the emergence of the modern nation-state and the role of the Spanish Inquisition. She argues that the bureaucracy and ideologies characteristic of the early modern state first emerged when Castile began to establish colonies in the New World. Silverblatt takes seventeenth-century Peru as her setting and the Inquisition as her focal point for studying a state-like bureaucracy that controlled culture and society. Inspired by Hannah Arendt's 1960s theory about the connections among racial ideologies ("race thinking"), bureaucratic rule, and violence in nineteenth-century imperialism and, later, in the rise of fascism, Silverblatt demonstrates how these forces first emerged in Spain's viceroyalties. Like Arendt, Silverblatt aims to locate the "submerged" darker currents of Western civilization and the "subterranean stream of history" (p. 27). She does so with detailed analyses of evidence from Inquisition cases, idolatry campaigns, and evangelization processes, proposing that "the dance of bureaucracy and race, born in colonialism, was party to the creation of the modern world" (p. 4). Building on theories of the state advanced by Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Max Weber, on the one hand, and the work of scholars examining the foundations of England as a

modern nation, on the other, this book attempts to add “flesh and feeling” (p. 23) to previous studies about the emergence of the early modern state while also demonstrating Spain’s key role in its beginnings.

To begin, Silverblatt explains the inner workings of the Inquisition (chapter two) and how it forged a governing system that contributed to the development of a bureaucracy with state-like social practices in colonial Peru (chapter three). The Inquisition’s records tell the story of “the newly modern world’s forays into state-making” (p. 75) through its use of procedures to determine truth. She describes the bureaucracy’s highly regulated use and display of violence to forge a new model of civilization. In chapters four and five Silverblatt explores the complex role that “race thinking” played in the organization of colonial society. Drawing on missionaries’ manuals and sermons as well as Inquisition records, she illustrates how Iberian concepts of “purity of blood” and “stained blood” were transferred to and transformed in Peru. Defining and identifying the *español*, *indio*, and *negro* as colonizer, colonized, and slave (and, later, adding increasingly nuanced racial mixtures and castes, such as *mulato*, *mestizo*, and *sambo*) was part of the “modern-world’s colony and state-making origins” (p. 115). State building and race thinking went hand in hand, as bureaucrats assigned racial categories to royal subjects in order to control them. Silverblatt argues that in the process definitions of caste, culture, and nation became confused.

Subsequent chapters illustrate the bureaucratic workings and resulting disorder of this increasingly complex state-structuring of race thinking. We see the Inquisition trials of New Christians (chapter six) and nonindigenous women accused of Andean witch practices (chapter seven) as well as the emergence of nativist practices (Indianism) and its collision with idolatry campaigns. In every chapter, Silverblatt points out the ultimate difficulty bureaucrats had in defining categories and the violence necessary to institute and carry out policies.

While Silverblatt’s book is ambitious—reshaping our notions of colonialism, the modern state, and race—it successfully contributes to the dialogue on these topics. Like other theorists of modernity, she argues that the modern state is directly linked to its colonial origins and the rationalization of violence. But her work widens our scope of analyses by adding Spain’s role in these developments. It will prove to be a valuable tool for students and scholars examining the methods of the Inquisition and the relationship between ideas/practices of purity of blood, caste, and race as they changed over time in the New World. Silverblatt’s study helps us view the Inquisition as a modern institution built on theories of race and bureaucratic hierarchies. Elaborated with extensive archival research and argued with great clarity, the book is an essential read for students, scholars, and general readers interested in colonial Peru, the In-

quisition, and colonialism’s relationship to the modern state.

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FRANK SALOMON. *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 331. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$27.95.

In the best tradition of ethnohistory, Frank Salomon has produced an insightful and challenging work that goes beyond its notable contribution to Andean studies. At the same time that this book enlightens scholars about the elaboration and interpretation of the *khipus* (knotted cords of cotton or wool of pre-Hispanic origin), about Andean history from Inka times to the present, and about contemporary social and cultural principles, it also develops pathbreaking ideas about alternative forms of knowledge and unique efforts to encode them. To achieve this, Salomon relies on extensive archival and field research, exegesis with local people, his thorough knowledge about scholarly work on the Andes and about a landmark 1608 Quechua book of pre-Christian deities (whose locus is Huarochirí, the Peruvian province where by chance he encountered the *khipus*), and the intensive interrogation of previous interpretations about the *khipus* and of theories about systems and principles of “writing” and inscription.

A core idea developed throughout the study is “that the *khipus* functioned at a distance from language syntax, conforming rather to the nonverbal ‘syntax’ of fixed social performances such as inventorying, accounting, attendance-taking, calendric registry, quota-giving, sacrificing.” Salomon continues, “[*khipus*] were concretions of nonverbal action which once made, were susceptible to verbalization” (p. 37). As opposed to most other studies of *khipus* that rely on archeological specimens, Salomon was fortunate to study them in a context where they retain contemporary relevance. Even though the people of San Andrés de Tupicocha, the peasant community where the *quipocamayos* (the current local name given to the cords) are located, do not decipher or update the cords (Salomon argues these were enduring practices that only waned in importance around the turn of the twentieth century), they curate them and give them central social and cultural relevance. *Quipocamayos* are used in public ceremonies as well as in more private settings for divination, and are also seen as repositories of local “tradition,” that is, as part of the life of ancestors still respected by contemporary people.

Witnessing this continuing importance of the *quipocamayos*, it seems to me, made Salomon aware of the relevance of understanding the performative level of the art of *khipu* use. One of the most interesting points convincingly argued by Salomon throughout the book, and linked to the word “concretion,” is that through this

activity, Andean people “realized themselves” and “effected changes in their world” (p. 39). Scholars of performance have for sometime paid close attention to the very act of “doing” or “rendering” and the specifics of how this is done, in order to better understand how social life works. The *kipus* did not just record social actions; they made them real. In this sense Salomon’s study contributes to the study of performance and the world of nonverbal communication. However, a scholar of performance might also be left with the desire to know more about the ritual and performative aspects of the use of *quipocamayos* in Tupicocha. For example, we only get a glimpse of the role of music and dance in the public occasions in which they take part and we do not get enough sense of other performative aspects of the public ceremonies where they are central. But to be fair, one cannot do everything, and Salomon promises more work to come about historical, cultural, and social life in Huarochirí.

One important point that the author touches upon in a few places but does not develop in full is the impact that his interest in and studies of *quipocamayos* have had, will have, or could have for the people of Tupicocha and for Andean people in general. What he has been able to attain through his study is important knowledge about a living culture and its past. How much of this knowledge has been shared with the people he studies or with Peruvian students and scholars? I hope that Salomon has plans for translating (in a double sense of simplifying his often intricate prose and putting it in Spanish) these findings soon. The politics of knowledge should always be at the center of our attention.

This is a multifaceted book that can be appreciated from many different angles and at various levels of expertise. Salomon is aware of the complexity of his data analysis and theoretical discussions, providing the reader with summaries, making suggestions as to how nonspecialists should read a chapter, and linking already developed points and those that will be inserted later. It is still not an easy read, even for those acquainted with Andean culture and history. It is worth the effort, however, because it is intellectually stimulating and deepens our understanding of Andean culture, history, and social practices. This important book also broadens scholars’ understanding of the ways in which human beings encode knowledge and how they realize their social and cultural life.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

SVIATOSLAV DMITRIEV. *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 428.

There is less to Sviatoslav Dmitriev’s book than the title promises. It is about the Roman province Asia, which

is only the western part of Asia Minor, and it does not really consider how cities in that area governed themselves. Instead, it examines the language used in Greek inscriptions about city officials.

This was a dissertation, and reads like one. Beginning with a philological discussion of several terms for aspects of magistracies, it goes on to previous scholars’ attempts to organize offices into groups. Dmitriev admits (p. 25)—although his methodology overlooks—a crucial fact: each Greek city had its own form of administration, and the officials’ titles and responsibilities that are the main theme of his book did not necessarily apply in the same way in all, or even in most, cities.

The period under study is halved: “pre-provincial” reaches from the death of Alexander to King Attalos III’s bequeathal of Asia to Rome; “provincial” follows, ending with Asia’s reorganization by Diocletian at the end of the third century. This obscures the question of whether Asian cities responded differently to the frequent changes in Roman rulers under the republic than they did to longer-reigning monarchs before or after. There are studies of individual cities in each half, but not the same cities, which also disguises continuities; yet continuity becomes the theme of the concluding chapter. This is more nuanced, but also far more general, than the previous sections and seems to follow less from them than from other scholars’ discussions.

Some terminology falls uneasily on American ears: “college” for a board of officials (but also for age groups such as ephebes) and “presidium,” rarely used outside Soviet organizations. Footnotes list inscriptions solely by city and date; readers will need to check them to get any context. Some of the terminology is translated, but most (not just officials’ titles but whole phrases) is transliterated. This is annoying for those who read Greek, but it does not help those who do not, as few terms are explicitly defined. Sometimes vital information is left out, as when priesthoods are discussed without mentioning what god(s) they served.

Dmitriev uses the language of inscriptions to reveal the status and responsibilities of civic officials. Unfortunately, most of his evidence, especially for the Roman period, comes from honorifics, which are by nature magniloquent and inexplicit. Nonetheless, he treats them as if they were the key to *mentalité* (and as if there were a single *mentalité* for all Asian cities). There is not enough attention to the few, precious, contemporary literary works; for example, Dmitriev asserts that the orator Dio of Prusa did not commit any personal resources to benefactions toward his city (p. 166), which is amply contradicted by Dio’s own orations (46.6; 47.19–23).

Evidence is poorly marshalled, sometimes inaccurate. Inscriptions of varied cities (sometimes very few or outside the province) are jumbled together with those of supracivic bodies like the League of Asia, because they use a particular word or concept. From these, Dmitriev makes broad statements and sees province-wide social trends. This ignores the cities’ vaunted, although challenged, internal autonomy, local differ-

ences in terminology, and the distinction between city and provincial offices.

For example, Dmitriev redefines *leitourgos*, one who fulfills an official duty at his own expense, incorrectly (p. 118); his attempt to connect it with immunity from taking on such duties confuses immunity granted by a city with that granted by the Roman state from its own taxes and from offices of the League of Asia, and misdates a famous senatorial decision from 39 B.C.E. (by consuls' names) to the second or third century (when it happened to be inscribed). Occasionally he seems not to have read his inscriptions in full, or compared them to one another: he portrays the sacred office of *prophetes* at the shrine of Apollo at Didyma as so unattractive that few would take it (p. 143), yet his evidence for this is people filling it of their own accord, and he soon (p. 150) cites a man who gave feasts in order to become *prophetes*.

Dmitriev treats coins as if they were texts without economic or archaeological context. (There is no consideration of material remains of official buildings, like *bouleuteria* or *prytaneia*, in the book.) He holds coinciding dates assigned for Miletus's coinage and decrees in the Hellenistic period as independent evidence for its autonomy, but the argument is circular: documented times of autonomy were used to date episodes of coinage. Then, arguing from gaps in what is preserved of Priene's decrees, he tries to insert similar gaps into Priene's coinage. He does little with later civic coins, though they are a major source for officials' names and titles, and why such names appear has been much debated since the monumental *Roman Provincial Coinage* series (not noted here) began in 1992. The book's sole illustration, a coin of Smyrna, is captioned with a 1912 wrong guess at the name of a magistrate, although corpora published in 1957 and 1987, not to mention the image itself, give the correct name. An out-of-date compendium is preferred to actual ancient evidence.

This is a book by a scholar who is unfortunately not yet able to deal with the historical and social complexity of his material. We still await a usable update on city government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor.

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JOHN F. DONAHUE. *The Roman Community at Table during the Principate*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. 333. \$70.00.

Authors, even academic authors, normally write with some sense of their audience in mind. The most puzzling feature of this volume by John F. Donahue is its ambiguity in this regard. At first glance, the book appears to target a select audience of classicists and ancient historians. There are approximately 150 pages of text, forty pages of endnotes, thirty pages of bibliography, and eighty-five pages of appendixes. Here fully seventy-five pages—a quarter of the whole—are taken up by a collection of 316 Latin inscriptions. Since these are not translated, readers without a working knowl-

edge of Latin will find the book of limited value. This is both unfortunate and unnecessary, because Donahue admits that "the highly formulaic nature of many of these dedicatory and honorary texts would make the translation of each entry an exercise in redundancy" (p. 164). Hence a sampling of the documents in translation would have sufficed. Nonspecialists should thus continue to consult A. R. Hands's *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (1968). This contains a comparable corpus of eighty-one Greek and Latin texts, all translated into English. It was part of the "Aspects of Greek and Roman Life" series, which was aimed at a broad audience whom the editor presumed to be unfamiliar with the ancient languages.

The professional historian, in contrast, may well wonder why this book was written. Donahue repeatedly scores three basic points. Two of these—the observation that community-wide banquets would have required a large physical space, and a considerable infrastructure—are mere common sense. His third finding, that the Roman elite doled out unequal portions at festal events in order to acknowledge and reinforce class distinctions, is hardly new. Scholars have recognized for decades that the more affluent attendees typically received larger and choicer portions than their poorer brethren. Donahue adds nothing to our understanding of this revealing social dynamic.

Since he appears to be intimately conversant with the evidence for Roman public feasting, it is regrettable that Donahue does not address a number of important historical questions to which the answer is not immediately obvious. Foremost among these is the genesis of the Christian communal dinner (*agape*). Believers "daily frequented the temple together and ate their meals at home together" (Acts of the Apostles 2: 46). Pagan Romans would have found this egalitarian setting startling. Did early Christians invent this tradition out of whole cloth, or should we look for its origins in Judaic culture? Donahue ties Caesar's extravagant public banquets to the intensely competitive nature of Roman electoral politics, but other elements of Caesar's public policy were strongly influenced by his exposure to the institutions and practices of the Macedonian kingships in the Greek East. Hellenistic monarchs notoriously entertained on a lavish scale, but Donahue completely neglects their festal practices. One should at least consider the possibility that late republican and early imperial dynasts such as Caesar, Antony, Caligula, and Nero looked to the East as well as to Rome for inspiration.

Finally, Donahue fails to reach a coherent conclusion. To do so requires pursuing the topic into late antiquity—an era that is ripe for investigation. Here two examples must suffice. Fourth-century emperors lived in splendid isolation from their subjects and, as Ramsay MacMullen rightly notes in *Roman Government's Response to Crisis A.D. 235–337* (1976), tried to provoke a sense of awe (*kataplexis*) among those to whom they granted an audience. Did seclusion put an end to the imperial banquet, or did it lead to calculated displays of

imperial munificence worthy of China's Ming dynasts? At the municipal level, one would similarly like to know whether the elite gradually abandoned a philanthropic tradition that had endured for centuries, or whether over time it was subsumed under the heading of Christian charity. Donahue's approach insensibly leads us to these questions, but for answers the reader will have to look elsewhere.

Public feasting is an interesting and important subject, and in the case of Rome much work remains to be done. I hope that the next scholar to explore this theme will tread new ground rather than repackage what we already know.

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LESLIE BRUBAKER and JULIA M. H. SMITH, editors. *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 333. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$29.99.

The early medieval period has been the locus of lively scholarly debates in recent years over issues fundamental to an understanding of how what we know as "Europe," "Christianity," and "the Islamic World" came to be—issues like the nature of identity and of political power. This very useful book situates the impact of gender within the context of the latest scholarship on these larger debates. The authors of these sixteen essays, covering Roman, Byzantine, Muslim, and "Germanic" societies, are more interested in what gender can tell us about the early Middle Ages than what the early Middle Ages can tell us about gender. They do not offer new theoretical paradigms, but they do break new ground in our understanding of the period in question.

One important theme to emerge from this book, although not singled out in coeditor Julia M. H. Smith's fine introduction, is the interaction between gender and ethnicity. Many groups in this period were concerned with their ethnic (for want of a better word) identities. Walter Pohl, in "Gender and Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages," uses stories of Amazons and pseudo-bearded women to examine the ways late antique writers explained difference. By equating fighting women with the Amazons of Greek myth, authors made them a separate ethnic group, casting women who were too strong and aggressive as pagan and "other." Mary Harlow shows how late Roman ideas of the relation between dress and masculinity changed as they began to adopt "barbarian" styles like leggings. Shaun Tougher's article on the court eunuch points out that while in the late Roman period eunuchs tended to be ethnic outsiders, by the ninth century many Byzantine eunuchs were native, indicating a severing of the link between foreignness and emasculation. Julia Bray's comprehensive overview of Abbasid social structures connects the foreign slave origins of several of the mothers of Abbasid rulers to a new concept of the family in which maternal lineage was no longer as important as it had been. Bonnie Effros challenges traditional methods of

determining the ethnicity of burials from the brooches found in women's graves, arguing that this assumes women were passive transmitters of fixed identities, although she does not prescribe a different methodology (which presumably would have to entail radically redefining what we understand by "ethnicity" in the early medieval context, a redefinition scholars have already begun to undertake).

The second theme that emerges says more about the nature of the sources and of contemporary historiography than it does about early medieval culture: the absence of women from discussions of masculinity (but not the absence of men from discussions of femininity). Harlow, Tougher, and Lynda Coon ("What is the Word if not Semen?" Priestly Bodies in Carolingian Exegesis") demonstrate that it is possible to write about men as gendered beings without considering women at all. Coon discusses with great erudition Hraban Maur's representation of priests as wombs to be fertilized by the semen of God's word and give birth to spiritual offspring, mentioning women only to note that "Whereas women are the repositories of male seed, Christian converts are feminised vessels for divine revelation" (p. 295). This essay, one of the strongest in a strong book, is an impressive and insightful analysis of masculinity in the ninth century, yet it does not ask what it means for women and for gender relations in the society as a whole that men can appropriate the positive aspects of femininity. The male-authored and male-focused nature of most of the sources combines with the inescapable echoes of centuries of historical scholarship on men as an unmarked category to make it all too easy to exclude women. We still need women's history as well as (not instead of) the history of gender.

Articles by coeditor Leslie Brubaker on Prokopios's depiction of Theodora, Martha Vinson on accounts of Byzantine bride shows, Nadia Maria El Cheikh on the harem of al-Muqtadir, Ian Wood on Pippinid genealogies, and Mayke de Jong on accounts of the Empress Judith all use textual representations of women to understand constructions of gender, and all use those constructions as a way into the politics (in the broadest sense) of these societies. Each of these scholars finds a slightly different balance between discussion of these cultural representations and discussion of the lives of the women in question, but each includes men in the discussion, both because the authors of the texts are all male and because the women in question are known to us largely because of their position as daughter, wife, or mother of well-known men. Wood's essay, in particular, is a tour de force, drawing important conclusions about the nature of political power and legitimacy from sketchy evidence (and from silence) in a most convincing way.

Another group of articles is less concerned with constructions of gender than with male and female historical actors and their interactions. Both Gisela Muschiol, writing on Western liturgical practice, and Yitzhak Hen, on cultural patronage in Merovingian Gaul, confirm the argument of Suzanne Fonay Wemple (*Women*

in *Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500–900* [1981]) and other scholars that Merovingian women had more power and influence than their Carolingian counterparts. Dawn Hadley concludes that other issues—age and family status, for example—were more important in determining Anglo-Saxon burial practices than gender. Janet Nelson, in an essay informed by the scholarship on “courtliness,” finds that women, both monastic and secular, wielded a great deal of influence on Frankish and Anglo-Saxon courts, in gender-specific ways.

Overall the scholarly quality of these essays is remarkably high, informed as they are both by extensive scholarship and (in most cases) by familiarity with current issues in the field of gender studies as well as early medieval history. They are uniformly written to be accessible to a scholarly audience not familiar with the questions addressed. I have already used the book in a graduate seminar. Anyone teaching medieval gender, women, or early medieval history will want to do the same.

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VICTORIA THOMPSON. *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*. (Anglo-Saxon Studies, number 4.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. x, 236. \$85.00.

Among medievalists, students of later Anglo-Saxon England, the two centuries or so before the Norman Conquest, are an enviable lot. They suffer of course, like other scholars of the tenth and eleventh centuries, from a dearth of sources, but those they do have are almost as abundant in the vernacular as in Latin. This means that, in a survey of a key issue in social and religious history like the volume under review, they are able to measure more closely than most the degree to which people at the time lived, and died, within a common symbolic and conceptual universe. Moreover, since the period saw not just the consolidation of England as a united Christian kingdom under Alfred the Great and his successors but also the final waves of non-Christian immigrants into the British Isles, they are able to gauge how new populations assimilated into the dominant culture just as it was reaching maturity in the generations before and after the year 1000. Victoria Thompson makes the most of these realities. Utilizing a wide range of evidence from a number of fields—religious texts and wills, graves and gravestones, manuscript illustrations, poetry—she reveals both the high degree to which Christianity shaped reactions to death and dying in later Anglo-Saxon England and the remarkable multiplicity of behavior and belief that nevertheless prevailed from place to place and time to time, sometimes even in the same place.

Thompson begins with a chapter on Æthelflæd (d. 918), daughter of King Alfred and wife of Æthelred, ealdorman of Mercia. By weaving in and around the surviving evidence of Æthelflæd's life, the author explores death, dying, and relations between the living

and the dead in the early tenth century, concluding that, in spite of Æthelflæd's elite status, her “recorded activities” and those of “her articulate, wealthy and powerful family represent the concerns of many of their contemporaries and fellow countrymen writ large” (p. 25). Æthelflæd and Æthelred spent a good deal of their adulthood making arrangements for their lives after death. They founded religious communities. They contracted for liturgical suffrages in life and death. They sought out saints' relics and devoted themselves to their cults. Focusing on someone like Æthelflæd can only reveal so much, however, and, in the five chapters that follow, Thompson takes a wider view, exposing the diversity of response that spanned the borders between Christianity and paganism, clerical and lay culture, Latin and Old English texts, and orthodox and unorthodox attitudes and beliefs. That diversity is particularly visible in local practices such as the making of graves and the treatment of corpses.

The second chapter has two parts. In the first, Thompson introduces one of the main themes of the book: like other early medieval churches, the Anglo-Saxon church was far more interested in where someone was buried than in how. The consecration of burial grounds and their location in churchyards were new in the late ninth century, and virtually universal in the late eleventh. At the same time, execution sites, and the corpses of criminals, suicides, and heretics were increasingly situated near old pagan barrows, which themselves often lay along the borders of Christian parishes, at the edge of sacred space. In the second part, she analyzes a fascinating vernacular homily on death, hell, and paradise, from the later tenth century, in which men can expect “every night a new bride brought to bed, and she as lovely as Juno” (p. 53). Not surprisingly, the author is anonymous. The fourth chapter analyzes a mid-eleventh-century manual for priests, whose contents suggest that popular piety and practice had been deeply touched by the death rituals of clerics, monks, and nuns by the year 1050. The next two focus on death and the body, in particular the problems raised by the ever-present *wyrms*, a category of creatures that encompassed maggots, vermin, serpents and dragons. The final chapter, fittingly, is on judgment, and ends with a compelling discussion of St. Peter as the gatekeeper not only of paradise, but also of hell.

Thompson is both careful and imaginative and her writing is often more than just scholarly. She is as comfortable interpreting tomb sculpture as she is liturgical *ordines* or the use of charcoal to line graves. Filled with evocative details, unexpected sources, and fresh insights, her book makes substantial contributions to Anglo-Saxon studies, medieval history, and the interdisciplinary investigation of death and dying.

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PIERRE BOUET, BRIAN LEVY, and FRANÇOIS NEVEUX, editors. *The Bayeux Tapestry: Embroidering the Facts of History*. (Proceedings of the Cerisy Colloquium, 1999.)

Caen, France: Presses Universitaires de Caen. 2004. Pp. 426. €39.50.

The Bayeux Tapestry, or more correctly, as authors of these essays insist, the Bayeux Embroidery, is one of the most famous textiles in European history. Seventy or so meters long and about fifty centimeters wide, of fine bleached linen worked largely in wool, it depicts the conquest of England in 1066 by William of Normandy. It is the treasure of the town of Bayeux, where the first surviving explicit record places it in 1478. An entry in a Burgundian inventory of 1420 and a much earlier reference to a tapestry in the possession of one of William's daughters may suggest that it was not always at Bayeux; but, like almost everything about this enigmatic work, their interpretation is debatable. Who designed and executed it; where; precisely when; why; for what patron or audience; to be displayed in what context: all remain questions. No comparable textile survives from this date. Its complex nature calls for careful interpretation. A combination of visual images with terse but continuous inscription, a work of art, a political text and an artifact, it demands elucidation as a visual and literary narrative (perhaps, as several authors here suggest, as one to be talked through, explained and developed by a narrator), and as a physical object, subject to the limitations and possibilities of its medium.

Early in 1983, the embroidery was moved and rehung, providing the opportunity to submit the textile to a thorough investigation, to inspect the back, to ascertain its condition, and to take samples of the materials for scientific analysis. A colloquium held at Cerisy-la-Salle in 1999 discussed the results of this investigation, here published for the first time, with contributions by scholars involved in a joint Caen/Hull Universities project. Articles by Nicole de Reyniès, Gabriel Vial, Brigitte Oger, Marie-Hélène Didier, and especially Isabelle Bédard and Beatrice Girault-Kurtzman, two of the four specialist restorers of textiles who carried out the work, reveal the quality of the embroidery. They also suggest a work produced to a single design—in panels, which become shorter—but worked simultaneously by teams of embroiderers, joined together after completion, and with central scenes, inscription, and borders the product of a single operation. The embroidery was conceived and produced as a whole, probably quickly.

Other papers deal with a variety of topics. Hitherto presumed lost documentation concerning the fate of the tapestry under German occupation, particularly its investigation by Viking historian and SS Sturmbannführer, Herbert Jankuhn, is discussed by Sylvette Lemagnen. The embroidery is related to Latin sources (Marjorie Chibnall on Orderic Vitalis), to the fourteenth-century *Grande Chronique de Normandie* and its precursors (Gillette Labory). Its value as a historical source is central to most essays: for the coronation of Harold (Barbara English); for the history of warfare (John France); for costume, civil, ecclesiastical and especially military (Oliver Renaudeau); for military and

other architecture, ships, and the materials of everyday life (Anne-Marie Flambard Héricher).

Interpretation of the work as a whole, and the story it tells is the concern of François Neveux and Pierre Bouet; Brian Levy is interested in how the story is told, placing the embroidery, as others do, in the tradition of epic and *chanson de geste*. Odo, bishop of Bayeux and half brother of William, the most likely patron of the work, runs through the essays as a leitmotif, fighting at Hastings (Neveux) and depicted wearing some of the most luxurious armor represented (Renaudeau). The uncomfortable late eleventh-century fact of a fighting bishop is seen by Valerie I. J. Flint as a deliberate counter to contemporary Gregorian reform. Maylis Baylé places the work artistically. Most essays confirm and extend existing interpretations: that Odo commissioned the work; that a sharp antithesis of lay/clerical in its audience and message is anachronistic. Elisabeth Van Houts restores a role to William's wife Mathilda and her pregnancy in the preparations for the attack on England. Hers is the only gender-conscious perspective on a text designed, as France insists, for an elite (male?) audience. The volume opens with a summary of the long-standing debate over the textile, summarized to 1988 by Neveux, drawing on the fundamental work of Shirley Ann Brown, who herself brings her studies up-to-date to 1999. This valuable collection ends with David Hill's account of reproductions of the work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which provide sobering evidence of the extent of post-eleventh-century restorations and their greater or lesser "corruption" of the text in a minimum of 379 places.

The Bayeux "Tapestry" is an iconic object, significant, enigmatic, and endlessly debatable. It depicts an event central to two eleventh-century polities that has lost nothing of its importance for their later national histories. Meaning can, and certainly has been, poured into it. It tells the story of Norman triumph and is often seen as Norman propaganda, yet, as has long been recognized, it is no simple anti-English text. It is now seen, as here, as essentially Anglo-Norman, the product of a new fusion of cultures after 1066, even a major influence on that new cultural amalgam. English, Neveux, and especially Bouet underline its sympathy with the defeated English King Harold. Bouet offers a subtle and convincing interpretation of a deliberately ambiguous work, produced in and reflecting a precise historical moment and circumstance. That moment was the immediate aftermath of conquest, when William sought reconciliation with his new English subjects, before his predatory followers and the English uprising divided and hardened opinion. The "Tapestry" should be dated *ca.* 1067–1068, making it one of the earliest postconquest commentaries. The redating is important and will certainly be contentious. It is consistent with recent thinking on the short-term unfolding of conquest, and with the results of the detailed examination of the textile. The latter cannot, however, prove it. "Scientific" study reminds us of the quality of this textile and tells us much about its production. But it will not resolve the

questions of interpretation that the Bayeux Embroidery poses and to which this volume makes an important contribution.

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RICHARD GODDARD. *Lordship and Medieval Urbanisation: Coventry, 1043–1355*. (Studies in History, New Series, number 41.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 330. \$99.00.

In the past twenty years, important studies of individual cities have significantly revised the landscape of medieval English urban historiography. Our concepts of the use of urban space (domestic and public), of social organization, of economic development, and of the culture of medieval towns have all been modified. Research that organically connects towns and surrounding hinterlands to create regions of interdependent economy and culture has challenged the conceptualization of medieval English towns as isolated entities whose histories could be confined to areas enclosed within walls. Making use of methodologies associated with more recent urban historiography, Richard Goddard makes an important contribution to medieval English urban history with his study of Coventry between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.

Goddard's book approaches the emergence of Coventry as a major town from two perspectives. He establishes the initial foundation of Coventry's success in the policies of the city's two primary lords: the priors of the cathedral chapter and the earls of Chester. Like many cities, separate seigneurial jurisdictions separated Coventry into halves. Goddard argues persuasively that both lords acted to establish markets, foster immigration through grants of burgage tenure, improved urban infrastructure, and successively provided the basis for urbanization. They did so not through any altruistic motivation but to enhance the value of their fees. Until the middle of the thirteenth century, the priory was most successful in enhancing its possession of urban rents and properties and in investing in planned development of streets, markets, and housing within Coventry. Having created conditions conducive to urban growth, the priory lost its position as the primary lord in Coventry to the increased economic and political influence of resident burgesses by 1345.

The second half of the book focuses on the successful commercialization of Coventry and the creation of economic conditions that promoted sustained growth. Focus here shifts from lordship to the activities of burgesses and laborers. Goddard considers immigration patterns, occupational structure and labor specialization, the land market, and the use of credit in the development of commerce. Using place-name surnames from various citizens' lists, deeds, and bonds, Goddard demonstrates that Coventry attracted immigrants from an extensive catchment area similar to patterns of immigration at York and London. He does not explain boundaries of the immigration catchment area in terms

of other towns and areas of settlement, nor does he consider factors such as transportation or natural features that defined the shape of immigration to Coventry. In a somewhat similar geographical approach to Coventry's medieval influence, Goddard examines bonds enrolled under the Statute Merchant to consider the range of the city's commercial hinterland. Goddard suggests that there is a direct correlation between immigration and trade, and mapping of the immigration catchment area and the commercial hinterland indicate the logic of his conclusion.

Goddard lists occupational diversity and labor specialization as two defining aspects of commercialization. He lists 153 different occupations for Coventry by the fourteenth century. Unlike other large towns, Coventry's workers and merchants were not clustered in any single trade, such as the cloth industry, in the thirteenth century. By the fourteenth century, however, the largest single occupation was that of merchant. While it is undoubtedly true that Coventry's merchants and laborers produced a vastly greater array of goods and services than those found in smaller villages, Goddard's evidence also suggests decreasing specialization, particularly at the highest levels. As he points out, men listed as merchants often engaged in production and sale of a variety of goods and services ranging from wool to ale. By the fourteenth century, capital began to be concentrated in the hands of greater investors, who diversified their commercial and industrial interests to match market conditions. Similarly, it is probable that many unskilled laborers, particularly single women or female heads of households, engaged in a variety of occupations as they became available or necessary. In short, one could argue that occupational diversity did not produce specialization among either the elite or the poor.

Goddard's painstaking consideration of trends in considerations, rents, and leases demonstrates persuasively that the land market in Coventry remained strong, even during periods of general crisis elsewhere in England. He demonstrates that real estate values and prices for grain in Coventry's hinterland varied inversely during the thirteenth century. Yet even during the agricultural shortfalls of the early fourteenth century, when prices rose precipitately, leases remained stable, then climbed in the decade prior to the Black Death. Contrary to the trends in so many major cities, the demand for land and continuous building in Coventry suggests continued immigration and investment during the fourteenth century. Coventry's growth while other major cities declined made it the greatest urban center of the midlands by the fifteenth century. Goddard provides the historical foundation for this phenomenon of urban transformation in medieval England.

JOHN PAUL BISCHOFF
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ELIZABETH FITZPATRICK. *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c. 1100–1600: A Cultural Landscape Study*.

(Studies in Celtic History, number 22.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 294. \$70.00.

In medieval Europe, the issue of the relationship between power and authority was much debated, especially through the processes of appointing and recognizing the rightful successor of a king or lord. The Irish had a real problem organizing lawful succession, along with which went the need for public recognition of the legitimate (or successful) claimant. In much of continental Europe, this was done through the coronation of kings or the investiture of lords, but in Ireland such ceremonies were lacking. The question of inauguration of Irish kings and lords has been discussed through the medium of written sources, although less than the one of succession. Elizabeth FitzPatrick takes the question much further by basing her study on the sites for inauguration rather than accounts of it. This opens up a new set of data, valuable because the physical evidence raises new questions.

FitzPatrick's first and major problem is the identification or recognition of inauguration sites. After a brief prologue on the rites of inauguration and chapter one discussing the available sources there are three chapters on the sites. FitzPatrick arranges these around the sites' physical attributes: mounds, stone slabs, and stone chairs, linked to appendixes listing them. The sites are clearly a heterogeneous collection including new mounds, reused prehistoric ones, and prominent natural features. Unfortunately the author's program is somewhat flawed in detail; the criteria are not mutually exclusive, as when a stone slab occurs at a mounded site and the geographical information lacks grid references. Some of the sites, particularly the important ones of Magh Adair or Tullach Og, need a proper modern survey, not just an air photograph and old records. The discussion of the Clann Aedh Buidhe is somewhat misleading, misdating the acquisition of their territory and its extent (Map 14b). FitzPatrick's main conclusion is that it is impossible to produce a physical definition that allows one to identify an undocumented site with any confidence. The underlying pattern would seem to be one of appropriation of the landscape, ancient or natural.

The survey chapters are followed by two more thematic ones. Chapter five concerns the role of the church in inaugurations and concludes that "Where the majority of medieval royal inauguration ceremonies are concerned the church came to the secular king-making site rather than the king or chief to the church" (p. 193). The value of FitzPatrick's survey is shown by this conclusion, countering the impression given by the anecdotal evidence of the few but well-known examples of cathedral inaugurations. Chapter six attempts to locate the inauguration sites in their contemporary political and landholding landscapes, largely derived from Ulster examples. Inevitably this is rendered a problematic exercise by the vagaries of reconstructing the landscapes of the eleventh to sixteenth centuries, along with the difficulties of identifying the inauguration places.

There is also some overlap with earlier chapters, such as with regard to Kilmacrenan, a site apparently used by two lineages for inauguration, although Fitzgerald makes no comment on this. Again, as with the physical appearance of the sites, no pattern can emerge from the disparate evidence presented.

An issue that FitzPatrick could have explored but did not is that of chronology. She states firmly (and, in my view, correctly) that there is no real evidence for late prehistoric inauguration at such sites as Navan or Tara, and no evidence that there was any continuity of such rites from late prehistory into the Middle Ages. However, there is a corollary to this. Much of the evidence she surveys dates from the tenth century or later. More to the point, the evidence of inauguration sites appears to be associated with the formation of new, or newly powerful, dynasties. This connects (although she does not link the two) with FitzPatrick's idea of the inauguration place as a site appropriating the past or the land. In this reading, the rites and sites are another of those cases of the Irish bending or inventing tradition to suit change.

FitzPatrick was brave to publish this book, because it tries to make a story when none emerges from her survey of the sites and their documentary evidence. It is not even clear whether it was deemed essential for a lineage to have a traditional, fixed site of inauguration. Given this, it would be easy—but totally wrong—to conclude that her efforts have been wasted, for inauguration sites and ceremonies were an important part of the political organization of medieval Ireland, and this book clarifies our knowledge of them greatly. The fact that there was no clear agreement in Ireland about these sites, and their marginalization of the church, tells us much about the fragmented state of Irish medieval political thinking, where power was always deemed more important than authority.

THOMAS MCNEILL
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BRIAN A. CATLOS. *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, number 59.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 449. \$95.00.

With the Islamic conquest of the Iberian peninsula, the region surrounding the Ebro river became the Thaghr al-Aqṣā, the "Furthest March." By the eleventh century its society was thoroughly Islamicized, mostly through gradual conversion. Over the course of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the region fell to the kings of Aragon and counts of Barcelona, but the Muslim population stayed put. It is the nature of this regional *mudéjar* society that Brian A. Catlos sets out to examine.

The book comprises three distinct sections. Part one offers a description of the Thaghr before and during the Christian conquest. It is a very readable synthesis of current literature on *mudéjares* and the *Reconquista* in the Crown of Aragon and in Iberia generally. In ad-

dressings administration, religion and culture, commerce, agriculture, language, political habits, and family structures in the Thaghr, Catlos presents a picture of a frontier Islamic community "at once orthodox and yet particular" (p. 54), one that defined itself against its Christian neighbors but also its Islamic neighbors. The Christian conquest was hardly a cataclysm, he argues, for a variety of reasons: a substantial history of contact across the frontier; conflict driven less by ideology than by practical politics; surrender treaties that left Muslim communities with considerable autonomy; a low level of emigration; and royal and comital policies that encouraged Muslim settlement. Above all, the Islamic traditions of this region fared quite well when faced with the inchoate and still flexible institutions of its new Christian rulers.

Part two is the core of the book, an analysis of the mature *mudéjar* society of the Ebro, based principally on the examination of unpublished documents from the royal registers of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon for the last quarter of the thirteenth century, supplemented by an impressive range of additional chronicles and documents in both Latin and Arabic. The result is an "holistic" analysis, rich in detail and broad in scope, made up of thematic chapters on *mudéjar* financial and judicial administration, economic life, ethnic identity (class, language, and religion), and social experience (participation in community defense, ideology, sex, violence, and daily life). Three theses emerge strongly. First, the "native Islamic institutions" described in part one were not swept away but transformed into "new *mudéjar* institutions" (p. 125), some more than others, and not by imposition but by organic and not always uniform adaptation. Second, Christian domination led to the integration of *mudéjares* into Christian frameworks but nevertheless allowed them to maintain a separate, coherent identity. Third, purely sectarian concerns were rarely behind apparent episodes of discrimination against or abuse of *mudéjares*, while formation of situational interest groups that cut across confessional lines was the norm; ideology can often be shown to be an after-the-fact rationalization. Catlos depicts a vibrant and confident *mudéjar* society fully enmeshed in Christian society, not standing apart from it, and not yet subject to formal policies of marginalization. Those would begin only in the fourteenth century.

Part three is a series of short "microhistorical" case studies that attempt to tie together the various thematic strands of part two. These focus on individuals and families, often officials, and their roles in intracommunal tensions brought about by administrative abuses or claims of tax exemption. While Catlos's tracing of these convoluted tales over many years in the registers is well done, this is the least successful of his three parts. The narratives offer some details of social life, but the overwhelming amount of information concerns justice, finance, and economics. In the end, the case studies do not seem that distinct from examples discussed at less length in the first two chapters of part two—a testament to the clarity of Catlos's presentation there.

Catlos rightly distinguishes the experience of the *mudéjares* of the Ebro from that of their Valencian neighbors, better known from the work of Robert I. Burns and Pierre Guichard, and takes clear positions on a variety of historiographical controversies in *mudéjar* studies that will be of interest to specialists. He regularly points out parallels and links between the *mudéjar* and Jewish communities; collaborative work between these two subfields holds great promise. Catlos is also concerned to make a methodological contribution to the historical study of identity, ethnogenesis, and minority communities, as his frequent comparisons to places as diverse as colonial Mexico and modern Israel attest; reference to current scholarship on identity in early medieval Europe might have been equally useful. Some of his appeals to anthropological, biological, and sociological models are more successful than others, and they occasionally lead him into the sort of idealization of Islamic society that he criticizes in others' work. But if they are not always persuasive, such creative interdisciplinary forays are precisely what recommend this well-conceived, meticulously researched, and ultimately convincing book to an audience beyond scholars of medieval Spanish history.

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CAROLYN L. CONNOR. *Women of Byzantium*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 396. \$45.00.

In the introduction to her book, Carolyn L. Connor explains that this is a volume meant for a broad readership. Her intention is to present women of Byzantium to a more general audience than the academic or specialist, and she underlines this point by dedicating the volume to her students. In these terms, the book achieves what it sets out to do. It is a clear and accessible synthesis of past research undertaken on women's lives and roles in Byzantine society. There is little new here for the specialist, but the general reader is given a sense of the range of material available on women in Byzantium.

The book is divided into four main sections: Late Antiquity (here defined as ca. 250–500 C.E.); Early Byzantium (500–843); Middle Byzantium (843–1204); and Late Byzantium (1204–1453), a conventional timeframe. Connor also aims to present women from all levels of Byzantine society, noting that there is no single book that brings together women in Byzantium either within this entire period or across the whole range of social strata. Each section consists of an introduction, in which Connor lays out her factual and methodological concerns, followed by a series of chapters focused on particular aspects of women's lives, illustrated through case studies. Late Antiquity begins with Thekla and issues of female sanctity and the place of women in early Christianity, setting the scene to discuss ascetic women (Macrina), pilgrimage (Egeria), and female imperial authority (Theodosian empresses and Galla Placidia). Early Byzantium looks at saints and sinners,

women as artistic patrons, empresses and ordinary women (Mary of Egypt, Anicia Juliana, Theodora, Theodore of Sykeon's family); Middle Byzantium examines monasticism, art, and empresses (Irene of Chrysobalanton, depictions of female saints, Zoe and Anna Komnene); Late Byzantium tackles women's work and monastic foundations (Theodora Synadene and Maria of the Mongols).

Within this setting, the reader is also presented with a summary of the key works of scholars researching within the field of women in Byzantium from the 1970s up to the very early years of the twenty-first century. Thus, for example, the section on ascetic women derives from the scholarship of Elizabeth Clark, the section on Theodosian empresses from the work of Kenneth Holum, women in art from Connor's own research, and women's work from Angeliki Laiou. For the general reader and the student, this is commendable, offering an accessible introduction to some key areas of scholarship on Byzantine women.

There are, however, some drawbacks. The straightforward narrative smoothes out and even ignores scholarly disagreements, leading to a simplification of the debates and issues within the study of women in Byzantium. For example, recent debate over the role and power of Pulcheria, led by Christine Angelidi, Averil Cameron, and Cyril Mango is overlooked in favor of presenting the "traditional" line. It may be that Connor chose to not complicate her narrative; nevertheless, such discussions might have shown the general reader that the story of women in Byzantium is not an uncontested one. Themes are not pursued across time, and although the wish to present women from all social spheres is laudable, Connor finds herself, like many before her, struggling to present lower-class nonreligious women consistently.

Another area that might have been analyzed for the benefit of the general reader and student alike is the historiography of women's studies within Byzantine studies, which very much reflects changes in feminist thought and scholarship more generally. Through chapter bibliographies and the choice of scholarship, this information is implicit in Connor's account, and it would be interesting to see it made more explicit. The book is situated very firmly within Anglo-American scholarship, in particular Anglo-American scholarship from the late 1970s to the early years of this century. Even within this context, however, there are some surprising omissions in the bibliography: among others, one might reasonably expect Catia Galatariotou, "Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 9 (1984–1985); Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025–1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (1999); and Judith Herrin, "The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium," *Past and Present* 169 (2000) to be cited. All three scholars have made significant contributions to our understanding of different aspects of women's lives in Byzantium.

What Connor has written is a very safe narrative ac-

count, solid, factual, informative, and essentially straightforward. It tells us what women did; it speculates on what they may have thought or felt. It tends not to analyze or involve itself in debate, but perhaps such things are not needed in a general book.

LIZ JAMES

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AUGUSTINE THOMPSON, O.P. *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 502.

The Italian communes were remarkably complex organisms. Professional and craft guilds, neighborhood militias, *consorterie*, priests, monks, confraternities, factions, and heretical groups are among the bewildering array of groups that influenced communal politics and society through official political mechanisms, private patronage networks, and violence. How does one get one's arms around such complexity? Is one particular group, or network of groups, more representative of communal society than others? If one focuses on the *popolani*, with their aptitude for building sophisticated institutions, then one might see in the communes the modern bureaucratic state in embryo. If one focuses on urban magnates, with their *consorterie* and patronage networks, then the communes look less sophisticated, different in degree, not kind, from the world of feudal magnates in the countryside. Despite their differences, these opposing images of communal society share a common assumption. The communes were fundamentally secular institutions.

Augustine Thompson's book offers a bold challenge to these traditional views of communal society. "Lay government, far from being 'secularized' by its separation from the cathedral and bishop, came to express and understand itself through ever more explicitly religious rhetoric and rituals" (p. 3). This conclusion is the fruit of an innovative method that offers a new and compelling perspective on the communes. Instead of choosing a group with a conscious political identity, such as magnates or *popolani*, as the window into communal society, Thompson casts his net more broadly by choosing the laity, a diverse group, both politically and socially, that nevertheless shared a socialization deeply rooted in the rites and liturgy of the church. For this reason, Thompson argues that one can learn much about the communes by studying liturgical sources, such as Sicardo of Cremona's *Mitrato* and the *Ordo Senensis*. While Richard Trexler and Edwin Muir have demonstrated the importance of public ritual for understanding civic life, the idea that the liturgy of the Mass, baptism, and the Divine Office can tell us much about communal society and politics is truly innovative.

If "at no time were the communes secular in the modern sense" (p. 136), then why has religion remained "oddly alien to civic life" in the historiography of the communes? The key to understanding the fundamentally religious nature of the communes lies in the ordinary religious life of the laity, which, as Thompson

notes, is largely uncharted territory. Glancing over the treatment of medieval religion in Einaudi's handbook of Italian history, Thompson writes, "Traditional scholarly divisions rule: a section on the Gregorian Reform is followed by sections dedicated to heresy and repression, the mendicant orders, and the Church's institutional crises of the 1300s. Heretics, popes, theologians, Franciscans, and saints. Where is everyone else?" (p. 1). In the sources, we can see "everyone else": that is, ordinary laypeople, engaging in professions and crafts and participating in communal government. Very seldom, however, do the sources give us direct access to their religious experience. For Thompson, this represents a significant gap, both in our knowledge of lay religion and in our understanding of the communes.

Given the dearth of sources that directly record the religious experiences of ordinary laypeople, how does one get at it? Thompson writes, "Thirteenth-century Italians worshiped in a world of sacred spaces and sacred rites. Individual piety arose within those spaces and rites" (p. 343). This is the book in a nutshell. The book's first five chapters are devoted to a discussion of urban "sacred geography," which includes cathedrals, baptisteries, urban chapels, collegiate churches, monasteries, lay confraternities, communal *palazzi*, civic patron saints, processions, candle offerings, and bell ringing. Using a wealth of evidence drawn from civic and ecclesiastical statutes, tithe lists, saints' lives, art, and architecture, Thompson reminds us that the urban environment was densely packed with expressions of orthodox religion. Part two helps us make sense of this sacred geography with a careful examination of the Divine Office, Mass, penance, and baptism, placing them in the context of the liturgical year in order to recover, as much as possible, people's experience of the liturgy. The city's sacred geography both expressed and reinforced a lay religious experience rooted in a lifelong interaction with ecclesiastical rites and liturgy.

This book is a stunning achievement. Not only is it a masterful study of the Italian church and lay religion, it calls into question prevailing views of communal society and challenges us to rethink the way we apply terms like "secular" and "religious" to medieval society. In modern discourse, these adjectives are often expressed in terms of spatial metaphors, as if describing two territories separated by a boundary. One expression of this intellectual habit in the historiography of the communes is the familiar division of the urban landscape between the cathedral and the communal *palazzo*, as if capitols of two competing kingdoms. If, as Thompson argues, orthodox religion was an inextricable part of the average layperson's outlook, by virtue of their socialization, then it is likely that they took their religion with them as they gathered in the *palazzo comunale* to attend to the affairs of government. What, then, does it mean to say that the communes were secular?

DAVID FOOTE
University of St. Thomas

WILLEMEN OTTEN. *From Paradise to Paradigm: A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 127.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. xv, 330. \$140.00.

The term "humanism" has a number of very different meanings, perfectly intelligible to the scholars who work on the time periods for which it is used as an analytic framework even though its meaning for these different periods is noncongruent. For the twenty-first century, humanism is secularism as opposed to religiosity; for the Italian Renaissance, humanism is the study of classical literature and culture; and for those studying the twelfth century, the term is used for the period's assumption that humanity and the physical world, with their relationship to God, were intelligible to human understanding. Richard W. Southern first gave "humanism" this meaning for medieval intellectual history, a meaning here adopted by the Dutch scholar Willemien Otten. Otten, following Southern, resists the tendency of some modern scholars to draw an artificial distinction between twelfth-century humanism and scholasticism, with the assumption that the former was practiced only in the monasteries, the latter in the schools. Otten does, however, concentrate on philosophy rather than on the regularization of the study of theology and canon law in the emerging universities. The thinkers on whom he focuses, especially Peter Abelard, Alan of Lille, and William of Conches, were among the most influential twelfth-century philosophers. He uses the concept of twelfth-century humanism to address a broad range of topics, all of which he suggests were discussed in a context of rather optimistic rationalism.

The book begins with the thinkers of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance, who reinterpreted the philosophy and theology of the patristic period in a way that Otten suggests persisted for the next three centuries. (Much of his own earlier scholarship focused on John Scottus Eriugena, a ninth-century theologian.) The book's title comes from what he sees as an important question from the ninth century through the twelfth: how one might return to paradise. The question was shaped using the paradigm that God and nature belong together, and thus paradise, the land of unchanging bliss, is the land of nature still unsullied as God intended it. Humans may, in a saved state, proceed to Paradise, where God, nature, and humanity meet in what Otten calls a "trialogue" (p. 3), and humanistic thinking and writing were forms of entering into this triologue. Through the early twelfth century, he suggests, paradise was treated primarily as a memory or something in the past that one might learn about, but by late in the century paradise had been reconceptualized as a goal toward which humans might build, with God's help and in the context of nature.

The book's broader theme is the analogy drawn in the twelfth century between nature and scripture, between science and religion, which will come as no surprise to medievalists. Otten does not hesitate to carry what he

terms a conversation into modern times, where he regrets that the twelfth century's approach has been abandoned. He points to Primo Levi, the twentieth-century Holocaust survivor and writer, as his source of inspiration in recognizing that if one loses rationality one is on the road to fascism. Nonspecialists might perhaps be the best audience for this worthwhile discussion, given that intellectual historians of the Middle Ages have long understood the connection drawn then between faith and reason, but unfortunately nonspecialists would not be able to follow the analysis presented here. While this book is clearly the product of a great deal of careful thought, it is far too technical and often abstract for the reader who does not already know a good deal about twelfth-century philosophy and theology. The repeated distinction between what Otten terms form and content, for example, remains opaque, especially as he argues that they were not actually separated until the thirteenth century, after images and reality (not the same as form and content) parted company.

As much as I dislike being negative about a book written by someone so well versed in medieval philosophy and so earnest about the intersection of faith and reason, it is difficult to give an unqualified recommendation for a book so disorganized (parts of the introduction, for example, reappear essentially verbatim in chapter one), so lacking in overall structure or newly compelling thesis, and so densely and sometimes confusingly written. Nonetheless, the work is worth consulting for those studying individual twelfth-century thinkers, especially Peter Abelard and the philosophers associated with the school of Chartres, where Otten offers judicious insights into specific texts and well-informed translations of seminal passages.

CONSTANCE B. BOUCHARD
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WILLIAM CHESTER JORDAN. *Unceasing Strife, Unending Fear: Jacques de Thérines and the Freedom of the Church in the Age of the Last Capetians*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 154. \$29.95.

Jacques de Thérines, Cistercian abbot of Chaalis and Pontigny, learned doctor of theology, was one of those historical characters who should have written his personal memoirs, preferably in the tell-all style favored today, but did not. In his own time he enjoyed somewhat the status of an inside player; he observed great events from the epicenters; he mingled with those who moved and shaped those events directly. What he knew or heard might have enlightened us on many points, had he chosen to tell the story. It has fallen rather to William Chester Jordan to present that story, pieced together *faute de mieux* from Jacques's official writings: the quodlibets that he produced on questions of the day, his arguments at the Council of Vienne, the records of his abbatial administration. This book gives us a fresh look at the events of a turbulent time through the eyes of a fresh source, but those eyes do not quite

penetrate the veil of the sanctums where the great deeds were plotted and decided.

Jordan resumes succinctly varied dramatic occurrences of the early fourteenth century: struggles between Philip the Fair and Pope Boniface VIII, expulsion of the Jews from France, destruction of the Templars. For each event he gives us the comments or the likely experiences of Jacques de Thérines. Some of those comments he finds unexpected or even courageous. Jacques opposed the expulsion of the Jews in 1306. He questioned the prosecution of the Templars. In other matters his opinions are hardly surprising. As a leader of an order that benefited from ecclesiastical exemption he opposed the weakening of exemptions for ecclesiastical orders. As a practitioner of traditional monastic virtues he had little sympathy for the extreme ideals of the Spiritual Franciscans. He administered the abbeys entrusted to his care efficiently. He died a quiet death at an advanced age.

We are left with the observations of an eminently conventional and conservative churchman. His objection to the expulsion of the Jews merely restated the church's traditional position, counseling patient conversion rather than persecution. Regarding the Templars he agreed with Pope Clement V; it was simply a matter to be regulated by the church and not the state. He was presumably pleased to witness the readmission of the Jews in 1315, but he has left us no expression of his pleasure. Presumably he was dismayed at the execution of the Templars. His reaction is not preserved. Why did Philip the Fair act so suddenly against the Templars? He does not say. We have Jacques's opinions. We lack his insights.

To supply those insights Jordan presents a cogent, but properly judicious, analysis. And still Jacques de Thérines's record poses as many questions as it provides answers. How was it that he dared—"took the chance" as Jordan puts it (p. 16)—to speak publicly against the policies of a notoriously ruthless royal regime? Did Jacques expect his querulous quodlibets to reach the king's notice? In at least one case, Jordan speculates, he did. His argument against expulsion of the Jews might have been meant to give cover to Philip's eldest son, the future Louis X, who welcomed exiled Jews into his independent kingdom of Navarre. Is that evidence, perhaps, of a more open and diverse administration at the court of Philip the Fair than the dark dictatorship often depicted?

We cannot expect the story of Jacques de Thérines, told through its imperfect record, to answer deep questions about an unsettling period. Nor does Jordan propose that aim. Rather he holds Jacques up to us as a mirror. His life reveals the struggles and stresses of a troubled time, a time of "unceasing strife, unending fear." Yet even as a reflection of a strife-ridden age, the saga of Jacques de Thérines leaves us wanting. Remarkably little of fear and loathing—compare Jacques's comments with the fierce social critique and apocalyptic obsession of an Ubertino or an Arnold of Villanova—comes through in the life or incidental observations of

our protagonist. He lived peacefully. He died, so far as we can tell, unafraid. Perhaps the real lesson to be taken from his story is that, amid the turbulence and drama that captivate the attention of historians, people learn, as Voltaire said, to cultivate their own gardens and endure.

Jordan opens a window on a remote time. It is Jordan's genius to spot that window, his achievement to let us peer through. That alone makes this work a valuable contribution to our historical perspective. It adds yet another piece to our understanding of a critical and enigmatic period.

ALAN FRIEDLANDER

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

HARRO HÖPFL. *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630*. (Ideas in Context, number 70.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 406. \$90.00.

This book by Harro Höpfl combines with unprecedented ambition two dynamic and fruitful fields of recent historical research: the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and early modern political thought. The author, perhaps best known for his study of the shifts in John Calvin's political ideas over time (*The Christian Polity of John Calvin* [1982]), here demonstrates equally impressive scholarship in a broad, synthetic work of intellectual history. His new book is a deeply researched, highly learned account of the "content and inner logic" (p. 7) of the political ideas of members of the Society of Jesus during the era of its "race of giants" (p. 376), from 1540 to about 1630, concentrating especially on the 1580s through the 1610s. The work draws from an impressive range of mostly published sources by dozens of authors, the large majority written in a technically demanding, late scholastic Latin, although Höpfl also covers works in English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian. Among the book's many virtues is its philologically meticulous analysis of works by not only the era's best known Jesuit intellectuals, such as Robert Bellarmine, Francisco Suárez, Luis de Molina, and Robert Persons, but also those who are less familiar today except to specialists, notwithstanding their reputations to contemporaries, such as Martinus Becanus, Franciscus Costerus, Thomas Fitzherbert, Jacob Gretser, and Louis Richeôme. The study makes a major contribution to our understanding of early modern political thought, and to the continuing, revisionist assault on once-widespread caricatures, even among professional historians, about Jesuits. By revealing divergences about politics among Jesuits, Höpfl demonstrates that "the image of the monolithic Society with a single political strategy, especially one of subverting political authorities, was a fantasy" (p. 224), and he states that "As for the Jesuit-Spanish-Papal legend, it defies comprehension" (p. 323).

Yet the reputation of Jesuits for "meddling in politics," of which their Catholic as well as Protestant critics accused them at the time and ever since, is the impetus for the interrelated range of issues explored by Höpfl: the Jesuits' views on the proper response to heresy by political authorities, "reason of state" and the associated virtue of prudence in rulers, the source and legitimation of political authority, positive laws and the common good, and, finally, the most (in)famous teachings with which Jesuits were associated: namely, the justification of tyrannicide and the indirect papal power to depose rulers. Even though politics was not an independent subject in the Jesuit curriculum, its implications for religion made a sustained consideration of political concerns unavoidable, especially for a religious order that assiduously approved Catholic rulers' political support of the church and the faith. Höpfl makes a strong case for Jesuits' "irreducible beliefs about the irreplaceable centrality of order, hierarchy, monarchy, and obedience in any collectivity" (p. 51) as the intellectual scaffolding for much of their political thought. Although he does not quite spell it out, one gets the impression that much of the Jesuits' reputation for objectionable political doctrines derived less from the content of their political thought (much of which was traditional and/or shared with Catholic or Protestant contemporaries) than from its context and the results of "the actual political engagement of the Society" (p. 366). As the most influential Catholic religious order by the late sixteenth century, with many Jesuits serving as confessors to rulers, and given unprecedented tensions over the relationship between religion and politics both within Catholic and across Catholic-Protestant confessional divides, it is unsurprising that crises inspired polemics, of which the cluster over the English Oath of Allegiance, the Venetian Interdict, and the assassination of Henri IV of France ("absurdly laid . . . at the Jesuits' door," pp. 332–333) in the first decade of the seventeenth century was the most serious. This would help to explain why, for example, tyrannicide as a political doctrine was particularly identified with the Society of Jesus, even though it had been advocated since antiquity, was reiterated in the Middle Ages, and was defended by others, including Calvinists, in the period.

A brief review cannot do justice to the vast erudition, precise readings, and penetrating analyses on so many fronts in this book, which should become a standard work in the field of early modern political thought. Nevertheless, some criticisms might be made. The price paid for a thematic, intellectual-historical treatment of Jesuit political thought is relatively little sense of change over time or even of chronology. For the most part, Höpfl gestures toward or assumes knowledge of the political contexts in which his protagonists wrote but does not provide them. And some readers may be put off by the number of Latin terms and phrases that the author has chosen to leave untranslated in his prose. But compared to the achievement, these are minor

points. This is an imposing work of scholarship that will endure.

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WILLIAM WEBER, editor. *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 269. \$44.95.

This collection presents eleven essays, most of which originated in a 2001 conference organized by editor William Weber. Weber himself is arguably the most influential scholar of the practicalities of European concert life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; here he is joined by other recognized experts to tackle an extremely important set of questions. The volume is interestingly interdisciplinary, including scholars from history, sociology, and cultural studies along with musicology. About half of the essays are straightforwardly informative, concentrating on presenting new archival information; the rest offer varying degrees of cultural-theoretical speculation.

The book's main themes can be summarized fairly succinctly: the loss of the patronage system by the end of the eighteenth century; the consequent development of public taste and therefore a public marketplace for music; both composers' and performers' dependence on pleasing this ever-growing public, and the strategies they developed to function successfully in their new economic environment. The volume is not quite punctiliously edited, but it is readable and on the whole interesting.

The first part provides an overview of the terrain, with some methodological and theoretical context. Weber's introductory essay, "The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700–1914," specifies the particular kind of social history that he considers relevant for these queries. In it he sets out the terms of inquiry into social roles, commercialism, the development of public (even "mass") markets for music, and the necessity for a certain amount of opportunism and self-display in the musician's quest for success; particularly important, I think, is his careful historicization of the terms "entrepreneur" and "charlatan."

In a second introductory chapter, "The Musician of the Imagination," Richard Leppert concentrates on what might be considered the theoretical context. Leppert is well known as a particularly adept scholar of musical iconography, and he puts his skills to use here to explore the audience's position in a context where "musicians functioned as embodiments of a rich . . . cultural imaginary" (p. 25). Leppert identifies the process of imagination and projection he details here as part of "the 'visual turn' that marks modernity" (p. 26).

The second part of the collection concerns fairly early examples of the musical entrepreneur, Tanya Kevorkian's "Changing Times, Changing Music: 'New Church' Music and Musicians in Leipzig, 1699–1750" and David Gramit's "Selling the Serious: The Commodification of

Music and Resistance to It in Germany, circa 1800." Kevorkian's is a very straightforward presentation without much theoretical speculation, but it relies on a wealth of documentary and archival material that combines social, political, and economic information in ways that musicologists have not ordinarily been able to do. For example, she discusses the ways in which new sources of wealth informed new kinds of musical patronage, and she has unearthed data that offer a highly unusual opportunity to characterize very precisely—indeed, to name individually and tag by profession, gender, and social status—the members of one particular musical audience.

Gramit's chapter is an offshoot of his book, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1840* (2002), and it details one of the most provocative aspects of this historical process, a doubled view of commodification and resistance: that is, a culture war in a sense surprisingly familiar to us. Already before 1800 mass taste was thought incompatible with good taste and likely to lead to the deterioration of music altogether. This gloomy forecast was well understood, Gramit shows, as part of a general concern about the loss of patronage, as artistic production moved from court and church supervision into a new public marketplace.

The next four essays in the volume detail various aspects of concert management as it evolved during the nineteenth century. In "From the Self-Managing Musician to the Independent Concert Agent," Weber offers a straightforward account of an aspect of professional musical life that is seldom studied. From biographical and autobiographical accounts and correspondence, he describes the process typically used in each phase of the historical development, focusing on the particular skills musicians needed in order to do the management work themselves. Weber gives some attention, too, to placing these different transactions within the history of capitalism.

Laure Schnapper's essay, "Bernard Ullman—Henri Herz: An Example of Financial and Artistic Partnership, 1846–1849," offers the book's only focus on the United States; Schnapper tells us that Herz was struck by the size and diversity of American audiences compared to those he was used to in Europe, but also by their considerably less reliable taste. Dana Gooley's "Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso as Strategist" is a highly sophisticated inquiry that expands upon the brief coverage of this topic in his book, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (2004). This is the most interpretive and one of the most critical of the book's chapters, concentrating on the clash of long-standing entrepreneurial practices with the new ideology of romanticism. Liszt managed—through a complex system of canny programming, purpose-built performing style, and good friends in the press—to charge more money per concert than anyone else and at the same time build a reputation as a selfless, brilliantly talented servant of Ludwig van Beethoven rather than a self-aggrandizing spiritually empty virtuoso.

Simon McVeigh, author of "An Audience for High-

Class Music': Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs in Late-Nineteenth-Century London," is part of a team (with Christina Bashford and Rachel Cowgill) that is currently compiling an enormous database on "Concert Life in Nineteenth-Century London." In this chapter he tells partly the same ideological story that Gooley does: the development, under the auspices of the romantic movement, of the rubric of the "improving" concert—that is, of music so spiritually important and "good for you" that it should be judged by standards of difficulty and moral edification rather than entertainment value.

The three essays in the final section of the collection explore the interaction of gender with the other parameters already in play in the evolution of the musical entrepreneur. Tia DeNora, author of "Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender, and Reputation in Beethoven's Vienna," is a sociologist whose *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius* (1995) was among the first to show musicologists how Beethoven's reputation, and that of the "classical" musical canon that formed around him, were shaped by cultural situation and public expectations. Here she is interested in an aspect of the well-known hardening and essentializing of notions of gender from the early nineteenth century that were reflected in the "gendering" of the repertory itself. DeNora proposes that aspects of Beethoven's playing and its embodiment of "hard" techniques, force, and strenuous activity then became hallmarks of "great" music that raised the stakes and changed the terrain for female performers. This sense is well corroborated by the rich data offered in Paula Gillett's essay, "Entrepreneurial Women Musicians in Britain: From the 1790s to the Early 1900s," which studies the careers of women from four generations, active professionals including performers, composers, and even an opera manager. The final essay, Jann Pasler's "Countess Greffulhe as Entrepreneur: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation," asks unusually searching questions about social and economic conditions in this moment in France, about the relationship of aristocracy to society as a whole, and other contexts for the countess's activity. Pasler offers a lot of interesting detail, mostly from family archives, of Elisabeth Greffuhle's activities as concert organizer and sometime performer. In her home (salon) concerts she was forward-looking, experimenting with the format of her programs and introducing new musical repertoires as they became available. The countess eventually moved into the public realm, establishing and running the Société des Grandes Auditions de France and staging large-scale works that had not been performed in Paris before.

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MERVYN O'DRISCOLL. *Ireland, Germany and the Nazis: Politics and Diplomacy, 1919–1939*. (Cork Studies in Irish History, number 3.) Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. 304. \$65.00.

This book by Mervyn O'Driscoll is a thorough and well-researched discussion of diplomatic relations between Ireland and Germany during the interwar years. It focuses quite narrowly on formal diplomatic contact, whereas on occasion one would have welcomed further discussion of broader issues. Nevertheless, it is a useful case study of the diplomatic strategy pursued by a newly independent small state with a large European power in a time of change and conflict. The book is strong on the strictly diplomatic material but weaker on the general history of the period. O'Driscoll misreads the character and political basis of the Cumann na nGaedheal government in the 1920s.

Links between Ireland and Germany had been established prior to Irish independence in 1922. The radical wing of Irish nationalism identified closely with the German Empire in its struggle with Britain and France during World War I. Various attempts were made between 1919 and 1921 to generate support in Germany, but no formal recognition was obtained. Even after the Irish Free State was established, relations with Germany were low key. The Germans did not wish to alienate Britain, still the major power in Europe, while the Free State government did not have a clear strategy in respect of Germany. In 1924, its diplomatic mission was withdrawn from Berlin.

By the time full diplomatic relations were resumed in 1929, the Irish Free State had been consolidated, and its diplomatic service was more self-confident in its independence from Britain and its professionalism. The German diplomatic service was slow to recognize these changes, however, continuing to give priority to Britain over Ireland. A trade treaty was agreed in 1930, but it is questionable if this was the "watershed" the author claims, since Britain remained dominant in economic matters. Irish Minister Daniel Binchy recognized that Ireland was relatively unimportant to Germany, although the Center Party was an avenue of influence for him.

Binchy's resignation in 1932 was prompted in part at least by the election of Fianna Fáil, a radical nationalist party that sought to revise the treaty settlement of 1922. As Adolf Hitler came to power, the Irish chargé d'affaires in Berlin, Leo McCauley, adopted what O'Driscoll describes as "ambivalent admiration" for the Nazi regime. The head of the Irish diplomatic service, Joseph Walshe, also expressed considerable admiration for the authoritarian methods of the new German government, recommending a similar departure in Ireland to Eamon de Valera. De Valera was committed to breaking most links with Britain, and Germany was, in theory, an obvious focus for attention. This proved to be an illusion as German policy for most of the 1930s continued to view Britain in a positive light, and Irish policy was more conservative than required by de Valera's ideology.

O'Driscoll provides an interesting comparison of Fianna Fáil and the Nazi movement. He shows that both were nationalist, revisionist, and authoritarian and that both sought to overthrow the previous imposed regime.

In the Irish case, this was achieved in democratic fashion whereas in Germany a totalitarian settlement was imposed. In what was one of the major diplomatic miscalculations for Ireland, Charles Bewley was appointed minister to Berlin in 1933. Bewley was driven by his ideological animosity to Britain, was antisemitic, and was partisan in respect of the Nazi regime. His reports read as excuses for the worst excesses of the Nazi system, and he complained that Irish newspapers did not understand Germany. The major Irish newspapers provided more balanced analysis of Germany than the senior Irish diplomat did. It is puzzling that Bewley remained so long at his post, not only because of his views but also because on this account he did not adequately represent Irish interests in Berlin. Ireland turned a blind eye to antisemitic policies in Germany, was ungenerous to refugees fleeing persecution, and generally supported appeasement on the grounds that Hitler's nationalist demands were reasonable. Bewley was removed from his post in 1939, but O'Driscoll does not offer a satisfactory explanation for the length of time he remained in Berlin. When war broke out, Ireland remained in the British zone of influence but declared its neutrality, a position that the German minister in Dublin informed Berlin would work to Germany's advantage.

The book ends just as the situation became more interesting: the Germans established links with the Irish Republican Army, and agents were sent to Ireland at various times during the war. While O'Driscoll touches on this issue, he does not deal with it in detail; Mark Hull has covered much of the ground in *Irish Secrets: German Espionage in Wartime Ireland 1939–1945* (2003). What this book does demonstrate is the limited opportunities available for Ireland to develop a diplomatic strategy independent of its relationship with Britain.

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SIBELAN FORRESTER, MAGDALENA J. ZABOROWSKA, and ELENA GAPOVA, editors. *Over the Wall/After the Fall: Post-Communist Cultures through an East-West Gaze*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 320. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$30.00.

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest in the culture and identities of the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The transformation of the region's economies, their integration into the global market economy, patterns of economic (and other forms of) migration between the region and its western neighbors, cultural exchange generated by the mass media and new information technologies, and the incorporation of the western states of the region into the pan-continental political structures of the European Union have all acted to remake the cultural sphere. At the same time, however, most observers have been aware that this has not been a simple transfer of western cultural forms; instead it has been a dynamic process in

which cultural transformation has been negotiated on an everyday level by Central and Eastern European citizens. As editors Sibelan Forrester, Magdalena J. Zaborowska, and Elena Gapova correctly point out in their introduction to this volume, the field of Eastern European studies, as conventionally understood, has been slow to take up the challenge of analyzing this transformation. Their fundamental aim in putting the volume together has been to explore the potential for applying insights derived from postcolonial theory in particular, and cultural studies more generally to the realities of the region. The result is a book that is both varied in content and extremely stimulating; a path-breaking collection that will shift the agenda of research into postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe.

In geographical scope the essays concentrate on the Central European states—the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia—that tend to be well-covered in the literatures of any discipline dealing with the region, but there are case studies from both Bulgaria and Ukraine, which are traditionally less well represented in the field. Perhaps the only significant omission is analysis of cultural forms in the former Yugoslavia. The scope of the subject matter is broad as the essays shift from the transformation of *samizdat* across the 1989 divide in the GDR, to Robert D. Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts* (1993) as a text about the way in which the negotiation of the region has shaped Western identities in the 1990s. It ranges from a survey of the politics of sexuality in the Czech Republic to the inscription of a traumatic historical past, and multiple politics of memory, on the urban fabric of contemporary Warsaw.

Despite its diversity, this volume is much more than the sum of its parts, as certain fundamental issues raised in the introduction are echoed throughout its pages. The first is that of the deep-seated postsocialist nature of many of the cultural forms and identities that have emerged during the region's transformation. The material remnants of the socialist past have clearly served as repositories and as means through which Eastern European identities have been constructed and performed during a period of intense change. In some cases, especially that of the former GDR as examined by Rainer Gries, this has taken the form of a nostalgia: a sense of a search for a comfortable, past golden age in a climate of uncertainty. In others, such as Zaborowska's analysis of the urban landscape of contemporary Warsaw, the urge to forget a traumatic past has been frustrated by the layers of memory that are embedded within the urban fabric. This focus on the region's postsocialist nature, even after a decade and a half of capitalist transformation, is suggestive of the ways in which contemporary historians might engage many of the issues raised by the book. The contributors point to the way in which the years before and after 1989 can be interpreted fruitfully as a continuous period; they suggest strongly the need for the systematic historical investigation of social and cultural persistence across an obvious political watershed.

This book highlights another central issue, that of the legitimate borders of the region. While the Cold War inclined scholars toward seeing the geographical boundaries of Eastern European studies as being somehow fixed by the geopolitical realities of postwar Europe, this has been challenged since the early 1980s by those dissidents who sought to assert a claim to the "Central European" status of their countries. With the more open climate of cultural exchange since 1989, this fixedness has broken down further. The editors and contributors usefully suggest interrogating the hybridity of the identities and cultural practices of the region. They point, furthermore, to the way in which "Eastern Europe" as we have understood it has been a product of a constantly shifting discourse through which European identities have been constructed and re-constructed. For anyone concerned with the region, the de-centering implied by the project of this volume will pose a challenge, suggesting uncertainty about where the boundaries of the field lie. Yet, it also presents an opportunity to be grasped by historians, who are well-equipped to contextualize that uncertainty.

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ALEC RYRIE. *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 306. \$65.00.

There has been a tendency on the part of some scholars in recent years to claim that the Henrician regime pursued a middle way in religion, exercising control over extremists on both sides in the Reformation's Catholic/Protestant fracture. And certainly, as Alec Ryrie and a host of other scholars have shown, the reaction against reform (or "the gospel") during the early and mid-1540s saw a purge of the gospellers. Ryrie claims, however, that the swings and roundabouts of the later Henrician period actually created the circumstances whereby the evangelicals were able to seize political power in 1547.

The central task for those who would explain the Reformation's impact on early modern politics is to decipher why certain groups and factions adopted a particular kind of religious language in order to gloss their relationship with the regime and central figures within that regime. (A supremely successful recent instance of this is Ethan H. Shagan's *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* [2003].) Ryrie does manage to convey the "to-and-fro" quality of religious legislation in the years his study covers. Chapter two brings out the problematic relationship between the king and the reformers, some of whom took strong exception to the royal supremacy. (The dynamics of that relationship and the rampant equivocation the gospellers employed foreshadowed, in some respects, the relationship between Catholics and the crown after 1558.) The exile communities are dealt with in chapter three. As with the Elizabethan exiles of the latter half of the sixteenth century the decision to go abroad was clearly not just an exer-

cise in the avoidance of martyrdom. Those who went overseas anticipated the sweeping change of fortune which dynastic and regime change might bring, although the timing of such a change was impossible to predict. Ryrie suggests, however, that the crucial centers of English evangelicalism were to be found inside the realm. And, in chapter four, it becomes clear that the evangelical cause was sustained within the Henrician polity by equivocation and compromise, even by out-and-out hypocrisy, as the reformers attempted to cut their coats. But it is the locales of evangelical endeavor that are primarily important here. And, in chapter six, Ryrie deals with the court, reciting the quite well-known details of how the evangelical imperative made unlikely inroads even into the Howard family (in the circle around the earl of Surrey). It was the "fashionability" of evangelicalism in some quarters, even while it was politically dangerous, which made it possible for it to become the political and religious style of the Somerset regency.

Quite interesting is the speculation on the question of the origins of conservatism in the period, and why those who had once shown themselves of a similar mind to the gospellers turned against them. Ryrie suggests in chapter six that it was very often the experience of holding episcopal office that persuaded influential clerics that order and discipline were both essential and beneficial. Here, perhaps, we have a kind of prequel to the Presbyterian controversies of the later sixteenth century.

The seventh chapter traces some of the networks in London that the evangelical underground inhabited. One has to say that these do not seem particularly extended or extensive, but the case is made that, as with Catholicism in a later period, it was the presence of these people in the capital that had a potentially radical political effect.

In conclusion one might say that, in many respects, there is nothing particularly new here, although there is no rule that every account of the Reformation (or indeed any other topic) has to rewrite its subject entirely. One might, however, take issue with Ryrie's claim that "the golden era of the local study in English reformation history is passing" (p. 7). It may well be that many local studies have not entirely lived up to their billing. But there are respects in which the close focus of a local study can reveal the dynamics of contemporary politics in a way which examples pulled together from a so-called "national" perspective simply cannot (if one is, for example, trying to construct an account of how changes of "official" religion took hold in practice). Ryrie suggests that local studies are themselves unlikely now to reveal anything new. That depends, however, on the way that they are done. By searching further afield from the often rather narrow source material on which local historians have relied, it will be possible in the future to find new and interesting things to say about early modern politics and religion.

Another thought that occurs is that just as these years might be taken to have created the groundwork for the

Edwardian Reformation, so one can detect in them the origins of the Marian reaction. It is clear from Ryrie's account that one of the consequences of the spread and articulation of sacramentarian opinions, which came to the fore in the 1530s and 1540s, was to elicit the kind of reactionary response that would be the hallmark of the Marian regime.

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PAUL M. HUNNEYBALL. *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 218. \$99.00.

Paul M. Hunneyball's objective in this book is to examine cultural change in the seventeenth century, specifically through an analysis of the evolution of architectural style in Hertfordshire. The basic outline of shifts in architectural taste in this period—from Jacobean to artisan mannerist to classicism—has, of course, been long established, but the originality of Hunneyball's work lies in the meticulous analysis of how these changes were disseminated down the social scale, beyond the elite of trend-setting patrons, and how the meanings of the various motifs, styles, and forms changed in different social and architectural milieux.

To the twenty-first-century reader, the choice of Hertfordshire as the county of study might seem perverse: its modern identity is one of dormitory towns and creeping suburbanization. But in the seventeenth century the very factors that make its modern architectural landscape featureless and anodyne made it particularly dynamic in architectural terms: its easy proximity to London rendered it attractive to gentry with political, professional or mercantile interests in the capital, but who also wanted a residence in a rural setting. Thus Hertfordshire had an unusually high proportion of newcomers among its gentry, many of whom had strong links with the capital and its cultural innovations. It offers the opportunity, therefore, to consider architecture as an expression of social identity within a mobile society, and to chart the dissemination of cultural forms away from London.

Hunneyball's knowledge of Hertfordshire's seventeenth-century buildings is comprehensive and his analysis shows an impressive command of detail. Particular styles and motifs are traced in their dissemination across the county, from the extravagant display of Hatfield House to the frugal attempts to remodel unfashionable older residences amongst the lesser gentry. The gradual triumph of classical models, for both aesthetic and practical reasons, is lucidly demonstrated. But Hunneyball has not simply concentrated on the houses of the gentry: he has tried to encompass the built environment as a whole and to reconstruct the broader architectural contexts to gentry houses, looking at church buildings and funerary monuments, philanthropic institutions, and the houses of the non-elite—

areas that have been much less well charted in most of the existing scholarship. While the gentry were busy adopting classical motifs in their seats and their funerary monuments, they were happy to extend a church or build an almshouse in the gothic style or vernacular traditions. Classicism was not adopted with equal speed in all contexts: its impact was varied, depending on the kind of building one examines. Social display or emulation was not the only factor determining a patron's choice of architectural style: traditions of piety or pragmatic utilitarianism were also powerful determinants.

The analysis becomes particularly interesting when discussing the boundaries between the lesser gentry and the rest of the community. Here social emulation was clearly still a factor, but Hunneyball is particularly good at demonstrating the practical constraints on builders' ability to respond to changes in fashion and taste: the cost of materials, the lack of skilled craftsmen, and limited access to new designs before the advent of the pattern book. The motifs that were widely adopted were those most easily adapted and modified, such as sash windows and hipped roofs. Classical styles became more widespread in the later seventeenth century, partly because of their popularity amongst the social elite but also because they lent themselves to economical building methods and were more easily copied and adopted by local craftsmen than the extravagant ornamentation of artisan mannerism.

At the sub-gentry level more than 600 buildings were examined, many of which were urban and showed little evidence of efforts to emulate the gentry. But that is not to say that social competition within urban society could not be expressed through architecture. By the 1680s the use of brick, although hardly any cheaper than at the start of the century, was much more widespread, and the adoption of flush facades and features such as sash windows were increasingly common. The model here was not so much the houses of the gentry as the post-fire buildings of London, where building regulations, together with a need for economy and the logistics of the building trade, had all combined to produce a style of architecture that drew on classical principles but owed little in inspiration to gentry models. There is much that is suggestive here about the relationships between metropolis and province and between urban and rural society.

Hunneyball's book is essentially a work of cultural history, but it is refreshingly free of the jargon of cultural theory and is founded on a very solid foundation of empirical research. The conclusions drawn have important implications for our understanding of the construction of social and cultural identities and provide an illuminating case study in the "appropriation of culture" across social and geographical boundaries.

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PATRICK LITTLE. *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian Union with Ireland and Scotland*. (Irish Historical

Monographs.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. xvi, 270. \$85.00.

How well we know the story of Oliver Cromwell's rejection in 1657 of the parliamentary offer of his, and his dynasty's, enthronement. The final, providential justification for his spurning of kingship—that he would not set up what God had cast down, that he would not build Jericho again—has come to seem symbolic of the man and his self-identification as a servant of the living God. Less well known are the counter arguments made—in particular, those of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill—to persuade him otherwise. On April 11, 1657, Broghill urged Cromwell to consider how “healing and settling” could be best advanced by complying with parliament's desire for the stability of a monarchical constitution, guaranteed by parliament, safeguarding the people's liberties and reconciling moderate royalists to the new regime. Speaking as Cromwell's governor of Scotland and chief advisor to Henry Cromwell in Ireland, Broghill was the voice of the British Protestant interest. On April 16, he argued that parliament would not offer Oliver a title blasted by God, that if kingship was damned then so was the rule of a single person, and, therefore, that the protectorate should fall by the same reasoning. If the extinction of the “rump” parliament was divinely sanctioned, as Cromwell had often insisted, how, by that argument, could any parliament enjoy divine favor? Broghill essentially asked Cromwell to reconsider his reading of providence. He reminded him of the Old Testament story of King David's reaction to the death of his child (2 Samuel 12: 15–23); having “fasted and wept” while the sick child was alive, he returned to normal once he was dead. Broghill's message was that one disposition of the living God should not determine one's politics for ever. His plea went unheeded, and, apart from a brief rallying to the cause of Richard Cromwell, Broghill's vision of a pan-British Protestant union died with it. One of the many merits of this fine biographical study by Patrick Little is that it re-engages us with the high religious and political seriousness of Cromwellian politics.

A younger son of the first earl of Cork, the greatest Protestant landowner in early Stuart Ireland, Boyle found his family fortunes shattered by the Irish insurrection of October 1641. His elder brother (from 1643, the second earl of Cork) became a staunch royalist. Broghill, by contrast, looked to the parliamentary cause as the best means of protecting the Protestant interest, not only in Ireland but in Britain and beyond. It is important to recognize the international dimension of his Protestantism. In his teens he had lived at the Huguenot academy at Saumur (at the same time as Algernon Sidney) and in Geneva. While civil war and political infighting raged in England, relief for Irish Protestantism remained as low a priority at Westminster as it had been in Whitehall, but in 1649 came the moment and the man. Cromwell's expedition to Ireland brought the two men into close alliance. For Broghill, the conquest of Ireland and the reinstatement of the Protestant in-

terest there depended on its moderation and on a wider picture of Anglo-Irish, subsequently British, union. As events unfolded, he came to see the protectorate as the only possible means of combining these qualities. From 1655 he was Cromwell's lord president of the council in Scotland and pulled off the feat of creating a moderate Protestant coalition to offset the internecine feuding of remonstrants and resolutioners. Within the higher echelons of the protectorate itself, he was a key figure in a British network of moderates whose commitment to the regime embraced a civilian normalization of government. For them, after the disastrous major-generals experiment, constitutional revision, a Cromwellian monarchy, and a British union identified with the international Protestant interest, became pivotal. Broghill was a key player in the coalition that secured parliamentary approval for such a package and its presentation to Cromwell. Oliver's rejection of kingship was an irrecoverable blow to Broghill. Hope flickered anew, but very briefly, with the short-lived succession of Richard Cromwell. Broghill remained sceptical of Stuart intentions and their commitment to the Protestant interest. By the spring of 1660, he was submitting to the inevitable, becoming lord president of Munster, earl of Orrery, and lord justice in Ireland. With the fall of the earl of Clarendon in 1667, his political career was effectively over.

This is a finely nuanced study demonstrating how meticulously researched and thoughtful biography can provide powerful illumination for major and rather more impersonal themes such as state building, confessional strife, and constitutional crisis.

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BRIAN WEISER. *Charles II and the Politics of Access*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 208. \$85.00.

On a hot August morning in 1678, King Charles II was taking his usual stroll in St. James's Park when a man named Christopher Kirby approached him with a warning that he was to be assassinated. The king, who knew Kirby through a shared interest in chemistry, was alarmed enough to schedule a private meeting with him later that day. Kirby brought to the meeting a ranting clergyman named Israel Tongue, who carried a detailed account of a Jesuit conspiracy to murder the king and foment an insurrection. This was the beginning of the so-called Popish Plot that was to rock Charles II's kingdoms for the next four years.

The story reveals a lot about access to the king. If he knew who you were, it was not particularly difficult to have a conversation with him, or even to arrange a private rendezvous. It is hard to imagine his suspicious grandfather or his awkward, snobbish father acting in the same easy-going way. A century later, a king might still have been approached while walking in St. James's Park, but it would most likely have been on a matter of personal rather than national importance. Would

George III have immediately granted a private interview to a man with whom he was barely acquainted?

Charles II was personally more approachable, and more confident, than his predecessors. In addition, political circumstances in the wake of the Civil Wars demanded more royal openness. Yet the pattern of access to monarchs was changing throughout Europe, restricting the ability of subjects to have direct contact with their rulers. The French King Louis XIV had ensconced himself at Versailles, at the center of a complex network of office holding and clientage that largely (although never entirely) distanced him from dealing directly with individual problems. Charles II's strategy of accessibility was exceptional, and it had no future, because kings of the eighteenth century would crave greater privacy as well as less direct responsibility for the daily management of affairs. Access to them would come through ministerial channels or staged ceremonies rather than through informal personal contact.

Curiously, Brian Weiser does not mention Christopher Kirby in his book, nor does he emphasize the uniqueness of Charles II's behavior. The author's main objective is to demonstrate how the king used access to his person as a political tool. Charles alternated between a desire to be "everybody's king"—that is, to make himself available to individuals of all political or religious persuasions—and a policy of limiting his favor to one faction or party. He was most accessible just after the Restoration, and again during the Arlington ministry (referred to here as "the Cabal"). He cut himself off from Nonconformists under the Danby ministry of 1673–1678 and became an enemy to the Whigs during the Exclusion Crisis. As a result, royal household regulations after 1673 allowed less access to the king; and at Winchester, Charles planned to build a palace that would provide him with both geographical and personal isolation from the bustling tumult of Whitehall.

The subject is fascinating, but Weiser's treatment of it is patchy. What is most lacking in this book is a systematic examination of exactly why and how individuals tried to gain access to the king. Kirby was not typical. Most of those who approached Charles II did so asking for personal favors, not for a political audience. The majority of these petitioners wrote him letters rather than trying to run into him on a morning walk. Many of them would have used intermediaries: courtiers, ministers, and other office holders who had some contact with the king. Occasionally, official bodies like town corporations wrote to him. These formal petitions tended to be political or economic, and were handled with greater care than were individual requests. There was a subtle etiquette to petitioning, just as there was to direct contact with the king at court. We need to know more about both. Weiser gives many hints about them but does not discuss them in enough detail.

The best features of the book are the chapter on royal palaces and the useful appendix, showing exactly where Charles II was on every day of his life between 1661 and 1684. A fine chapter on economic policy, dealing mainly with the short-lived Council of Trade, fits uneasily with

the rest of the argument. The conclusion is brief and disappointing. The worst aspect of the book, however, is the number of typos and spelling mistakes. I counted about two dozen. A different type of error is found on page 107, where the two censuses of Nonconformists are divided into localities, not into dioceses as the label claims.

PAUL MONOD
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CLIVE WILKINSON. *The British Navy and the State in the Eighteenth Century*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. x, 246. \$85.00.

Even though the British Navy was "the most enduringly powerful and successful instrument of war in the eighteenth century," its development, as Michael Duffy contends, was marked by discord, recrimination, and factionalism among its senior personnel (*Mariner's Mirror*, May 2005, pp. 216–217). This was no more apparent than in the criticism heaped upon the fourth earl of Sandwich during and after the last of his three terms of office as first lord of the admiralty (1771–1782). Vilified by political opponents for allegedly wasting public money, blamed by the public for the loss of the American colonies, and unpopular in the navy for being at the helm during its darkest eighteenth-century hour, Sandwich has since been condemned as inept, corrupt, and inefficient by generations of naval historians. According to Clive Wilkinson, such verdicts are harsh and unwarranted. Sandwich, far from being dishonest and incompetent, was an extremely able administrator and astute politician who endeavored to implement sensible, innovative policies that promised to correct a fundamental flaw in the navy's structure: the growing gap between the operational demands on the service and the ability of its infrastructure to provide the resources to meet those needs. His reforms were introduced at an unfortunate time, however, and his achievements were soon forgotten in the midst of an unpopular and unsuccessful war.

The purpose of this book is not to rehabilitate the reputation of Sandwich, a feat that has been accomplished in large measure in a number of scholarly works, most notably N.A.M. Rodger's *The Insatiable Earl* (1993). Rather, Wilkinson's aim is to explain the mitigating circumstances that should be taken into account in any evaluation of the performance of the navy and its senior managers from the cessation of the Seven Years' War in 1763 to the onset of war with France in 1778. His explanation lies chiefly in the quality and quantity of the ships of the line that the navy was able to produce and render fit for active service at any given time. By adopting a long-term perspective, Wilkinson demonstrates that the navy's stock of capital ships varied according to two key factors over which it could exercise little control: the incidence of war, and the climatic conditions that affected the nature of the timber with which the wooden walls were constructed. In essence, these factors set in motion two cycles of attrition and replen-

ishment, with conflict and peace respectively accelerating and slowing both the rate of loss and the naval shipbuilding and repair program, and long-term weather patterns conditioning the durability of ships. When the troughs of these “cycles of decay” coincided, the navy’s operational capabilities were impaired by a relative dearth of ships fit for service. It was Sandwich’s great misfortune that such a conjunction occurred in the early 1770s—as a consequence of the building programs of the 1750s and 1760s, and the adverse (i.e. comparatively warm) climatic conditions of the 1730s—just as Britain’s political difficulties in the American colonies were escalating.

In setting this central argument in its appropriate administrative, financial, and political contexts, as Daniel Baugh points out in his foreword (pp. vi-viii), Wilkinson adds depth and insight to the scholarly literature on the Georgian navy. His contribution is notably innovative in two respects. First, although he is no “environmental determinist” (p. 89), Wilkinson’s deployment of North Atlantic Oscillation data in relation to the durability of wooden-hulled ships demonstrates the significance of natural factors in the human historical process, an influence that has all too often been ignored by historians. Second, Wilkinson, albeit tentatively, perceives the development of the navy and its infrastructure as a “systemic” phenomenon (p. 8). From this perspective, the “largest industrial complex in the pre-industrial world” (p. 10) exhibited many of the features of large-scale enterprises of the industrial era. Accordingly, the production process was organized in functionally discrete departments headed by salaried managers, whose work was coordinated and monitored by administrators in a central office, and ultimately dependent on a remote decision-making process. This “incredibly complex and difficult institution” (p. 10) also faced many of the managerial challenges that confronted big business in a later era. In this respect, growing bureaucratic professionalism, its efforts to improve information flows, and its struggle to control the sources of its supplies suggest that the navy of the 1760s and 1770s was proactive in addressing organizational weaknesses. Against this, it was inhibited by networks based on patronage and nepotism rather than merit and knowledge, while its chief executive officers, including Sandwich, suffered from the “bounded rationality”—decision-making based on “circumstances as they saw them” (p. 7)—that necessarily constrains the efforts of even the most able of managers. It is to be hoped that Wilkinson pursues these environmental and business themes in future work on the eighteenth-century British Navy.

DAVID J. STARKEY
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STUART SEMMEL. *Napoleon and the British*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 354. \$40.00.

In March 1816, during one of his musings to the Comte de Las Cases on St. Helena, Napoleon Bonaparte outlined what he thought would have happened had he in-

vaded England in 1805 rather than turning his army east to meet the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz. He believed that he would have been in London after four days and, received as a liberator like William of Orange, there he would have restored England’s rights and liberties. He would not have demanded war reparations, and the English would have been permitted to regenerate their advanced political system by their own efforts in their own citizens’ assembly. This is one of the many day dreams from St. Helena that people can believe if they so wish. What is interesting is how closely it mirrors many of the arguments made by liberals and radicals in early nineteenth-century Britain. Drawing out these arguments and contrasting them with the views of British loyalists constitute the subject matter of Stuart Semmel’s impeccably researched and well-crafted monograph.

In recent years several historians have set out to reassess the impact of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars on the way in which the early nineteenth-century British understood themselves and the role of their nation. Semmel approaches the topic from a hitherto unexplored angle: namely, how Napoleon was perceived in the many different media—cartoons, paintings, broadsides, plays, political pamphlets and the press—by Britons both loyalist and radical, and with a variety of perspectives from the political to the religious. The British found it difficult to pin Napoleon down, particularly during the brief respite of the Peace of Amiens, when scores of visitors crossed the English Channel to glimpse the new society that had emerged out of the revolution and its youthful leader. And when war broke out again, the difficulty continued with a greater urgency. How were France and its new ruler to be understood? Loyalists had few doubts, although not necessarily identical views. Napoleon could be identified with the antichrist. He could be labelled as a usurper, while the alleged poisoning of sick soldiers at Jaffa and the kidnapping and execution of the Duc d’Engien singled him out as calculating, cruel, and murderous. Some radicals and liberals lost faith in a man who appeared eager to embrace the pomp of monarchy; but others continued to see him as a champion. Moreover, Napoleon’s behavior and the war that began in 1803 posed a range of complex questions. It was no longer a question of the Protestant isle standing firm against Bourbon Catholicism, or the atheism of the revolutionary sans-culottes. Napoleonic France was much more difficult to classify, and this raised important and unsettling questions about Britain’s place in the providential scheme of things that had been relatively clear to eighteenth-century patriots. At the same time, Napoleon’s seizure of power enabled some radicals to draw parallels with the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Hanoverian succession in 1714. The whole issue of what constituted the sovereignty and the legitimacy of kings and emperors was thrown into question. William of Orange had been accepted by the people of England and so, too, had George I. In what manner was the French acceptance of Napoleon by plebiscite any dif-

ferent? Radicals queried whether, by opposing Napoleon and siding with the old monarchical order in Europe, British governments were rejecting the evolutionary pattern of their own monarchy and their own constitutional system. Napoleon's exile on St. Helena raised additional awkward questions. Here was a man who had been transported without trial. Was this not a flagrant contradiction of legal rights that freeborn Englishmen held dear?

These issues have been approached tangentially or largely skipped over by previous historians. Semmel rightly brings them to the foreground. In so doing he reinforces awareness of the ways in which late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britons tried to understand their country and sought to encapsulate or explain its development. He also forces recognition of how such understandings were never static but were continually being rethought and debated. The unprecedented pressures and the duration of the war against Napoleon brought a new intensity to these debates. Perhaps Semmel might have dug a little more deeply into the plebeian perceptions of Napoleon. There seems to be some popular ballad literature such as, for example, *The Bonny Bunch of Roses*, that might be explored in this respect. But this might make a completely separate study, and there is an enormous amount to ponder and enjoy in Semmel's fine achievement.

CLIVE EMSLEY
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WILLIAM ANTHONY HAY. *The Whig Revival, 1808–1830*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 2005. Pp. xvi, 235. \$65.00.

In this volume the author promises "a major reassessment of British party politics in the first third of the nineteenth century." This is familiar territory and, on the whole, conventionally treated. Its principal claim to originality consists in William Anthony Hay's attempt to analyze the links between the parliamentary Whig Party and Lord Brougham's efforts to broker deals with provincial interest groups. The author is anxious to claim for Brougham a place in Whig history comparable to that of Edmund Burke. While Burke had adumbrated the initial justification for party, Brougham extended the concept of party to relate to the political nation as a whole.

The narrative reveals few surprises. Hay accepts the now orthodox interpretations that party divisions did exist in the early nineteenth century, that party terminology was current, that party dominated in opposition if not in government but that independent persons and ideas still mattered (pp. 13–14). "Parties can be understood best as coalitions reflecting a spectrum of political opinion within agreed bounds rather than a more disciplined and homogeneous body" (p. 14). The author argues that by 1830 the Whigs had become a credible party of potential government. He contends that Brougham's appeal to "provincial merchants and manufacturers frustrated at their exclusion from influence

helped transform a faction of aristocratic, metropolitan orientated Foxites into a national party" (p. 2). This "ideological bond" shifted the old Foxite party from its obsessions with secret influence, "retrenchment, scandal and peace" and emphasized liberty and resistance to arbitrary power (p. 4). Hay provides a reliable account of the Whig Party's parliamentary experiences and, most interestingly, of its involvement with the press (pp. 43–52). His analysis of Brougham's contribution to the development of the Whig Party should be read by all students of the period.

However, this reviewer encountered a number of problems with Hay's treatment of his subject. First, his references to the provincial interests and opinion that came to sustain the Whig Party remain curiously ambiguous. We are variously referred to middle-class opinion and interest groups, to groups supporting parliamentary reform, to those who wanted "a voice in government policy" (p. 5) and sometimes to those who advocated the removal of nonconformist disabilities. They are sometimes described as "professional men" (p. 18), as "a type of Whig more at home among statistics and economic theories than the social whirl of London and the great country houses, and whose hagiology drew on Adam Smith rather than Algernon Sydney" (pp. 18–19), and as "local commercial interests" (p. 35), but who were they and where were they?

The second problem to some extent derives from the author's reluctance to plunge into geopolitical analysis. There is very little discussion of the size and structure of the Whig Party itself. Hay criticizes existing histories of the Whig Party that treat it "as part of another story rather than closely engaging the period on its own terms" (p. 8), but it is by no means clear that he does any better in this regard. Although the calculations of Roland Thorne are integrated within the narrative with reasonable efficiency, the author does not attempt an original analysis of his party, contenting himself with merely a few lines about the total numbers of MPs at each general election. Furthermore, Hay provides no lists of Whig constituencies, patrons, peers, or MPs. His accounts of successive general elections are seriously incomplete, concentrating on a single spectacular contest in each election (Liverpool in 1812; Westmorland in 1818, 1820, and 1826). Even more inexplicably, the book provides neither an intensive and detailed analysis of Whig electoral fortunes nor a discussion of Whig electoral organization. Consequently, it is difficult to follow the electoral fortunes of the party to whose history the book is supposedly devoted. These are regrettable omissions that detract from the value of this study of the Whig Party.

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AILEEN FYFE. *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 325. \$25.00.

Historians have scarcely acknowledged, let alone sought to connect, that Victorian Britain was as remarkable for its evangelical revival as for its myriad achievements in science. In the latter historical narratives, allegedly knuckle-dragging evangelicals focused on scriptures and salvation and, at best, illuminate an Enlightenment project that left them behind. Not so Aileen Fyfe's new book. Taking its cue from Boyd Hilton's recognition in *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (1988) that Victorian evangelicals lived, worked, and prayed within a theological framework that included science, the book scrutinizes the involvement in science publishing of the seriously evangelical Religious Tract Society (RTS). Focusing mainly on the mid-Victorian period, after evangelicalism had become a part of mainstream British religious life, Fyfe explores the RTS's concerted campaign to counter the popular appeal of such faith-threatening publications as the "People's Edition" of George Combe's *The Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects* (1835) and Robert Chambers's *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844). It was a campaign that, far from seeking to defend a literal interpretation of Genesis, entailed a careful crafting of a would-be alternative reading in which science was squared with salvation.

This was no easy task. RTS authors—shown here to be preponderantly financially perilous clergymen (especially Congregationalists) in their late forties—had to go beyond merely refashioning phrenology, natural history, geology, nebular astronomy, and so on to prove the existence of God and the wonders of his creation. Readers had to be lead to the cardinal evangelical message of Christ's self-sacrifice for the sins of others (the doctrine of atonement). Getting them there depended on setting the right religious tone and building up trust between the (usually anonymous) author and the reader by means of careful management of the narrative voice. In *British Fish and Fisheries*, issued by the RTS in 1849, a central difference with other contemporary publications on the same subject (including one by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) was the substitution of "Christ the Redeemer" for "God the Creator" and, more subtly, the invocation of nature so as to prove not only the existence of God but also "his benevolence, which the reader had to accept in order to understand how Christ's death could atone for the sins of mankind" (p. 137).

Fyfe's primary concern is with the practical mechanics of RTS science publishing. She makes clear that the RTS was a commercial publishing operation like any other, and that hard-nosed business acumen, not gushing religiosity, was needed for it to compete with the outflow of cheap tracts and secular penny journals. For example, the society was no less keen to dispose of delinquent and dilatory editors than it was to adopt the latest printing technologies and marketing techniques. Thus the RTS, far from decrying the expansion of the

cheap press, "set out to do something about it" (p. 181), just as it did about the secular popularization of science.

Although historical detail on nineteenth-century science publishing has lost novelty as a result of James A. Secord's *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (2000), Fyfe's close study enables her to contribute significantly to the historical trend away from theologically based armchair debates over science and religion. For the RTS at least, the most obvious tension was not between science and religion, but "between the spiritual mission of the Society and the commercial world of publishing, or between the spiritual and temporal worlds" (p. 273). That said, however, this emphasis on the practicalities of religious faith cleaves a distinction with theory and things intellectual that seems anachronistic and artificial, no less than with some of the other dichotomies that Fyfe routinely deploys, such as those between "professional experts" in science and "amateurs," or between "scientific communities" and "popular audiences." Why, one wonders, should it be regarded as less professional to carve out a popular evangelical Christian science than an esoteric secular one, especially in a context that was overwhelmingly Christian and devout—a context, moreover, in which "scientists" were anyway gentlemen amateurs, not laboratory bench experts?

Fyfe's scrupulous attention to print runs, bindings, stereotyping, author disciplining, and so on serves also to obscure historical questions that may be more vital, such as who obtained RTS science publications, how they were actually read (or supposed to be), and with what conversionary effect? While she posits that "at least some working-class readers" were reached, and that the RTS's Monthly Series "must have been influential for being the cheapest, most widely distributed source of introductory treatises on the sciences . . . in the 1840s and 1850s" (pp. 270–271), her argument, she insists, is not affected by the answers to such questions, nor by the fact that "probably few" of the readers were converted to evangelicalism. But can a study that purports to revise our thinking on Victorian science and religion, on the relations between them, and on the neglected place of evangelicalism within that nexus really afford not to attend to such questions? One consequence here is that we never learn how Victorian evangelicals, or even the RTS, responded to Charles Darwin. Fyfe maintains that the society's pioneering efforts with natural knowledge made it easier for later Christian popular science writers to perform their task, but the claim is entirely unsupported, and, along with it, all other suggestions of continuity. Like attempting to run science and evangelicalism still further forward—to, say, the twenty-first century White House—more research is required. Not the least of this book's virtues is its empowering of that imperative so that the peculiar nature and significance of Western blends of science

and Christian practice might be all the better understood.

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D. W. BEBBINGTON. *The Mind of Gladstone: Religion, Homer, and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 331. \$95.00.

This study of the roots and evolution of William Ewart Gladstone's Liberalism pays only passing attention to his stance on the salient issues in British politics usually at the base of such studies. Rather, it examines his more theoretical statements about the nature of the state, the church, and the underlying community. Many of these statements have lain buried among the massive Gladstone papers in the British Library and on the shelves of his library at Hawarden: early essays undertaken for his personal guidance, annotations in his books, sermons preached as head of his household. D. W. Bebbington takes seriously what Gladstone took seriously, whether, as in the religious writings, they shed light on his whole outlook or whether, as in the writings on Homer, they merely reflect convictions derived from other sources.

Gladstone's thinking about the church and in particular about the Church of England evolved alongside and sometimes ahead of the evolution of his thinking about the state. The longest and the most revealing part of Bebbington's study focuses on the evolution of Gladstone's religious thought, to which most historians have usually paid no more than a respectful nod. No historians will be surprised at Bebbington's assertion that service as a minister under Sir Robert Peel rendered Gladstone's early Toryism "mild and malleable" (p. 32). Less familiar is the impact during Peel's first ministry that the writing of Alexis de Tocqueville had on Gladstone, fostering his "growing awareness of the role of the people" (p. 33). But Bebbington's analysis of the way in which Gladstone's thinking about the Church of England evolved and liberalized his political thought should move the thinking even of church historians forward, to say nothing of its implications for political history.

Moving with graceful command across the sometimes difficult terrain of Anglican thought, Bebbington delineates the successive stages in Gladstone's thinking with persuasive clarity: from the evangelicalism of his upbringing, through the high churchmanship that he imbibed at Oxford University, into Tractarianism in reaction to Oxford's persecution of the Tractarians, and on after mid-century into an idiosyncratic kind of incarnationalist broad churchmanship that placed him, toward the end of his life, among the rising generation of Anglican clergy around Charles Gore. Although always a man of conviction, at no stage in this evolution was Gladstone among the extremists. And what he gained at each stage was a growing appreciation of liberty. Although Gladstone was among the most devout

of churchmen and epitomized the Christian in politics, he learned to appreciate liberty in religious thought even before he grasped its widening implications in politics. And nothing roused his indignation more than the denial of this liberty, whether by Oxford in the 1840s or by ultramontane Rome in the 1860s and 1870s. Bebbington points out that "it was in antagonism to Roman Catholic claims that Gladstone recognized freedom as essential to human welfare. Here was an ideological shift towards a principled assertion of the importance of liberty, the germ of what was to flower in Gladstonian Liberalism" (pp. 120–121).

Two other beliefs that Gladstone imbibed from his religious faith helped to shape his later Liberalism. One was his insistence on the fundamental importance of community. Gladstone is much loved among Thatcherite Conservatives for his insistence on the minimal state and reliance on individual self-help. He is revered among liberals of all stripes for his insistence on free trade as "the supreme agency transferring powers from the state to the people" (p. 262). But Gladstone had also insisted in an early memorandum that "Community is the very essence of the Church of Christ" (quoted on p. 76). Bebbington argues that Gladstone's ecclesiastical thought, like his political thought, remained based on communitarian principles.

Those principles began at mid-century to blend with his deepening sense of the importance of the incarnation, when the Word was made flesh and God took on human form. Gladstone now "exalted the human side of Christ . . . the incarnate Christ had imparted a new grandeur to humanity. Henceforward Gladstone made the dignity of the human race a fixed point in his thinking . . . A compassionate concern for those in adversity became . . . a central dimension of Gladstone's worldview" (p. 141). This line of thinking helped to shape his response to the oppression of the Bulgarians in 1876; and, more remarkably, it induced him in his final years to endorse policies to protect the physical well-being of the population, policies commonly associated with the New Liberalism of the turn of the century as it moved away from the economizing, individualistic Liberalism of the 1850s and 1860s with which the Grand Old Man continued to be identified.

PETER T. MARSH

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MARK CURTHOYS. *Governments, Labour, and the Law in Mid-Victorian Britain: The Trade Union Legislation of the 1870s*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 284. \$99.00.

This book's central focus is the mid-Victorian "official mind," or at least its dominant liberal version: the mental frameworks particularly of government ministers, their expert civil servants, and, to a lesser extent, members of Royal Commissions and other inquiries. Mark Curthoys explores how they sought to adapt labor law and its underpinning economic theory to the growing

strength, organization, and developing bargaining activities (particularly strikes) of trade unionism, eventually giving unions freedoms unparalleled in Europe. He also examines the “ideas and pressures” causing them to do so.

Although the book climaxes with the labor legislation of the 1870s—the Trade Union and Criminal Law Amendment Acts of 1871, and the Employers and Workmen and the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Acts of 1875—this is set within an extended and carefully analyzed account of developing opinion and legislation in the decades after the repeal of the Anti-Combination Laws in 1824–1825. The tone is determinedly analytic and detached, but the book has two, perhaps three, unsensational heroes: Henry Thring and Godfrey Lushington, successive expert legal advisers at the Home Office, and, more surprisingly, Robert Lowe, Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer and Home Secretary 1873–1874. Having long been hostile to unions and having fiercely opposed working-class enfranchisement in 1866–1867, after 1873 Lowe actively sought to prevent those now politically included from becoming dangerously alienated by what they increasingly perceived as the one-sided interpretation of justice so far as their unions were concerned. It was Lowe who devised the “final” settlement that the Conservatives enacted in 1875. Thring, Lushington, and Lowe were the strongest influences inside government not just on labor law developments after 1867 but also on the changes in political-economic theory that underpinned and intellectually legitimized those developments.

Never in the half-century after 1825 were the beneficial effects of freely interacting market forces outwardly doubted. However, official perceptions of the legitimate free players in this market expanded. At the start and in many respects up to the 1867 Royal Commission on Trade Unions under Sir William Erle, official opinion mostly viewed the labor market as peopled entirely by free-wheeling individuals, pursuing their own economic interests and making independent bargains with employers acting with similar atomism. Attitudes to trades unions were at best ambiguous: no longer actually illegal but having no legal status, and either incapable of effectively improving their members' interests, or actually degrading them through improper attempts at “protection” from market competition. Unions could endanger their members' freedoms by coercing them into strikes. Union activities, particularly strikes, were therefore to be restricted by the criminal law of conspiracy, in theory if less so in actual practice. By 1875, conceptions of the still-benign free market had become less atomistic. Government ministers (even Conservative ones), expert officials, and other legal theorists were rapidly coming to see unions (like employers' organizations) as self-interested collectivities, capable of rationally pursuing and advancing their members' interests by means that could legitimately include strikes and peaceful picketing.

Unlike its interventions in fields such as public health and factory regulation, government actually withdrew

from the labor market, taking criminal and “judge-made” law with it, except (it was thought) in cases of violent intimidation of nonstrikers. After 1875, unions supposedly could no longer be prosecuted collectively for actions that were legal if taken by individuals. Put simply, this was a shift from individual to collective *laissez-faire*, something Curthoys and others have seen as a sort of half way house on the journey to collectivism. This formulation of the free market, as Eugenio Biagini has demonstrated, was heartily endorsed by trade unions because they could benefit from it (see *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone* [1992]).

The forces contributing to this theoretical and legislative shift were manifold: changing judicial interpretation of the law in face of cases brought against unions for criminal conspiracy and union reactions to that opinion; social science-based evidence about the real as distinct from the theoretical workings of the labor market, and the clear sense that individual workers could never be equal players with employers; the more general shift (although Curthoys does not make this explicit) from purely deductive to evidence-based argument, manifest elsewhere in the increasing reliance by Victorian policy makers on blue books. Beyond this lay what we have come to call democratization even though contemporaries did not, more particularly the 1867 franchise extension to residually stable working-class male householders. Although Curthoys regards the contemporary union view of the 1875 settlement as a “workers' victory” as a myth and wants to emphasize the intellectual character of official mental change, it is clear that assumptions and fears about the likely intentions of working-class voters were important parts of the legislative calculus for politicians rapidly learning the craft of appeasing small groups. Since these politicians and officials were operating near the start of democratization, their calculations were not just about how workers might vote but also about the damage, even the destruction, they might bring to the political and economic systems if they became “dangerously” alienated by perceiving the law to be biased against them. Overall, Curthoys has produced a valuable and carefully nuanced contribution to labor history, to the history of labor law, and to our sense of the interactions between developing understandings of political economy and advancing democracy.

JOHN GARRARD
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ELEANOR GORDON and GWYNETH NAIR. *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. 294. \$45.00.

Based as it is on the detailed reconstruction of the families living in two class estates (comprising twelve streets), this book provides an engaging and very detailed picture of middle-class life in Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century. It stresses the economic and occupational diversity in a class in which the

amount left in wills varied staggeringly between the ship owner who left £371,000 and the clothier, doctor, or "wright and builder," each of whom left less than £1,400. Its detailed reconstitution of family life also produces a clear and unexpected picture of how middle-class families were made up, with a relatively small number of male headed nuclear family units (half of the households being considered in 1851 and just over a third in 1891). In place of this familial bourgeois family, one has a picture in which there are far more female headed households than one might have expected (around twelve percent in 1851 and twenty-one percent forty years later). Following the patterns established by Stephen Ruggles and Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair point to the prevalence of extended families in this period and stress that, while extended families may have been as common among the middle as the working classes, the actual constitution of extended families was clearly affected by class. Thus the extended network found in middle-class families consisted of siblings rather more often than of aged parents, and the siblings most often found in these extended families were unmarried sisters.

In their detailed picture of middle-class family life, Gordon and Nair pay a great deal of attention to the basis and the nature of marriage, stressing the ongoing popularity of marriage despite a vigorous debate about its value and problems. They pay particular attention to the ways in which economic interests and financial prudence combined with sentiment in many marriages, insisting that marriage was rarely forged solely on the basis of love, nor was it loveless and entirely mercenary. Premarital sex was experienced by far more of their sample than one might have expected, supporting their idea of mutual attraction as important even in prudent marriages. In some cases, there were spectacular marital failures; they devote a great deal of their chapter on marriage to the celebrated and notorious mismatch "between Madeleine Smith and Emile L'Angelier which resulted in the murder of Emile by his disenchanted wife."

The combination of broad demographic patterns and detailed case studies that is evident in the discussion of marriage is evident also in the treatment of women's economic and financial activities, their domestic tasks and responsibilities, and their broad social activities, incorporating both the role of hostess and family manager and a wider role incorporating social duties and pastimes. The lives and often the paid work of single middle-class women receive particular attention.

While the detailed picture of middle-class life, or at least that of this small sample, is lined with great clarity, some questions arise about the broader framework of the book and about the central argument that it makes. What is most valuable in this book is its empirical detail, which is combined with a very coherent sense of the middle class and a series of individual narratives that confirm, or occasionally disrupt, the dominant picture. But the detail is framed in a less than helpful way. The key argument that seems to underpin the book is di-

rected toward undermining the separate spheres thesis that we are told "has become the dominant historical paradigm for understanding the nineteenth century." This thesis has been the subject of critical discussion within Victorian historical writing for quite some time, and even those who still support it in some form have shown how very complicated and unstable were the respective "spheres" that men and women supposedly occupied. Some of the arguments advanced here to support the idea that women were closely involved in the public sphere seem questionable: a whole array of social activities undertaken outside the home, but within the broad framework of family life, are seen here as "public," while they could just as well be seen as demonstrating both the complexity and the importance of particular notions of "private." But the emphasis on rejecting the notion of "separate spheres," almost as if it has not already been done by others, is ultimately too limited a framework to hold together the wonderful empirical detail that is presented. It detracts from the depiction of middle-class life and gives the book a slightly carping quality that serves to minimize its very considerable merits.

BARBARA CAINE
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NADJA DURBACH. *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in England, 1853-1907*. (Radical Perspectives.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 276. \$22.95.

Once viewed as symptomatic of lay ignorance, irrationality, and civic irresponsibility, nineteenth-century anti-vaccination movements are now often seen as genuine expressions of a nonelite culture of the body, as righteous protest against unjust administration as well as general disenfranchisement, and as a remarkable political achievement of the powerless, with women playing a significant role. In this book, Nadja Durbach sympathetically surveys the medical and political culture of the long-lived and remarkably successful anti-vaccination campaign in England. There coercion came late (1853) and was less ruthlessly enforced than in most of Europe. It confronted a constitutional tradition emphasizing liberty of the subject as well as an entrenched philosophy of minimalist government. In part, the movement was based in such principled concerns, but for many of its partisans experience with the vaccination programs of a poor-law state medicine bureaucracy that seemed both insensitive and dangerously incompetent was more immediate. State vaccinators utilized an arm-to-arm approach and often paid little attention to the health of the infants involved. The arguments in the movement's many periodicals, not only the long-lived *Vaccination Inquirer* but also the wonderfully titled *Individualist* and the *Personal Rights Journal*, reflected a spectrum of concern: some were opposed to vaccination per se, some merely to compulsion, while some focused on incompetency and unfair enforcement (the poor were treated especially harshly). During its

heyday the movement dominated local government in towns such as Keighley and Leicester and was crucial in the 1898 Reading by-election. After 1907, when parliament allowed conscientiously objecting parents to opt out, the movement's incoherence was exposed as it divided over the adequacy of that victory. It did, however, influence subsequent public health policy, and, Durbach argues, it persists as a mode of public medical engagement—evident in the recent concern about MMR vaccination.

Drawing on periodicals and pamphlets, Durbach treats the movement mainly in terms of its rhetoric. The bulk of the book examines representations: of women and men as mothers and fathers, of health and disease, of the borders of the body and its vulnerabilities (including its species and racial integrity), of matter and spirit (and germ), of the nature of purity and the power of blood. At stake was the place of smallpox in the moral economy of the universe. Durbach sees these representations as a "medical cosmology" of "beliefs" and "popular understandings" (p. 4). Given the variety within the movement, "belief" overstates; one might better imagine a tool kit of horrific images, bits of righteous narrative and plausible inference, which writers (including opportunistic journalists and a group of defiantly unorthodox theorists who found a market niche for contrarian medicine) repeatedly rework on the principle of "leave no trope unused." The flexibility of the concepts is remarkable; so, too, the ingenuity with which writers turned scientific authority (e.g. the new bacteriology) to their own ends.

It is as a study of the incorporation of biomedical concepts into political language that this book is richest (though much of that language was not specific to smallpox, to England, or to the period). The focus has costs, however, in contextualization. Durbach gives only passing attention to the actual administration of the vaccination programs, nor does she treat the pro-vaccinationist position or consider the movement in light of changing smallpox incidence. This makes it hard to judge how far the movement was part of a dialogue and how imminent the risk of not vaccinating was seen to be. She also steers clear of the statistical side of the debate on the grounds that Victorian practices could not sustain the conclusions partisans drew from them. That may be so, but epidemiology, however primitive, was a prominent medium of justification, and in the case of the eminent epidemiologist Charles Creighton, in conversation as well.

Attention to such matters is crucial if we are to avoid exoticizing the anti-vaccination movement, for it is not clear how far its marginalization was imposed or elected. While we are now better able to see vaccination programs as reflecting a stodgy state medical establishment, which acquiesced in quick and dirty vaccination on the grounds that its members were underpaid for the service, we must also recognize how far vaccination was a magnet for political and cultural martyrdom. Vaccination opponents, at least the more literary, were often on the front lines of other anti-establishment causes.

They were spiritualists, vegetarians, anti-vivisectionists, suffragists. What linked these causes and underwrote the mix of reform and paranoid antinomianism is not clear, but the possibility must be kept in mind that vaccination opposition was, at some level, a proxy for much else. What stands out in Durbach's texts are anger, alienation, and wholesale distrust of authority.

Fuller treatment of social composition and local organization is needed. An artisanal aristocracy was prominent in the movement, but its geographic unevenness suggests that it was more community than class based. While it is tempting to see the distribution of anti-vaccinationism as a map of bad practice or unusually odious poor law administration, those links to matters distant from welfare (e.g. Keighley was also a center of plebian spiritualism) suggest that this would be too simple. Fascinating as this book is, much more is needed to produce a socially grounded cultural history of anti-vaccinationism. In the meantime, Durbach's book is best read in conjunction with Peter Baldwin's long chapter on European vaccination programs (in *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930* [1999]).

CHRISTOPHER HAMLIN
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PETER BARHAM. *Forgotten Lunatics of the Great War*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 451. \$45.00.

The medical encounter with "shell shock" during and after World War I is commonly seen as marking an epoch in the history of psychiatry, providing a site for the articulation of a range of theories and practices that departed from Victorian psychiatric orthodoxy by privileging mind over body and therapy over containment. But as Peter Barham observes in the opening pages of this superb new study of the psychiatric fall-out of the war, this view is based on a distinctly one-sided choice of historical sources. Practically everything that has been written to date on the personal, medical, and administrative history of shell shock concentrates on the experiences of shell-shocked officers and on the institutions that treated them. Of the many ordinary soldiers who suffered mental and emotional damage from serving in the war, we have heard next to nothing. There is a deep irony here. It was widely supposed among medical authorities of the time that while shell-shocked officers typically gave voice to their distress through the symptoms of neurasthenia, common soldiers more often descended into a sullen psychotic silence. By focusing on the officer class while neglecting the experiences of ordinary Tommies, historians have tended unwittingly to reinforce that diagnosis. But as this book makes clear, to do so is to perpetuate a profound historical injustice.

Barham is the first person to look in any detail at how the British authorities treated the many common soldiers who suffered mental breakdowns during the course of the war. The great majority of these men found themselves discharged, sooner or later, into ci-

vilian asylums. Essentially poor law institutions, the asylums were founded on the assumption that the pauper lunatics who ended up there did so by dint of congenital mental or moral weakness and were therefore incapable of improvement; the best that could be done, for their own good and that of society, was to strip them of the rights normally accorded to citizens and lock them away indefinitely. Widespread public outrage that men who had enlisted in the service of their country should be subjected to the same pauperizing regime led, in the long run, only to minimal concessions. From 1916, mentally disturbed soldiers sent to the civil asylums were classified as "service patients" and granted special privileges that supposedly distinguished them from pauper lunatics. Such distinctions meant little in practice, however. Like the pauper lunatics they were housed with, service patients were generally treated as hopeless cases. Admission to the asylum was often a one-way journey, and many remained there until their deaths.

The Ministry of Pensions only reinforced this prejudicial treatment. Mentally disabled soldiers faced a grueling round of inspections and tribunals if they were to have any chance of satisfying the ministry that their debility was due to war service rather than their own innate weakness. Short-term recovery could result in permanent cancellation of a pension, leaving old soldiers once again with no recourse but to the poor law if their condition subsequently deteriorated. Service patients, unlike other disabled soldiers, found the cost of their maintenance deducted from their pensions. Following World War II, when service patients became entitled to new state benefits, government officials declined to inform them, deeming it "undesirable to send a leaflet to a pensioner in a mental hospital" (p. 303).

Given the discrimination they faced, it is striking how much resilience and determination many of the mental casualties of the war displayed in fighting for a modicum of justice. Against the backdrop of institutional history, Barham counterposes a rich skein of stories about the individuals who found themselves on the receiving end of the system. While many of those stories testify to the eventual success of the asylum and the pensions authorities in crushing any hope of independent life, others tell of men who succeeded—against the odds and usually with the assistance of family, friends, and other advocates—in reclaiming something of a life for themselves outside the asylum. Such stories give the lie to the image of the inarticulate and despondent war psychotic that the psychiatric services themselves have bequeathed us. Indeed, what becomes clear is just how much institutional effort went into suppressing the voices of those the authorities decided should be written out of society.

Arguably, Barham's greatest achievement is to have recovered so many of these voices and woven them back into a moving narrative of lives damaged, first by the demands of military service, then a second time by the machinations of a system whose overriding concern was to deny the damage that had been done in the first

place. Barham's book stands as a memorial to these forgotten men. It also serves as a reminder that historians have a duty to remember those that posterity might have preferred to forget. It is chastening to realize just how long we have neglected that duty in the case of Britain's forgotten lunatics.

STEVE STURDY
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MATTHEW GRIMLEY. *Citizenship, Community, and the Church of England: Liberal Anglican Theories of the State between the Wars*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 257. \$95.00.

In contrast to the considerable scholarly attention lavished on English religion in the Victorian era, the twentieth century has received comparatively little attention. This situation is beginning to change, however, and this pioneering monograph makes an important contribution to the process.

Matthew Grimley's focus is on William Temple, successively archbishop of York and of Canterbury, and two leading lay Anglican thinkers, the academics Ernest Barker and A. D. Lindsay. Other figures who receive significant attention include the philosopher Bernard Bosanquet, the political theorist Neville Figgis, the "gloomy dean" Ralph Inge, the statesman Stanley Baldwin (prime minister 1923, 1924–1929, 1935–1937), and the maverick bishop of Durham Hensley Henson. The first two substantive chapters provide an overview of liberal Anglican ideas of the state since the early Victorian period and then move on to explore the impact of idealist and pluralist philosophies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. There is useful material here, but at times the exposition is somewhat repetitive and rambling.

The subsequent chapters more than remedy the deficiencies of the early part of the book. Grimley offers an incisive analysis of three particular phases in inter-war church-state relations: the General Strike of 1926, the Prayer Book crisis of 1927–1928, and the evolution of national religion in the 1930s against the backdrop of unemployment, the abdication of Edward VIII, and the advance of Nazism in Germany. The final chapter discusses World War II and its aftermath, offering interesting reflections on the more recent past.

Grimley argues strongly for regarding the Church of England as playing a more central role in national life in this period than has hitherto been supposed. The book is especially interesting in placing Baldwin within a framework that portrays this dominant political figure as a committed Christian statesman, who was in some respects more effective in representing the church's interests than the bishops themselves. Grimley concedes that the interventions of church leaders in the General Strike were misjudged and ineffective, while the Prayer Book dispute, despite its parliamentary dimensions, was primarily perceived as an internal Anglican matter that did not engage the interest of the nation as a whole.

It did however demonstrate that there was now very little pressure for disestablishment, even from Nonconformists. The 1930s are important to the argument. It was in this decade, Grimley maintains, that the church's positive response to unemployment, its role in the diffuse but powerful ritual and sentiment surrounding the monarchy, and its significance as a cornerstone of "Christian civilization" in the face of resurgent neo-paganism on the continent enabled liberal Anglicanism to recover a central role in national life.

The book is a stimulating one, but at times Grimley's conclusions carry him rather further than his evidence will bear. His work is therefore better regarded as setting an agenda for further research in an understudied field than as presenting definitive answers. Two particular issues are worth highlighting. First, this is very much a "top down" view of the role of the Church of England, presented through the eyes of a few key leaders and thinkers. It needs to be set against other research—such as Jeffrey Cox's important monograph *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth 1870–1930* (1982)—on the church's role at the grass roots, in the parishes and in local politics and cultural and civic life. Second, in asserting the importance of the monarchy and civil religion for understanding the place of the church in this period Grimley makes a crucial and hitherto neglected point. That too, however, will need to be developed by more research, for example on the dynamics of state occasions such as the Silver Jubilee of 1935 and the coronation of 1937, and on the respective roles of church and monarchy in World War II.

There are some minor but irritating technical faults, for example in the citation of Henson's unpublished journals as if they were a printed source, and in a misattribution of authorship in p. 214, n. 43. The choice of dustjacket illustration is a strange (and unexplained) one, as it lacks any obvious relevance to the content of the book. Nevertheless, despite these defects, this is a thoroughly worthwhile study, which merits close attention from historians of British politics as well as those of religion. It also provides significant food for thought on the similarities and contrasts between the roles of religion in British and American public life.

JOHN WOLFFE
The Open University

DENISE TURREL. *Le Blanc de France: La construction des signes identitaires pendant les guerres de religion (1562–1629)*. (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, number 396.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2005. Pp. 256.

Denise Turrel's book is yet another worthy study that underscores the sophistication of early modern symbolology. The author examines the shifting usage and meaning of the color white over the course of the French Wars of Religion. Specifically, Turrel is fascinated by the emergence of the white scarf as emblematic of the seventeenth-century French monarchy and nation. As she points out in her introduction, the white scarf was the well-recognized symbol of French military authority

on the battlefields of seventeenth-century Europe. However, its origins lay in Huguenot resistance to royal authority during the earliest days of the French civil wars. The thrust of this clear and well-researched study is to understand the transformation of the usage of the color white between 1562 and 1629, and in doing so the transformation of the French nation in the hands of its first Bourbon ruler, the erstwhile Protestant Henry of Navarre. Contemporary memoirs and histories written from a variety of political perspectives as well as visual representations (paintings, engravings, tapestries) of the key figures and events of the Wars of Religion provide the bulk of Turrel's source base.

Turrel divides her monograph into three parts. In part one, she looks closely at the usage of white on the part of the Huguenots throughout the Wars of Religion. On June 9, 1562, the army of the prince of Condé met the forces of the Guise family uniformly dressed in white tunics. The all-white façade of the Huguenot forces visually argued for the purity of the Calvinist faith and the political and spiritual unity of its French adherents. White had long been a symbol of purity in the Christian faith and had appeared in the form of crosses on the tunics of European crusaders in earlier centuries. The white garb worn by the entire Huguenot army was nevertheless a shocking reinvention of the traditional attire of French combatants. As Turrel points out, prior to this battle, French soldiers wore the livery of their noble leader over their armor. Six colors formed the base of the heraldic spectrum: white, yellow, red, green, blue, and black. Variety in color thus was one marker of medieval and early modern warfare. For Catholic noble leaders such as the duke of Guise, the homogenous look of the Huguenot army undermined the chivalric nature of the battle and along with it, noble status and authority. Huguenot forces looked nude, and thus, socially base.

Despite much Catholic mockery, the color white became a powerful symbol of the Protestant cause in subsequent years. By the 1570s, the white tunic gave way to the white scarf worn by Protestant nobles. Henry III himself even adopted the white scarf in 1589 after being rescued by Protestant forces. It was from this point on, Turrel argues, that we find the white scarf entering into royal iconography. Turrel suggests that it was precisely because of its emotional and psychological power over Huguenots and Catholics alike that the white scarf ultimately became such a successful symbol of the French nation. After all, as Turrel shows, many symbols came and went during the Wars of Religion without laying deep roots in the French imagination. Members of the Catholic League, for example, sported a variety of different emblems including the cross and different colored scarves (green, red, and black). For Turrel, the very variety of colors and emblems used by members of the League underscore the factionalized nature of the League alliance, and thus its inability to establish itself as a permanent political authority.

Turrel uses her sources imaginatively and effectively, although one could wish she had investigated more in-

tensively the complex web of religious meanings associated with the color white. As Turrel herself points out, French men and women of the sixteenth century were sophisticated readers of religious and political symbols. Huguenot adoption of a color associated with crusading must have raised the hackles of many a Catholic. Where Turrel makes a real contribution is to the study of early modern political ritual and, along with it, the construction of Bourbon absolutism. Her fascinating study dovetails nicely with recent scholarship on the reign of Henry of Navarre that underscores his political genius. Engravings and paintings from his reign show the white scarf emerging as the symbol of a loyalist French aristocracy, a changing conception that reflects Navarre's concern about consolidating royal authority after several decades of civil warfare. Navarre himself continued to wear the white scarf after his ascent to the French throne, reinventing this once wholly Protestant insignia as a proud symbol of a peaceful and united French nation. Under his skilful manipulation of images, the Huguenot and Catholic alike found something to support in their new monarch.

MEGAN ARMSTRONG
McMaster University

KATHERINE CRAWFORD. *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 145.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 297. \$49.95.

During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, France was transformed from a medieval kingdom to a nation-state under the Valois and Bourbon dynasties. Clearly, the fact that both of these dynasties had to rely on female regents for significant periods played some role in how the French nation-state was created, but until Katherine Crawford's new book, the impact of regency on state development was largely overlooked. Crawford attempts to fill this gap by examining how the female regents from the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries presented their claims to authority in gendered terms, as well as the ramifications of those terms when a male regent came to power in the eighteenth century, and during the revolution later in that century.

Crawford has structured her work around Judith Butler's argument that gender is performative and thus contends that female regents, starting with Catherine de Medici, deliberately chose to highlight specific aspects of normative female behavior to support their claims to serve as regent for their minor sons, using carefully crafted images to present their performances to the French people. Unlike earlier female regents, she argues, it was the play on the dual role of king's widow and king's mother that marked a significant shift in regency claims after 1560. Key to this is the assertion that these female regents crafted public performances of gender roles that had been carefully redefined to allow these women to exceed gender norms, the "perilous performances" of the title. Crawford argues that first Catherine, then later female regents, used the tropes of

the good mother and devoted widow to present themselves as the most qualified and least threatening choice to rule during their sons' minorities. This allowed the queen-mother to check the ambitions of those male relatives closest to the king, while the emphasis on maternal devotion to maintaining the son's patrimony offset fears of female rule. As a result, however, regency itself came to be seen in gendered terms, which "both enabled and circumscribed political innovation" (p. 4). Crawford's goal, however, is not to reevaluate the traditional political history of early modern France by plugging women into the narrative but "to examine why categories of definition render the operations of gender invisible" by scrutinizing how regents played on gender stereotypes to claim a political role otherwise denied to women (p. 5).

Crawford's view of regency as performative is intriguing, and her goal of elucidating the ways in which the many regencies in early modern France shaped the development of the nation-state is a welcome first step in connecting the growing work on gender to the political history of the period. Certainly the recognition that female regents understood the political ramifications of their actions and carefully designed a political rhetoric to support those actions, and that each regent built on the work of earlier ones, is a welcome approach. However, there is a curious slippage here between Crawford's analysis of the regents' decisions, particularly their use of the *lit de justice*, and the larger work of state formation. Basically, this is a book about the actions of four specific regents, and how the gendered construction of regency developed by Catherine de Medici, Marie de Medici, and Anne of Austria limited the options of Philippe d'Orleans when he became the first male regent in centuries. While Crawford considers the reactions of contemporaries to these regents' claims to authority and their political actions, she does so in terms of specific events rather than the wider political context, and there is little explicit discussion of the connections between regency and the mechanisms of change in state organization and administration until the book's conclusion.

Crawford's discussion of gender as performative is problematic at times, as she seems to accept the regents' "performances" as the only ones possible, which undermines the argument that they deliberately chose to portray themselves in specific ways. The repeated assertion that interpretations of the Salic Law barred women from any overt political role until Catherine's regency also makes Crawford's position weaker than it could have been had she considered the actions of other powerful women. Also, a clearer explanation of her methodology might have helped delineate how much of the women's performances were dictated by cultural norms and how much was deliberate. Small errors of dating and minor mistakes regarding other political players, such as calling Navarre Antoine de Bourbon's patrimony, might be confusing to nonspecialists.

Despite these small flaws, however, Crawford has written a significant book that should move both the

political and the gender history of early modern France in important new directions. She is right to assert that female regents were not just political actors who happened to be women, and that how these women perceived and presented themselves has to be taken into account in any examination of the rise of the French nation-state.

BARBARA STEPHENSON
Mount Holyoke College

MITA CHOUDHURY. *Convents and Nuns in Eighteenth-Century French Politics and Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 234. \$42.50.

Mita Choudhury's book examines textual images associated with women's religious orders and explains why they held such fascination for readers in the period 1730–1794. Choudhury draws on myriad sources—legal, political, and literary, many of them hitherto unknown—and supplements the well-known story about the dwindling fortunes of the male clergy with an account of their female counterparts. Her history holds some discoveries, especially as regards the disparity between stereotype and lived experience.

Chapter one describes how state power and religious authority organized convent life. A paradox emerges: a microcosm of French society, the convent operated on a corporate structure based on privilege, whereas church doctrine stipulated that “all nuns are equal before God” (pp. 20–21). The resulting conflicts inspired Denis Diderot's *La Religieuse* (written 1760, published 1796). Although Diderot's novel is best known for its themes of sadism, sapphism, and religious imprisonment, Choudhury illuminates its political critique of illegitimate government. She interprets Diderot's portrayal of complicity among the family, state, and church authorities who hold the heroine captive as an attack against the Old Regime itself.

Choudhury next addresses an example of civil disobedience in the convent. The papal bull *Unigenitus*, which condemned Jansenism, motivated numerous nuns to acts of resistance in the years 1730–1753. In an interesting twist on current theories of citizenship, which situate its origins in the French Revolution, Choudhury shows that the nuns' lawyers defended them as “citizens with rights,” rights that must be respected even by superiors (p. 69). Other insights into Old Regime legal discourse follow in chapter three, on trials involving mother superiors in the 1760s. The legal discourse gradually shifted focus, from corrupt individuals to evil institutions, with worrisome implications for the powers that be.

Chapter four debunks popular fears of the *vocation forcée*. Literature abounds in tales of girls suffering at the hands of despotic nuns and parents, yet such cases were exceedingly rare. Indeed, argues Choudhury, such imagery derives not from real-life experience but rather from the realm of imagination, where people harbored hopes for a new kind of family life. Chapter five summarizes the history of educational theory and childrear-

ing from 1740 to 1789, highlighting the ideal of “natural,” hands-on mothering. What a contrast from the chapter's second half, which surveys the imagery of despicable, lascivious *mères supérieures* that dominated pornography and libertinage.

For its engagement with the relationship between texts and political events, chapter six, on the period 1789–1794, exemplifies the book's goals. Choudhury shows how nuns initially defended their work in public speeches and pamphlets and benefited from the spirit of cooperation that marked the early phases of the revolution. But the situation went downhill in 1791. As Choudhury demonstrates, the April 1791 riots turned public opinion firmly against the religious and spawned the image of nuns as devious counterrevolutionaries. Religious women thus came to represent the very crimes they had earlier opposed, such as the forced choice between spirituality and civism.

This analysis of political speeches and religious polemic is fascinating. But for a book devoted to textuality, it has some weaknesses. While very strong in historiographical method, the author occasionally neglects crucial methodological principles of literary study (i.e. genre, historical context, reception, authorial agency). Certain lacunae are glaring. The spiritual autobiography genre was virtually dominated by women religious in the period 1640–1704 (see Nicholas Paige, *Being Interior: Autobiography and the Conditions of Modernity in Seventeenth-Century France* [2001]). Surely this tradition is significant to Choudhury's trajectory, yet it is missing from her book, as is the gothic. From 1760 to 1830, the gothic (or *roman noir*) was the anticlerical genre par excellence, and it did more damage to the image of religious orders than any other European cultural form.

Furthermore, although Choudhury quotes extensively from texts written by nuns, her narrative keeps us at arms length from their lived experience. These women's existence—the austerity and pomp, mental rigor, and physical suffering—is a subject of great interest. One wishes Choudhury's narrative had concentrated more on lived detail. Such attention may have allowed her to transcend the binary categories that box in her conclusions. Nevertheless, this book establishes Choudhury firmly in the rising generation of eighteenth-century scholars. Her skills of archival research and historical analysis allow for some intriguing insights into eighteenth-century political culture.

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HELEN HARDEN CHENUT. *The Fabric of Gender: Working-Class Culture in Third Republic France*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 436. \$60.00.

Writing the history of the working class has fallen out of favor, in part because of the post-1989 demise of European communism and the decline of labor movements throughout the West. Some historians have even

questioned the very concept of class, reducing it to a product of discourses rather than a reflection of the modes of production. Helen Harden Chenut returns our attention to the centrality of working-class experience to understanding broader issues of cultural, political, and economic history. Her meticulously researched study of the textile city of Troyes during the Third Republic (1870–1940) analyzes the practices of an ambitious class of manufacturers and of a vibrant working class of women and men in the knitted goods industry that dominated the region. Troyes produced a militant community of workers that partook in several series of prolonged strikes. Their militancy persisted in the interwar period despite divisions among socialists and trade unionists and the challenges of a depression economy that crippled the labor movement elsewhere. The purpose of this book is to examine the multiple sites of experience that produced working-class identity, and to analyze the component of gender within it.

Gender, indeed, shaped the knitting goods industry. Modernization occurred slowly, relatively late, and in a nonlinear fashion. Industrial expansion was amoeba-like, pulsating out to rural domestic production, then concentrating in urban, large-scale factories, and then again expanding further through domestic manufacture. Over the course of this period, the industry became increasingly feminized; by the 1930s, fifty-eight percent of its labor force was female. One of Chenut's most interesting findings is that the needs of female workers helped determine the mode of expansion in this industry. Although certain stages of production became mechanized, manufacturers retained traditional domestic outwork so that women could combine wage earning with household responsibilities. Women remained employed throughout their lives, alternating outwork with factory labor. Work was also strictly defined according to gender; skilled men tended mechanized knitting machines while women performed preparatory and finishing tasks, most of which were deemed unskilled and garnered low pay. Apart from domestic artisan workshops, men and women performed their respective tasks separately. High rates of female employment led to exceptionally low birth rates in the region, as well as exceptionally high death rates among young women textile workers, mostly from tuberculosis.

To investigate how worker identity formed, Chenut looks at the multiple sites of "gendered experience" within and outside the workplace, in leisure, associations, and in material culture. Consumption of mass-produced goods, made possible through consumer cooperatives, was a primary element of this culture. Instead of trying to emulate the bourgeoisie—as socialist contemporaries feared and some historians have suggested—workers developed a style of their own, particularly in the clothing they wore, as a marker that deliberately distinguished themselves from the bourgeoisie. Apart from traditional archival sources for labor and working-class history, Chenut's evidence comes from interviews with residents born between 1890 and

1911, photographs, and inventories of possessions after death that provide richly detailed examples of how workers constructed their own identity. Her argument that consumption played an important role in this process is compelling and vivid; less clear are the grounds on which men and women shared a working-class identity. Although relegated to different jobs in a segregated workplace, men and women, for example, appear comfortably integrated in the photos at the factory gates. And yet, despite women's participation in strikes and later, labor unions, their issues as workers failed to be addressed. Chenut argues convincingly that men failed to incorporate women in their political struggles because they lacked the vote and had no political clout. But this failure also suggests that "worker identity" remained male despite common participation in a counterculture.

Throughout this period, but especially during the depression, everyone recognized the need for women to work—and yet both manufacturers and male labor unionists continued to identify women's primary roles as wife and mother. They did so at a time when women's work, male unemployment, and low birth rates were subjects of intense public debate. Chenut concludes her book with the intriguing and important question: who "in this historical context was defining *woman*?" (p. 399), noting the competition between feminists and socialists (not to mention pronatalists) on that ground. How fruitful it would have been if she could have somehow extracted from interviewees subjective definitions about what it meant to be a woman, especially given that these particular women worked all their lives and had very few children. Were they divided within themselves about their work and "female" identities?

This nuanced and complex book shows in remarkable ways the manner in which gender infused worker identity, class conflict, and even class cooperation. Troyes represents a microcosm of the same sorts of issues being played out at the national level, which makes this study a rich and indispensable contribution to our understanding of Third Republic France and its legacies.

ELINOR ACCAMPO

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ALICE GARNER. *A Shifting Shore: Locals, Outsiders, and the Transformation of a French Fishing Town, 1823–2000*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. 286. \$34.95.

Alice Garner has written a theoretically informed case study of a dramatic landscape. Her meticulous research will interest scholars of environmental history, geography, and tourism studies. This book examines the Bassin d'Arcachon, a bay thirty-seven miles from the city of Bordeaux. Subject to the Atlantic Ocean's tidal pull, the bay can range in area from fifteen to sixty square miles, leaving around its waters a constantly evolving environment. Garner's narrative emphasizes how fishermen and women, canal builders, and resort developers have struggled against each other and against nat-

ural forces that often defied human ambitions. Leaving the twentieth century to a brief epilogue, Garner concludes the heart of her story in the 1890s. By then, she argues, tourism developers had won the day, solidifying their hold on the bay's beaches and marginalizing the older fishing community.

For her theoretical framing, Garner emphasizes the contrast between representations of space (especially through maps, photographs, and travel narratives) and "lived space," a term used to refer to bodily experiences rooted in environment. Garner begins in the 1820s and 1830s, when engineers and canal builders hoped to "improve" the region's marshy salt pastures, which appeared to outsiders as desert-like wastelands. As Garner astutely observes, these condescending views shared much with European colonial ideology and overlooked how the salt pastures provided essential grazing lands and fertilizer for local farmers. Garner then details how lawyers and state officials gradually weakened the land usage claims of local shepherds and farmers and opened the door for bourgeois property development. Invoking the concept of lived space, Garner stresses that two-dimensional maps, read at desks in Bordeaux or Paris, failed to convey the experiences of shepherds and farmers on these lands. Cartography instead reinforced the colonizing fantasy of empty landscapes begging for progress. The false sense of mastery conveyed by maps also led to ambitious, but ultimately fruitless, plans to build a deeper channel connecting the bay to the ocean, which would have allowed the region to become a larger commercial port.

Garner turns to a new set of concerns with the 1840s, when development schemes shifted from commerce to resort construction. Medicine had much to do with the change. Convinced that maritime life made fishermen unusually robust, doctors began prescribing seaside cures for well-heeled patients. Aided by the creation of a rail line to Bordeaux in 1841, new health resorts mushroomed. Of course, not everyone had the money or patience to follow doctors' detailed regimens, and soon the beaches filled with recreational tourists boldly bathing without a doctor's supervision. The rise of tourism in turn brought challenges for the local fishing community. To make the beach a site for unobstructed recuperation and recreation, tourism promoters plotted to prohibit fishermen and women from using prime sandy locations to repair their boats and dry their nets. Yet, in what Garner describes as "the essential paradox" of Arcachon's tourism development, tourists, travel writers, and postcard collectors still wanted to gaze upon these workers and sailors (p. 113). An especially stimulating chapter on postcards shows how photographers and card collectors framed local fish and oyster workers through a nostalgic lens that erroneously depicted their activities as frozen in time while simultaneously representing the beaches as an uncontested site devoted to leisure rather than work.

In tracing this transition from medicinal to recreational beach cultures and in detailing the marginalization of a small-scale fishing community, Garner

shows that nineteenth-century Arcachon generally conforms to the models of British and French seaside development previously traced by historians such as Jean-Didier Urbain, Alain Corbin, and John K. Walton. In terms of historiographic contributions, Garner stresses the novelty of her attempts at depicting the agency of the fishing community. Given the absence of documents created by these mostly illiterate workers, this is an ambitious task. Although the book still largely presents the region as viewed by elites, Garner succeeds in reviving some of the economic pressures, emotions, and cultural rituals shared by the men and women who worked Arcachon's waters. Thanks to Garner's skillful reading of sources, events such as a deadly 1836 storm provide glimpses into a community struggling to maintain its independence and resolve. Avoiding oversimplification, Garner also notes that, while some fishermen and women fought to preserve the beach as a site for fishing work, others quickly took to selling oysters directly to bathers. Perhaps the only area of research deserving deeper attention is municipal politics, which could shed further light on why the fishing community proved unable to resist its increasing marginality in local affairs.

In sum, this book succeeds in its goal of crafting an engaging local history. Moreover, Garner's ability to connect local details to broader conceptions of lived space allows the book to transcend regional French history and address issues faced by coastal communities and resort towns across the world.

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TIMOTHY BAYCROFT. *Culture, Identity and Nationalism: French Flanders in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series, number 39.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. x, 233. \$75.00.

In 1976, Eugen Weber published his path-breaking *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France*, which charted the integration of the far-flung rural regions into the French nation-state between 1870 and 1914. Since then, legions of historians, while admiring the dazzling breadth of Weber's scholarship, have taken issue with his general argument concerning both the "colonization" of rural France by the center and the process by which identities came to be formed at the periphery. Timothy Baycroft's study of Westhoek, or French Flanders, a region on France's border with Belgium, represents one of the most recent contributions to this ongoing debate, which ironically returns to Weber's original conclusions, even though Baycroft places his own work in the context of the now considerable historical literature on nation formation that has been published since that time.

How and to what extent did the predominantly Flemish-speaking populations of Westhoek become "French," and by what means did this process of acculturation or assimilation occur? How does one ac-

count for the weakness of Flemish regionalism in this borderland region? Baycroft attempts to provide answers to these questions through a carefully researched cultural, political, and social history of Westhoek from the early Third Republic to World War II and beyond. He explores the distinctive features of Westhoek society, which was devoutly Catholic, rural, and politically conservative. He examines the nature of national and regional politics; the attempts of the French state to integrate Flemish Westhoek into republican culture; the role of the Catholic Church in Flemish society; the labor movement; and the limited appeal of the Flemish regional movement, in contrast to its popularity with Flemish populations across the border in Belgium. He concludes, following in the footsteps of modernization theorists, that, pace Weber, roads, jobs, military service, newspapers, sports clubs, "culture contact," and communications contributed to the assimilation of this region into the nation state. The originality of his work is that he places the completion of this process in a much later period, following World War II. While Baycroft suggests that Flanders shared much in common with rural Lower Brittany, the process of nation formation was very different, especially in terms of the church failing to play an integrative role.

Baycroft's study is solidly based on research in the departmental archives of the Nord and the Education and Religious Affairs series of the National Archives, although one wonders why he did not examine police reports (series F7). He also has a firm grasp on the existing historical literature, though there are some serious lacunae, such as the innovative work of Stéphane Gerson, who has explored in a nuanced way the nature of local culture and memories in the very regions explored here. Baycroft presents "assimilation" and "acculturation" as givens, without explaining what he understands by them. Moreover, his conception of politics in which the political spectrum is divided into the binary categories of left and right, with only slight lip service paid to center, simplifies the complicated landscape of regional France, especially in a region where Christian Democracy was such an important force. Baycroft suggests that the Catholic Church had little impact on defending regional identities and that the presence of a socialist labor movement and industrialized urban areas worked against regionalist politics, but he does not fully explain why this is so. Perhaps clerical structures in Flemish Flanders were different from those in Brittany. Did the church not recruit from local populations, and was the clergy not as autonomous as it was, for example, in Finistère? Baycroft focuses on the *longue durée* in his study of Westhoek, but it is surprising that more attention is not given to the Second Empire's politics of anticlericalism, which might explain the relatively weak hold that the clergy had on the local population after a period of time—although the ceremonial and festive character of Flemish Catholicism might also account for it. The word "anticlerical" first appeared in administrative correspondence sent from the Nord (in French Flanders), in which the prefect talked of an "an-

ticlerical reaction" in 1852. This was also a region in which there were many highly publicized cases of conversions to Catholicism and "clerical abductions," which resulted in a turning of the tide against the church during the Second Empire, long before the Third Republic. Surely this would have contributed to hostility toward priests and religious orders and to the loosening of their hold on parishioners.

Baycroft points to an interesting conundrum. Regionalist sentiment was relatively weak in French Flanders, while it was far more significant in Belgium. Although this is not the central focus of Baycroft's study, it might have been worthwhile to expand his comparative horizon to interesting parallel cases in French and Spanish Catalan-speaking regions, or to other borderland regions of France. Finally, as Baycroft himself suggests, in 2005 the populations of Westhoek might find some very material reasons to reverse their allegiances and to reclaim their regional and local identities in terms of broader policies of the European Union.

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L. P. HARVEY. *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 448. \$40.00.

L. P. Harvey has studied the history and literature of Muslim communities in the Iberian Peninsula for more than half a century. His *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500* (1990) surveyed the history of Muslim communities in Islamic polities (such as Granada) as well as those living under Christian rule (called Mudéjares). Its last chapter chronicled the age, beginning with the conquest of Granada, in which Iberia's Muslims became "All Mudéjars Now." That period did not last long. In 1500, only eight years after the conquest of Granada, a rebellion in that city moved Christian authorities to initiate a series of more or less forced conversions, and a new religious class was born: the Moriscos (as they came to be known), converts to Christianity from Islam. By 1526, all the Muslims of Spain had been converted through a series of campaigns more military than evangelizing. Many, however, continued to consider themselves Muslim, and to practice their religion clandestinely as best they could. From 1526 until the expulsion of all the Moriscos in 1611–1614, Islam survived in Spain only as a crypto-religion. From Mudéjar, to Morisco, to exile: it is this history of Islam that L. P. Harvey synthesizes here.

The author's own more specialized research has focused on the literary culture of these communities, and it is on this subject that the book is at its strongest. Complex questions about the spoken and written languages of Muslim communities in Spain are treated with a clarity that will appeal to the general historian (though I doubt that they will grasp the meaning of linguistic distinctions like "emphatic/nonemphatic" as "instinctively" as he claims on p. 127), and a sophistication that will attract specialists from Arabists to socio-linguists.

The book also provides a useful survey of the literary genres of Spanish Islam, and describes the surviving evidence for each. It seems, for example, that Qur'ānic texts often circulated among Moriscos in highly abbreviated form, with only certain suras and verses included. Most genres and texts are given only summary descriptions, but two texts in particular are singled out for extensive treatments of their own. The first are the writings of the anonymous "young man from Arevalo," who produced a fascinating narrative of his travel throughout Morisco Spain as well as a number of anthologies of Islamic texts to aid his coreligionists in their devotions. The second are the "Lead Books of Sacromonte," a set of Arabic-inscribed disks discovered in Granada in the 1590s, purporting to be sacred Christian texts written under the Emperor Nero in the first century A.D. These texts, enthusiastically authenticated by the Granadan religious authorities, accord Arabs, Arabic, and the Prophet Muhammad an important place in Christian soteriology and were almost certainly forged by Moriscos hoping to redefine the relationship of Christianity and Islam.

Both collections have been the focus of the author's interest for many years, and the pages he devotes to them are in every sense a contribution to current research (though one misses reference to some of the more recent literature). Much of the rest of the book, on the other hand, delivers just what it promises: "a new synthesis for English-speaking readers." This synthesis consists largely of political history, and consequently political and literary voices sometimes seem to alternate in the book's pages without always taking heed of the other.

A less trivial dissonance in the book is produced by the tension between two of the author's commitments. On the one hand, he believes that the Moriscos were all "Muslims in their hearts" (e.g. p. 270) and he takes the "Islamicness" of their faith and practice more or less for granted. On the other hand, he is well aware that much of the political, institutional, and cultural infrastructure of Islam was not available to the Moriscos, and that moreover some of the Islamic texts that they did have access to were saturated by their Christian context (the "young man of Arevalo," for example, quotes extensively from Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, but attributes the material to Muslim authors).

Harvey recognizes that the Moriscos were not "sealed off" from the surrounding Christian culture, and he sometimes coins terms such as "entryism" (instead of syncretism) to characterize their borrowings (p. 268). Yet he remains largely uninterested in how this cultural process might have contributed to the formation of what Clifford Geertz, Dale Eickelman, or Kathryn Miller might call Morisco "local Islams." Nor does he ask what the shape of these Morisco Islams owes to engagements with its Christian "others." Work on Conversos (converts from Judaism and their descendents) has struggled for generations to move beyond an "inquisitorial" or genealogical methodology that attempts to detect "Jewishness" in descendents of converts (a

methodology more or less advocated by Harvey on page 202), and toward questions about the interplay between Old Christian attitudes toward converts from Judaism and the development of convert "Jewish" identities. Work on Moriscos has begun to ask similar questions, but Harvey clearly prefers his Muslims doggedly undialectical. This strong allegiance to the simple "Muslimness" of his subjects may make his "new synthesis" a little old fashioned, but it is also what makes it so moving.

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I. S. RÉVAH. *Uriel da Costa et les Marranes de Porto: Cours au Collège de France, 1966–1972*. Edited by CARSTEN L. WILKE. Paris and Lisbon: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian. 2004. Pp. 601.

The appearance of this book unlocks the door to the workshop of an exemplary scholar, whose work remains important three decades after his death. From the early 1960s until 1972, I. S. Révah explored the Portuguese archives with relentless dedication, searching for sources that might throw light on the career of the seventeenth-century "heretic" Gabriel (Uriel) da Costa both in his native Portugal and, later, in Hamburg and Amsterdam.

Da Costa has long drawn the attention of scholars because of his intellectual odyssey, which led him from Catholicism to (in succession) "marranism" (crypto-Judaism in Iberian lands), Jewish orthodoxy, Jewish heterodoxy, and, finally, deism. His unprecedented journey has intrigued scholars because of what it may reveal about the origins of early modern skepticism and, more broadly, "modernity." Prior to Révah's work, however, the sole source for interpreting this journey was Da Costa's own account of his life, written shortly before his suicide in 1640 and preserved in a possibly corrupted form by the late seventeenth-century Protestant theologian Philip van Limborch. In the absence of other evidence, scholars made use of this account to support a view of Da Costa's career that was largely Da Costa's own construction, and/or reflected their own preconceptions and ideological biases. The image of Da Costa that emerged was that of a lonely intellectual, indifferent to ancestral ties and consistent in his battle against intolerance (whether the intolerance of the Portuguese Inquisition or that of the enforcers of Jewish orthodoxy in Amsterdam).

Révah shows that Da Costa's career was less linear and less independent than his own account would have us believe. He was not engaged in a battle against intolerance; he was searching for a path to salvation. Like many other religious seekers of his time, he resolved theological doubts by embracing a new belief system (in his case, crypto-Judaism), only to have those doubts resurface with renewed force. What led him to "judaize" was not the pure exercise of reason combined with biblical study, as he would have us believe. At the time of his crisis of conscience around 1600, Révah demon-

strates, he had three maternal relatives living as Jews in Italy, and an uncle who was an active member of the Jewish community of Amsterdam. Moreover, Révah unearthed inquisitorial testimony given by family members after Da Costa left the peninsula, testimony revealing that among the judaizing ceremonies Da Costa taught family members (and presumably practiced on his own) were postbiblical rabbinic practices he could not have derived independently by reading the Bible. Such practices could thus not have come as a complete surprise to him, as he would have us believe, after he joined a Jewish community in Hamburg.

In the years since Révah carried out his pioneering research, scholars have greatly enriched our knowledge of Da Costa's northern European milieu, integrating him more realistically into his historical context. But for understanding Da Costa in the Portuguese milieu in which he was born and grew to maturity, Révah's work remains unique. Until now, this work has been available as a series of articles in which Révah laid out his conclusions. The present volume fleshes out those articles with Révah's painstakingly mined evidence, drawn from inquisitorial dossiers, parish records, and notarial deeds.

The volume owes much to its editor, Carsten Wilke. Révah's findings were set down in lecture notes composed between 1961 and 1972, with careful citations of archival sources. In his introduction, Wilke explains how he selected and arranged these notes to produce a book. (The book's value has been enhanced by Wilke's conversion of Révah's archival citations, now outmoded, to the current system of the Lisbon archives.) We are first offered an overview of the progress of Révah's thinking on Da Costa's career, then a presentation of Révah's concrete findings on Da Costa's Portuguese background—findings that have not been advanced significantly by subsequent scholarship. It should be added that the value of Révah's data extends beyond the issue of Da Costa's intellectual development. By tracing the social, economic, demographic, and religious vicissitudes of a single ramified Portuguese New Christian family over five to six generations, the book offers an unparalleled case study of crypto-Jewish life, with its continuities and discontinuities.

The book remains, however, a work for the specialist. Scholars in the field will appreciate Révah's detective skills and persuasiveness in building his case. His evidence will bring to mind wider patterns and raise important questions. However, the book itself does not address these issues. Few readers will have the patience to follow the lengthy reconstruction of Da Costa's genealogy, peppered with miscellaneous information gleaned from the records. The book's value for a wider audience will become evident only when its material is integrated into future scholarship on early modern Portugal and on paths of belief and skepticism in pre-Enlightenment Europe.

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BRUNO LÉAL. *La crosse et le bâton: Visites pastorales et recherche des pêcheurs publics dans le diocèse d'Algarve, 1630–1750*. (Publications du Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian.) Lisbon and Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. 2004. Pp. 595.

A traditional French doctoral thesis from its obligatory geographical introduction to its seven appendixes, Bruno Léal's monograph illustrates the most common flaw of the genre: a stultifying overload of detail from a remote region, presented within conventional interpretive parameters, completely submerges a small amount of useful information.

At Portugal's southern tip—*no fim de Europa*, in an apt eighteenth-century description—the Algarve, now bustling with new and inexpensive beachfront resorts, was small, remote, and isolated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The region formed a single, smallish diocese containing sixty-eight parishes, with no significant port cities along its lengthy coastline to balance its largely subsistence rural economy. By tirelessly mining its unindexed episcopal records and exploring documents from its most remote parishes, Léal has uncovered vast amounts of information concerning its numerous episcopal visitations, in an era when Portugal expected its bishops not only to inspect their turf frequently and carefully but also to discover and punish those who transgressed essential Tridentine norms. Ultimately, Léal found interrogations from almost five thousand witnesses who made accusations against about six thousand "notorious" public sinners between 1630 and 1750; in all, he has located evidence from 1,422 parish inspections among probably 1,800–2,000 conducted during this period.

But this mass of historical evidence yields a relatively low level of useful information, little of it surprising. The witnesses selected were overwhelmingly men (eighty-five percent; p. 264), while over half of the sinners they identified were women (fifty-two percent; p. 332). A poor region, the Algarve probably had a small slave population, despite its proximity to Africa; Africans (*gens de couleur* in Léal's sources) made only sixty-six of his 11,367 recorded accusations (p. 341) but comprised 452 (13.6%) of those denounced (p. 333). The diocesan clergy (whose participation Léal considers relatively discreet) recorded 770 accusations, mostly against laymen, while the laity made 1,063 accusations (9.3% of the total) against clerics (p. 340).

Illicit magic, a topic well-studied recently in Portugal by Francisco Bethencourt and J.-P. Paiva, similarly offers few surprises (pp. 471–486). A total of 114 people (two percent of the total), all but eight of them women, were denounced in thirty-eight of the parishes over 120 years. Most were *benzeiros*, healers employing "superstitious" practices, or "white" witches who found lost objects and performed love magic. In the most spectacular accusation, in 1631 a woman accidentally killed a man she was attempting to seduce by having him drink some of her menstrual blood (p. 486); it was

considered a case of involuntary manslaughter, rather than fatal attraction.

If the bishop's crozier was indeed visible throughout his diocese at relatively frequent intervals, his stick (the other half of Léal's title) resembles a twig. After five hundred pages, one finally learns (pp. 506–509) that this mass of denunciations ultimately provoked relatively mild punishments. Among 3,207 public sinners, most of them accused of sexual misconduct, only eight percent were fined at least 2,000 reis (approximately the price of a suckling pig), while about one-fourth received no punishment whatsoever and almost half were fined less than 1,000 reis. Only fifty-three public sinners were imprisoned, usually for less than a week, and forty-two were banished, usually to a neighboring parish for a year.

However, Léal's picture of mild ecclesiastical surveillance completely overlooks the Portuguese Inquisition. Throughout this period, agents of the Holy Office worked in the Algarve, which belonged to the Evora tribunal; and if they investigated and arrested only a tiny fraction of the sinners unearthed by episcopal visitations, they monopolized all truly serious matters, such as Judaizers, sodomites, or the most dangerous *bruxas*. Only half the story is told here.

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SUSANA TRUCHUELO GARCÍA. *Gipuzkoa y el poder real en la Alta Edad Moderna*. (Ikerlanak/Gipuzkoako Artxibo Orokorra=Estudios/Archivo General de Gipuzkoa, number 7.) Donostia-San Sebastián: Diputación Foral de Gipuzkoa. 2004. Pp. 714.

In 1696, the Castilian King Charles II authorized the printing of a compilation of the charters (*fueros*), privileges, customs, laws, and exemptions of the Province of Guipuzkoa (Guipúzcoa). For many people in the province, this collection established a "constitution" that defined who they were as citizens within the domains of the Crown of Castile and the global Hispanic monarchy. Guipuzkoa forms part of the Basque region of modern Spain. In the nineteenth century, when Spanish Liberals attempted to create a new country of "Spain" on the basis of a written constitution applied homogeneously throughout its territory, many in Guipuzkoa and other provinces constituted earlier on the basis of their charters and customs felt that their rights were being destroyed. The first of three nineteenth-century civil wars broke out. Although in a different context, the conflict over the special character of some of Spain's regions also contributed to the civil war of 1936–1939, which destroyed the Second Republic, and the drafters of the Spanish constitution of 1978 sought to craft a framework that would permit substantial regional autonomy for the Basque region and Catalunya. Beyond this familiar Spanish case, the theme of integrating regions of distinct heritage into larger countries retains its importance because the problem surfaces in the modern his-

stories of so many places around the world (for example, Indonesia and Sri Lanka).

In her excellent book, Susana Truchuelo García tells the missing part of this Spanish story. She exposes in fascinating detail how the content of the 1696 compilation was defined through a series of complex conflicts since about 1550 between various officials in Guipuzkoa and the Castilian royal government, which from 1561 was usually based in Madrid. She acknowledges the influence on her approach of Otto Brunner's work, in particular, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria* (1992 [German, 1939]; she uses the Italian edition of 1983). Truchuelo García follows Brunner in rejecting as anachronistic the application to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the modern analytical concepts of "state" and "society," preferring to focus instead on the way a territory became defined through the emergence of a unitary government sustaining a common body of law.

Truchuelo García exposes the dynamic interactions between the crown and various provincial officials and bodies by concentrating on three well-chosen subjects: military recruitment and organization, fiscal demands, and commercial control. The almost continuous wars of the Hispanic monarchy in the period integrated these subjects, and in the fourth part of her book, Truchuelo García shows how provincial bodies, and particularly the Diputación, increasingly became the most effective ones in shaping Guipuzkoa's special status in the face of the crown's insatiable demands. The Diputación emerged when the assembly of municipal representatives delegated a group of its members to implement the body's decisions when it was no longer in session. Through continuous negotiation, often facilitated by natives of Guipuzkoa serving the crown in Madrid, the crown developed a discourse about providing grants to the province as rewards for "services," of men, money, and the control of smuggling, and provincial leaders shaped a discourse about the provision of these "services" as part of a pact or contractual arrangement in exchange for royal recognition and protection of Guipuzkoa's claimed customs, exemptions, laws, and privileges. More heat than light often characterized this negotiation process, especially during the first half of the reign of King Philip IV (1621–1665) when the government was led by the royal favorite, the count-duke of Olivares (to 1643), but hostility did not produce major rebellions as occurred in some non-Castilian domains of the monarchy, such as Catalunya and Portugal.

As Tamar Herzog makes clear in *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (2003), an individual's identification with his or her municipality served as the foundation of citizenship in the American and European domains of the Crown of Castile. Therefore, it required a somewhat unusual degree of institutional integration of Guipuzkoa's more important towns for a common identity with the province to have developed. Truchuelo García tells the story of this difficult integration in her earlier work *La representación de las corporaciones lo-*

cales guipuzcoanas en el entramado político provincial (siglos XVI-XVII) (1997), but the book under review provides sufficient detail about the differences between inland and coastal towns and between the larger and smaller municipalities for the reader to grasp how the crown's demands on the territory brought together different local leadership groups within the context of provincial institutions.

This fine book is essential reading for anyone who deals with Spanish history during the first global age, and it should form a fundamental part of the critical bibliography on the establishment of coherent territorial identities within larger polities in an era before the rise of modern nationalism.

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HELEN NADER, editor. *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450–1650*. (Hispanisms.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. x, 208. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$21.95.

"I have been one of the worst offenders. More than twenty years ago, I published a book on the Mendoza family as leaders in the development of the Renaissance in Spain [*The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350–1550* (1979)]," but "assuming that all decisions were taken by men, I disregarded documents by or about women" (p. 18). With this disarming confession, Helen Nader introduces a well-orchestrated re-visitation of her subject, the fruit of a collaborative program of research, dating back to the mid-1990s, examining the agency of the Mendoza women. If the Mendozas were not self-evidently the "most noble family" (p. 2) in Spain—the assertion is implicitly challenged by the contributor who suggests that this accolade belongs to the dukes of Medinaceli (p. 113)—they had certainly risen to wholly exceptional prominence through their loyalty to the Trastámara dynasty. While the relative lack of attention given to female members of the lineage is explained in part by the nature of the written record, as Ronald Surtz laments in a resourceful essay "In Search of Juana de Mendoza" (pp. 48–70), there is sometimes a veritable surfeit of material. (Stephanie Fink De Backer suggests that further scrutiny of the notarial archives in Toledo might shed more light on María Pacheco and her role in development of the *comunero* revolt; p. 79.) Medieval scholars of the Castilian nobility can only envy the availability of the autobiography, poems, and one hundred letters bequeathed by Luisa de Carvajal (subject of Anne Cruz's chapter, "Willing Desire," pp. 177–193). As Nader herself indicates, there is material enough to have allowed a thorough reconsideration of the researchers' initial premises as to the invulnerability of the patriarchal system and the absolute marginalization of women to (and within) the domestic sphere. All the Mendoza women, she affirms, received an excellent education; half engaged in political activity; two of the eight rejected both the altar and the veil to establish their own households.

All, she claims, made decisions "with the support and encouragement of the men in their families and the entire society" (p. 19).

The editor's introduction eschews any view of women's agency as proto-feminist or subversive, although rather little theoretical context is provided for the claim. One might object that this flattens out the implications of Helen Reed's compelling study of Ana de Mendoza, the princess of Éboli ("Mother Love in the Renaissance," pp. 152–176), the consequences of whose stubborn resistance to the ultimate figure in the Spanish patriarchal system, Philip II, "reached beyond the grave. Her partial success depended on highly developed abilities of limited powers that were, in part, gendered" (p. 169). Similarly, one notes Fink De Backer's perception of María Pacheco as heroic "Rebel With a Cause" (pp. 71–92). "A precursor and perhaps prototype of the golden age's *mujer varonil* (manly woman), María usurped the responsibilities of commander and avenger, thereby challenging male responsibilities for maintaining a gendered social order" (p. 83). Nader's response—that even this most radical of Mendoza women was leading a fundamentally conservative rebellion, seeking to restore the traditional privileges of the Castilian aristocracy—by no means deflates the possibility of gender subversion. Her own strikingly optimistic vision of female agency rests instead on a conviction that whatever prescriptive norms might be conveyed in misogynistic theatrical works or manuals of conduct written, Spanish women "lived in a dual system, one in which patriarchy coexisted with matriarchy. Women exercised uncontested agency, because matriarchy filled a need that could not be satisfied by a strict application of written law or by the precepts of patriarchy" (p. 3). This feminine agency derived in large part, she argues, from inheritance rights and property law, in particular from the system of partible inheritance that meant equitable inheritance for all legitimate children. Just as the wife's dowry comprised the majority of a married couple's capital assets, so wives assumed a crucial role in managing estates—especially, as Mary Elizabeth Perry has also argued in *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (1990), in the wake of male emigration to the Americas. This line of argument receives full support in Surtz's reconstruction of Juana de Mendoza's role as overseer of the private space of her household, and Fink De Backer's depiction of María Pacheco, already in her late teens "a highly capable young woman trusted to manage the enterprises of her new family" (p. 78). Equally, for Grace Coolidge ("Choosing Her Own Buttons," pp. 132–151), Magdalena de Bobadilla showed a precocious understanding of estate finances, suing her guardian for mismanagement as soon as she came of age. Many of the contributors to this volume also underline the intellectual sophistication and education of these aristocratic women. The paradigmatic case is María de Mendoza y de la Cerda, whose intense (if platonic) relationship with her professor of classical languages is documented by María del Carmen Vaquero Serrano ("Books in the

Sewing Basket," pp. 93–112). Her household was "a sort of gynaeceum," we are told (pp. 103, 105), echoing Surtz's description of the Isabelline court (p. 52).

"The debate continues" (p. 21) on whether what is true in terms of matriarchy for the Castilian aristocracy also holds for women of lower economic status. Class is in fact an integral factor in Cruz's analysis of Luisa de Carvajal, and several of the essays would surely have benefitted from deeper grounding in the recent historiography of the medieval and early modern Castilian nobility. Yet an overreliance on (male) prescriptive literature and the law, Nader argues, has entirely distorted the historical reality of female agency in elite circles. It is not clear that the evidence is invariably amenable to such optimism. If Surtz's presumption that Juana de Mendoza did not understand the language of the Mass (p. 56) undercuts the claim that Spanish noblewomen were uniformly proficient in Latin, the first paragraph of Cristian Berco's "Juana Pimentel, the Mendoza Family and the Crown" (pp. 27–47) seemingly presents a challenge in relation to female property rights. "Except for María Pacheco . . . restrictions of the amount of land women inherited truncated the political possibilities for the driven women of the family" (p. 27). Juana Pimentel played no apparent role in the accumulation of lands by her ill-fated husband Álvaro de Luna, becoming (extremely) assertive and entrepreneurial only as a widow. Even for highborn widows, María Pilar Manero Sorolla ("On the Margins of the Mendozas," pp. 113–131), patriarchal society "laid down the ground rules of conduct" (p. 116). Similar phrases recur frequently: Magdalena de Bobadilla, for instance, shaped her own life "within the boundaries of a patriarchal society" (p. 133). The notion of uncontested male consent to female self-assertion is problematic, facing particularly severe challenges in the case of Luisa de Carvajal, sadistically abused by her uncle in the name of penitence and discipline. Internalizing notions of imposing masculine authority in her own poetry, Luisa would, finally, help to enrich the "notoriously misogynist Jesuit hierarchy" (pp. 188–189). The debate will surely continue here, too. The contributors to this enlightening and highly readable volume are to be commended warmly for their work in catalyzing the discussion.

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DONALD J. HARRELD. *High Germans in the Low Countries: German Merchants and Commerce in Golden Age Antwerp*. (The Northern World, number 14.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. x, 214. \$112.00.

It is a rubenesque world, judging from museum exhibits and the art market, in which the art of Peter Paul Rubens seems ubiquitous. And yet Rubens has become detached from his historical context, due to the pronounced neglect of the history of his native city, Antwerp, especially during its so-called Golden Age, ca. 1485–1585. Apart from the magisterial doctoral thesis

of Herman van der Wee published in 1963, very little scholarship has appeared about the city's history in any language. Only recently has a cadre of young historians on both sides of the Atlantic begun to renew the historical study of early modern Antwerp.

Donald J. Harreld belongs firmly to this modernist group, and he devotes this book to a straightforward question: what role did German trade in general, and that with interior Germany in particular, play in making sixteenth-century Antwerp Europe's great commercial entrepôt? That Germans played a significant role in Antwerp's rise and dominance has long been known; they formed one of the crucial trade groups, bringing metals, cheap textiles, and other products to Antwerp and exchanging them for products of the New World. But there has not been a monographic study of the community of German merchants in the city, with an analysis of the specifics of their trade, either in composition or geographical reach.

One reason for this lacuna is the considerable technical difficulty involved in writing such a history: Antwerp archives are fragmentary and scattered, and virtually nothing survives from the German merchant community itself. This forced Harreld to do research in a disparate array of sources and to rely heavily on tax registers that span only the years 1543–1545, supplemented by commercial contracts recorded with the municipal authorities. Despite the limitation imposed by the sources, a fairly clear picture emerges of a large and energetic merchant community at the heart of the Antwerp market.

The first of the book's two sections is devoted to commercial institutions, with general chapters on the economic history of Antwerp and its various foreign merchant communities, concluding with a chapter devoted to the German merchant and immigrant community. Part two shifts focus to the commercial networks, and the workings and geography of German trade. Like Bruges before it, Antwerp owed much of its commercial vitality to the presence of foreign merchants from all over Europe. However, Harreld argues that Antwerp did not simply continue Bruges's initiatives in an unbroken line; instead the city was more purely a point of convergence of trading routes stretching from the Americas, resulting in commodity exchange and transshipment into regions untouched by the Bruges market, especially upper Germany. Thus foreign trade and exchange—institutionalized in the Antwerp Bourse—defined the Antwerp market to a much greater degree than Bruges.

Given their importance, just who were these German merchants? It is difficult to say. Unlike other foreign merchant groups, only Hanseatic merchants (who were not all ethnic Germans) held a charter of privileges from the duke of Brabant. Germans from upper Germany, notably those from Augsburg and Nuremberg, did not, indicating perhaps an absence of communal identity. The apparent heterogeneity of the German community brings out one of the book's weaknesses, because although the declared subject is the Antwerp-

based merchants from upper Germany, Harreld also includes discussions of Cologne merchants, Hanse merchants, and others. These groups in fact had little in common, and Harreld admits that merchants from the inner German regions behaved more like Italian merchant communities.

Part two is the book's strongest, providing an analysis of the trading network controlled by the merchants of upper Germany as well as the products it exchanged and distributed. Harreld rightly points out the relative neglect by historians of land-based commercial networks. These became extremely important in mid-sixteenth-century Europe, and they were dominated by German merchants and German haulers equipped with the Hessian wagon, a technological advance of the first importance in the history of European transport. Along roads that linked Antwerp to Augsburg, Augsburg to Hamburg, and the strings of towns and cities in between, flowed the wealth of the Americas, English cloth, and, in return, the metals, cloth, and a miscellanea of other goods of the inland German economy. The bulk of the trade went to five cities: Augsburg, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Frankfurt, and Cologne, and the preponderant role in directing and financing this trade was played by the great south German family firms of Fugger, Walser, and Hochstetter.

Harreld casts considerable light on what has been a dark corner of the economic history of Antwerp. In so doing, he has underlined the need for a new monograph on the economic and social history of the city from its origins in the Bruges trading network of the late Middle Ages, through its "Golden Age" and into the age of Rubens and beyond. Only then will Rubens regain his context.

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NICHOLAS THOMPSON. *Eucharistic Sacrifice and Patristic Tradition in the Theology of Martin Bucer, 1534–1546*. (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, number 119.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xv, 315. \$147.00.

In the sixteenth century, religious polemicists divided the world between the one "true Church"—their own—and all others, between light and darkness. Then, as now, such a construction left no room for those who sought to build bridges, to find common ground. The polemical construction has proven stunningly durable: to this day, Western Christendom is more often divided between "Protestantism" and "Catholicism," than, say, between "fundamentalism" and "humanism"—a division that cuts across the older division.

Among sixteenth-century theologians, perhaps none has suffered more from the polemical construction of Christianity than Martin Bucer. As Nicholas Thompson points out in his introduction, Bucer "was accused, both then and subsequently, of masking genuine differences with vague and misleading formulae; of seeking unity at any cost; of letting personal relationships dull his theological acuity; of subordinating doctrinal concerns to

moral or political ones" (p. 6). Thompson's purpose "is simply to describe and analyze the way in which Bucer and his adversaries made use of a common Eucharistic tradition both in the religious colloquies and in their immediate aftermath" (p. 14).

In that sentence is captured both the explicit purpose of the book—to find "a common Eucharistic tradition"—and a contradiction at its heart. That contradiction is there to the end, when Thompson asserts that "the common ground that renders problematic any attempt to present 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' as self-contained and self-evidently contradictory categories" (p. 287). Even as he is seeking to establish common ground, Thompson continues to deploy a bipolar model of Western Christendom that divides sixteenth-century Central and Western European Christians between "Catholic" and "Protestant"—a model forged polemically in exactly the period he is covering.

The tension, between his intent and his analytic categories, is at play throughout the book. It is there in the close readings that Thompson offers around the theme of sacrifice in the Eucharist: the different understandings of what Jesus did at the last supper, what was done in the Mass; Bucer's particular understanding of the relationship between Jewish sacrifice and Christian worship. Even as he articulates the opposition between "Catholics" and "Protestants" in terms of an opposition between "Scripture" and "Tradition," he argues that "Protestants" drew on patristic texts, rejecting Irena Backus's characterization of that borrowing as "neutralisation" and "appropriation" for what he calls "a sense of historical relativity" that both "Catholics" and "Protestants" shared (p. 279): liturgical formulae as well as doctrine were historically sensitive, if not fully contingent. Thompson's readings of a number of texts on the Eucharist enrich our understanding of those texts: their references, their sources, their intended readers, and certain dimensions of their contexts. He brings forward the voices of Georg Witzel and Johannes Gropper, "irenic Catholics" in his characterization.

The very chronological structuring of the book, which moves from "early debates" on the sacrifice of the Mass and Bucer's own writings from the 1520s, through "the era of Colloquies" (1539–1541) to Bucer's *Constans defensio* (1543) and *De vera et falsa caenae dominicae administratione* (1546) is itself in tension with that division that acquired its definition within sixteenth-century polemics and to this day some hold to be transient. At the same time, that chronological structuring enables Thompson to illumine shifts in Bucer's articulations of his understandings of "sacrifice," as well as of the nature and purpose of liturgy within the community of the faithful. Thompson, rightly, I think, emphasizes Bucer's commitment to the commandment to love one's neighbor as the key to much of his thinking on the question of the purpose and nature of worship, and he implies that that ethic helps to explain formulations and positions that have been characterized as "diplomatic" or "political"—also an important contribution to our understanding of Bucer.

Constructing the first half of the sixteenth century as divided between "Catholics" and "Protestants" is at odds with Thompson's careful illumination of individual theologians' deployment of scriptural and patristic authorities, his chronology of tentative hopes, and his depiction of contests for "ownership" (p. 225) of those authorities. It also leads Thompson to accept polemical caricatures, in particular of the canon, deployed in the battle for souls. The canon of the Mass is "prayers and gestures used in every celebration of the Mass," and also an "essential" "accidental," following Henry von Langenstein's distinctions (p. 17). It does not, according to Thompson, center on the very same words of institution that Martin Luther foregrounded, nor are the moments of transubstantiation anchored to those words.

This is a rich book in many ways. It adopts, however, categories and characterizations that then and now did and do violence, not only to the thinking of theologians whom we have come to call "Catholic" but also to those, such as Bucer, who continued to seek dialogue, as Thompson shows, in the midst of fragmentation and polarization.

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DAVID MAYES. *Communal Christianity: The Life and Loss of a Peasant Vision in Early Modern Germany*. (Studies in Central European History, number 35.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. ix, 369. \$150.00.

David Mayes's book traces the religious and political history of rural communities (*Gemeinden*) in upper Hesse in the early modern period (ca. 1550–1730), integrating and modifying the communalism thesis of Peter Blickle and the confessionalization model advanced by Heinz Schilling and others. Based on his examination of the interactions of Hessian *Gemeinden* with higher authorities, Mayes depicts communities that assiduously cultivated a Christian identity and the structures to support it, from church buildings and cemeteries to diligent, learned, and pious pastors and teachers. These were rural communities that sought on their own initiative to extend moral discipline and were more likely to complain that a pastor was remiss in teaching the catechism than to be criticized by ecclesiastical visitors for their failure to learn it.

The religious interests of these communities were not, however, identical with those of the confessional state, although they might be coincident and were rarely (at least before 1648) in open conflict. Unlike the Hessian landgraves (or the urban community in Marburg), upper Hessian rural communities did not construe their religion in confessional terms. Rather than thinking of themselves as Lutherans or Calvinists, they regarded themselves simply as "Christian." Mayes regards the religion of the *Gemeinden*, dubbed "communal Christianity," as a distinct and viable alternative to

confessional religion throughout much of the early modern period.

A key illustration of Mayes's thesis is the different reaction of urban and rural communities to the introduction of Calvinism by Landgraf Moritz in 1605. Whereas the populace of Marburg, self-identified as Lutheran, withstood the religious change with open protest and passive resistance that continued until the restoration of Lutheranism in 1624, the surrounding rural communities accepted the transition without protest. In part, the rural *Gemeinden* were not interested in the issues of confessional theology; in part, Mayes argues, the Calvinist polity, with its greater emphasis on the role of the local congregation and its officials, was more congenial to the communal interests that they did hold and continued to hold regardless of the confessional changes of their rulers.

Communal Christianity, on Mayes's account, survived and thrived in these communities past 1624 and into the latter seventeenth century. The decisive change leading to its decline, however, took place in 1648, when the Peace of Westphalia gave legal recognition to the Reformed confession within the Holy Roman Empire and made possible, under certain circumstances, the formation of multiple religious communities in the same location. Upper Hesse passed into Calvinist rule again, but with the proviso that the Lutheran ecclesiastical system restored in 1624 be retained. Now Calvinist officials administered rural communities that had their own Lutheran pastors; gradually, the Calvinists, with the support of the landgrave, established small Reformed congregations alongside the Lutheran one. Hitherto, there had been a single political-religious community (*Gemeinde*), the only possibility allowed under the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. Now there were two congregations (*Gemeinden*) competing for support. Under these circumstances, the great majority of the rural population came to identify itself as Lutheran over against the Calvinist officials and the congregations formed around them. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Lutheran rural Hessian communities reacted to perceived Calvinist impositions much as the urban population of Marburg had a century before.

Mayes thus argues that the confessionalization of rural Hesse came much later than is usually supposed, not beginning until after the Thirty Years' War and not completed until the eighteenth century. Confessional conflict was sharpened in rural areas at a time when urban populations had adopted a more irenic tone.

Mayes's study is based on first-rate archival work, and he and his publisher are generous in supplying quotations from his sources in the notes. Some of these, however, raise questions about Mayes's thesis that rural communities were aconfessional. In 1624, for example, one community petitioned to keep its pastor because he had always taught the controversial articles "in accordance with the Augsburg Confession" and had maintained the old (Lutheran) Hessian church order, a far more confessional position than Mayes's translation suggests (p. 176). Was this simply a rhetorical appeal

calculated to please the new Lutheran rulers, or had this community in fact covertly maintained itself as Lutheran in doctrine and ceremonies through the Calvinist period, lacking the standing of urban communities to challenge Calvinism directly? Mayes's construct of "communal Christianity" may not be the only or the best explanation for the particular range of religious interests he discovers in his sources.

Nonetheless, whether or not it succeeds in penetrating deep enough to reveal a coherent alternative to confessional forms of early modern religion, Mayes's work illuminates the considerable capability and versatility of early modern German rural communities in navigating their way amid larger political and religious forces, and it contributes to a growing literature that attempts to take adequate account of rural as well as urban communities in describing early modern religion.

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GOVIND P. SREENIVASAN. *The Peasants of Ottobeuren, 1487–1726: A Rural Society in Early Modern Europe*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 386. \$80.00.

The structural social history that took shape in the 1970s promised to reveal, finally, which structures and institutions in human societies really mattered. Though fashions and methods have moved on, Govind P. Sreenivasan's meticulous new study of a monastic territory in southwestern Bavaria reveals how exciting the best structural social history can still be. Through astonishingly detailed use of case histories, legal records, and economic data, he analyzes a far-reaching transformation of kinship and economics in Ottobeuren around 1600. Moving beyond the transformation from feudalism to capitalism, his conclusions contribute broadly to our understanding of kinship, family structures, local power, and demographic tenacity in the face of overpopulation and exogenous catastrophe.

After a choppy introductory chapter on the political and legal background, Sreenivasan hits his stride in chapter two, describing the "discrete society" that flourished up to the mid-sixteenth century. The Ottobeuren peasantry enjoyed relatively secure property rights and could divide their holdings among their children, even against the abbey's opposition. Household autonomy and local encapsulation characterized most interactions. The mental habits that separated rich peasants from poor, women from men, friends from enemies, and natives from foreigners also produced fragmented spaces of economic circulation. Despite their involvement in the larger region's economy, therefore, peasant households in Ottobeuren used little coin, conducting most transactions in kind.

Sreenivasan describes a fundamental reordering of this society in chapters three through five. The European agricultural and economic slowdown after 1550 provides a background, but Sreenivasan rejects the term "crisis," at least for Ottobeuren. Rather, abundant

data demonstrates that Ottobeuren peasants experienced no Malthusian bottleneck, nor did expropriations from the abbey immiserate them. Nevertheless, the region's population leveled off permanently after the 1560s. As Sreenivasan puts it: "It is hard to discern the traditional production crisis . . . but it is equally hard to avoid the conclusion that *some* kind of structural constraint had come into play" (p. 145). He follows up by focusing on poorer peasants, concluding that their engagement in "wider circuits of commerce" enabled their tenacious survival.

In chapter four, Sreenivasan reveals his new structural constraint. Not demography or agricultural technology but deep changes in residence and inheritance patterns transformed "the fundamental rules of the rural socioeconomic order" (p. 157). In the 1570s, the abbey began consolidating farms and forbidding the construction of new houses, thus blocking the formation of more households. Simultaneously, abbey officials and wealthy peasants—driven by perceived rather than actual overpopulation—abruptly ended the long-standing partibility of land. The decisive innovation was "inheritance by sale": peasant landholders henceforth sold their entire holdings to one child, who often took on substantial debt to pay the parents and the "yielding heirs." These changes stabilized landholding and the number of households, but at a price. Most importantly, it drew peasant households into credit markets. To service their debt obligations, farms had to produce cash income, thus breaking up the old "discrete society." Sreenivasan documents rising debts to Jewish and urban moneylenders, followed by a return to local credit as the rural countryside became capitalized.

Another result was "unprecedented strictness in kin relations" (p. 206). Sreenivasan characterizes in painful detail "the pervasion of family relations by an accounting mentality" (p. 256)—in sharp contrast to most theories of the peasant household. Yielding heirs became servants or left Ottobeuren, whereas buying heirs struggled with demanding retired parents in their households. Parents sought to control the marriages of their children, who themselves competed ruthlessly to gain one of the limited household niches through marriage or purchase. New tensions inspired a turn to detailed contracts that regulated household succession and kin relations even for poor households. Sreenivasan emphasizes that this fiscalization of the family was not accompanied by changes in agricultural production; rather, the new relations of production sustained stable output.

This new rural order faced an enormous challenge after 1630 when Upper Swabia experienced traumatic depopulation from the plague and the ravages of multiple armies. In chapter six, however, Sreenivasan demonstrates exhaustively that the new institutions survived unscathed. Perceived overpopulation may have triggered their creation, but depopulation did not mitigate their operation, because "the land was continuously able to recruit its own labor" (p. 314). Indeed, the "pervasion of peasant life by financial calculation" (p. 256)

only intensified as Ottobeuren households entered larger circuits of the commercial grain and textile trades.

Sreenivasan's monograph combines economic, social, and family history to provide a richly articulated analysis of the peasant household in Ottobeuren. He also ably incorporates newer historiographic concerns, considering the experience of women peasants under Ottobeuren's changing institutions and providing an illuminating discussion on the situation of the disabled. His concentration on a small, well-organized domain—a single lord and center for record-keeping—makes such intensive analysis possible. Sreenivasan frames his questions in larger comparative terms, but the substantive chapters focus tightly on Ottobeuren and the material life of the peasantry; politics and religion get only secondary attention, despite the German Peasants' War and the Counter Reformation. That his treatment of such themes is uneven, however, does not detract from this model study of structural transitions at the economic foundations of early modern European society.

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LYNDAL ROPER. *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 362. \$35.00.

Lyndal Roper's *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (1994) re-directed the study of early modern sexuality and witchcraft. It brilliantly criticized dominant approaches to subjectivity, claiming that historians still reduced individuals to specimens of historical *mentalités* defined by intellectual history and politics. Gender, reduced to linguistic or ritual constructs, could only help write the history of discourse about the body. True historiography of the body required respecting its preconscious "givenness" (p. 17). Roper approached early modern corporeality through two then-controversial methods, Freudian and Kleinian psychoanalysis and the study of accused witches' confessions. Despite torture, these stereotypical narratives expressed individuals' "own condensations of shared cultural preoccupations" (p. 20).

Oedipus and the Devil examined witch persecution as one aspect of gender history. This new book fulfills Roper's implied promise to study German witchcraft ca. 1560–1760 through "a detailed compilation of social factors, and an exploration of the relation between judicial process and political power" (p. 26). It is written for both witchcraft scholars and non-specialists. Roper expands her trials database and research on individuals and localities to produce a fascinating study "deeply influenced by psychoanalytic ideas" yet constituting "a historical, not a psychoanalytic study" (p. x). As previously, Roper contends that core anxieties behind witch persecution "turned on motherhood, the bodies

of ageing women, and fertility" (p. 7). The book has four sections: "Persecution," "Fantasy," "Womanhood," and "The Witch." "Persecution" and "Fantasy" examine familiar themes such as interrogation and torture, cannibalism, and witches' sabbaths in largely conventional terms. "Womanhood" and "The Witch" develop Roper's own theses: reproduction and infantile fixation on the mother as core anxieties; menopausal women as stereotypical witches; shifting anxiety after 1650, from fertility and maternity to sexuality and childhood, paralleling the decline in persecution.

Scholars sometimes overstate even the most engaging theses. Was the witch craze "precisely about mothers" (p. 247), "the private core of the mother-child relationship, the primitive elements of hatred, cruelty, consuming love and abandonment that we find it hard to speak about otherwise" (p. 256)? Were "fears and obsessions which spring from childhood" really "always . . . the source of all witchcraft fantasies" (p. 221)? Such exaggerations, though parenthetical, signal a pervasive oversimplification. Of the interlocutors in trial transcripts—accused, accuser, interrogator—Roper is least curious about the motivations of interrogators. Formally she recognizes their intellectual sensitivities, theological investments, and confessional disagreements. In practice she assumes they shared the anxieties of "witches" and their accusers. "Demonological science," she says, "converted powerful hatred of the mother"—the Kleinian psychology of women defendants and accusers—"into mythic form" (p. 221). "The doctrinal elements . . . so important to the clerics collapsed into the fundamental structure of the witch fantasy as the women developed their stories in collaboration with their interrogators, and theology began to accord with psychological necessity" (116).

Roper turns the tables on traditional historiography, which extrapolated women's presumed motivations from men's expressed opinions, but she rarely interrogates interrogators' self-characterizations in sufficient depth. Nicolas Rémy, a loquacious treatise writer, claims one witch asserted the Devil could make her insensible to torture, yet confessed freely: if absolved, she must either deliver her children to the Devil or die a worse death than if convicted. Roper's Rémy memorialized motherly love because he possessed "a striking capacity for empathy, even with lowly village women," despite "deeply sadistic impulses against women." Although his sadism was "unconscious," empathy drove his "ardent concern to 'save' the witches' souls": a "sincerely held conscious belief about what he was doing" (p. 22). Yet Rémy's first chapter discusses Satan's threats against witches' children and spouses to argue something very different: "that it is no mere fable that witches meet and converse with demons in very person," that Satan "openly addresses them by word of mouth and appears in visible person to converse with them" (Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe 400–1700: A Documentary History*, 2nd ed., pp. 322–323). As a social historian tracing women's subjectivity via psychoanalytic criticism,

Roper is not obliged to measure early modern intellectuals' anxieties about the reality of demons and the spirit world. But Rémy's rhetorically controlled self-presentation complicates recovering his victims' subjectivity. When persecutors record that witches praised their severity, did women really "recognize [their] own evil character," and "the role that envy and anger played . . . in [their] understanding of themselves" (p. 61)? Assuming it happened, was such "identification" sincere, a rhetorical negotiation, or Stockholm syndrome?

Understanding the negotiations behind "confessions" requires endless refinement, and, like Carlo Ginzburg, Roper teaches us to read such documents more perceptively. Her book illuminates two sides of the three-way conversation with great erudition and sensitivity.

WALTER STEPHENS
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ESTEBAN BUCH. *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History*. Translated by RICHARD MILLER. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. 327. \$17.00.

Extensively and positively reviewed in the broader press, French musicologist Esteban Buch's wide-ranging book about much more than Beethoven's Ninth Symphony is indeed worth reading, even though it reproduces previous research and repeats existing findings.

Buch divides his monograph into two sections. The shorter first part, "The Birth of Modern Political Music," begins in the 1730s and explores intentionally political music preceding Ludwig van Beethoven by well-known composers (Georg Friedrich Handel and Joseph Haydn) as well as those anonymous eighteenth-century evergreens *God Save the King* and the *Marseillaise*. This section nicely conveys the transition from those aristocratic forms of sonic accoutrement representative of the medieval order to the modern age for which the national anthem becomes the carrier of an entire people's dreams and aspirations. The section culminates in the early nineteenth century with Beethoven's "political music," meaning the always problematic Third Symphony ("Eroica") and its deleted dedication to Napoleon Bonaparte, as well as the so-called *Wellington Symphony*, a cantata titled *The Glorious Moment*, and the possible political implications of other programmatic and dramatic works like *Fidelio* and *Egmont*. Juxtaposing this elaborate prehistory with discussion of the Ninth Symphony in the section's last chapter creates the book's first problem: the assumption that the Ninth Symphony—especially its last movement's setting of Friedrich Schiller's *Ode to Joy* for four soloists and chorus which breaks with symphonic tradition—constitutes "political music" per se. True, Schiller's poem aspires to universal brotherhood, but Beethoven's intentions remain subject to debate notwithstanding the continuous and often hair-raising political appropriation of

the work. Although Buch is often skeptical, even caustic, in his presentation of these political appropriations—the focus of the book's second section—he does not sufficiently question his own categorization of the work as anything but political. It would have made for a more balanced study if, as an alternative path, he had also scanned the extensive and purely aesthetic debate about the symphony's significance.

Even discounting the first section's expansive breach of Buch's self-limiting title, the second section reveals the impossibility of his self-imposed constraint. Titled "Political Reception of the *Ode to Joy*," this section's first chapter on the "Romantic Cult" goes beyond both politics and the Ninth Symphony by discussing the nineteenth-century construction of music as a pseudo-religion and the deification of Beethoven, all under the rubric of music as a "universal language." More ideological than political, this discourse was nevertheless important in the history of the politicization of the Ninth Symphony as a work—the work—preaching universal brotherhood. The next section on the 1845 Ceremony in Bonn, when Beethoven's statue was unveiled, is again less about politics than it is an account of the degree to which the event was one of "European" significance, drawing sponsorship, support and participation from musicians and cultural figures well beyond the borders of German-speaking lands.

It is in fact this "European" dimension and significance of the Ninth Symphony to which Buch always returns and which turns out to be the book's secret teleology, in spirit not unlike Hagen Schulze's more blatant attempt to rewrite German history from the perspective of European integration. Here too, however, Buch does not fail to note the paradox that the current European anthem is a purely instrumental arrangement of the *Ode to Joy* by the ex-Nazi Herbert von Karajan.

Hardly concealing his own French perspective, "political history" in Buch's case consists mainly of the work's reception in Germany and France. The rest of the world comes in for only sporadic treatment: the U.S. and Soviet Union are mentioned in the "1927 Centenary" chapter for their respective spins on the composer—as opposed to the Ninth Symphony—as "democrat" and "revolutionary" (p. 183). In "From Apartheid's Anthem to the Dismantling of the Berlin Wall," Buch describes with a mixture of contempt and ridicule Rhodesia's selection in 1974 of the *Ode to Joy* as its short-lived national anthem, perhaps an even more outrageous political appropriation than that undertaken by the Nazis during the 1930s.

Buch is at his best when offering his abundant and well-researched textual evidence, presented in an attractive and readable manner. Perhaps because he is a musicologist, he does less than a philologist in going beyond and beneath the veneer of words which the Ninth Symphony, and more particularly its last movement, have generated. More could have been done.

While reading, I was often reminded of David Dennis's conceptually similar *Beethoven in German Politics*,

1870–1989 (1996), which Buch frequently quotes, and whose conclusions he often duplicates. Unlike Buch, Dennis limits himself to one nation and a shorter time frame, but not to a single work, making Dennis's book ultimately truer to its announced goal and thus more satisfying for the reader.

NICHOLAS VAZSONYI
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THEODORE ZIOLKOWSKI. *Clio the Romantic Muse: Historicizing the Faculties in Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 215. \$35.00.

The history of the Romantic era of German history has received increased attention recently from scholars such as John E. Toews, Peter Fritzsche, George S. Williamson, and Robert Richards, and this book is a distinguished addition to that body of work. Admittedly, there is little here that is innovative, either in content or methodology. Theodore Ziolkowski's central contention—that a paradigm shift occurred in the early nineteenth century that put history at the center of Romantic consciousness—will come as no surprise. Concentrating on the impact of history on the academic disciplines, Ziolkowski devotes a chapter to each of the four traditional faculties of the German university (using Berlin as his main example) and traces the shift by means of an intellectual biography of a representative figure for each one: G.W.F. Hegel for philosophy, Friedrich Schleiermacher for theology, Friedrich Karl von Savigny for law, and Friedrich Schelling for medicine. In the last case, Ziolkowski modifies his approach by showing how a number of disciples of Schelling's *Naturphilosophie* played prominent roles in the study of life science, which was then often pursued by professors in the medical faculty. While this collective biographical approach will doubtless strike some readers as old-fashioned, the book is nevertheless highly recommended because of the depth, lucidity, and verve with which Ziolkowski carries it off. He is scrupulous in providing the right amount of contextual background for each of his figures, and he is unsurpassed in his grasp of the personal relationships and intellectual exchanges between them and the other contemporary figures in the Romantic movement. Moreover, in working through his material, Ziolkowski arrives at a conclusion that is actually more subtle than his initial thesis: Romanticism represented not so much an introduction of a historical approach—for history in an encyclopedic sense had figured prominently in the eighteenth century as well—as a transformation thereof. Each of the four figures developed a holistic view of knowledge that encompassed both static and dynamic aspects, a synthesis that embraced “both history and system, diachrony and synchrony” (p. 173).

The book's shortcomings stem primarily from its organizational structure: the breakdown of knowledge by academic faculty is a bit misleading and imposes some artificial constraints. In fact, the institutional aspects of the Romantic shift, while forming an important back-

drop, are not really central to Ziolkowski's narrative, which concentrates rather on individuals and their ideas. A more accurate subtitle would have been “historicizing the disciplines.” More significantly, the device of finding a representative great figure for each division of knowledge does not always work. This is especially true for the philosophical faculty: despite Hegel's colossus-like stature, even he could not encapsulate the ferment that was taking place among the multitude of disciplines that came under that label. Philology, which was also concerned with the accurate rendering of original sources, comes immediately to mind, as does the study of history itself. Ziolkowski gets around this problem partly by treating history in his introductory chapter, using Barthold Georg Niebuhr as his representative figure. But the absence of a chapter on philology, crucial as it was to the overall development of the historical enterprise, constitutes the book's most serious defect. Ziolkowski deals with it only cursorily in the concluding chapter, along with examples from the historicization of numerous other fields such as art, music, and the study of literature.

The book ends with a brief meditation on the present day and the lessons that Romantic historicism might hold for it. I would further suggest that Ziolkowski's main conclusion unwittingly provides a deeper insight into the promises and problems of the historical discipline in contemporary academia. The fact that Romanticism synthesized history and system, the empirical and the teleological, created a loaded legacy that has made the term “historicism” a bone of contention recently, especially among scholars from the non-Western world. The combination of fidelity to the past and its sources with the enduring belief in an overarching developmental scheme, exemplified in case after case in this study, may well be at the root of that contention.

DAVID LINDENFELD
Louisiana State University

ARNE PERRAS. *Carl Peters and German Imperialism 1856–1918: A Political Biography*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 286. \$130.00.

In 1940, Carl Peters, a fervent, some would say fanatical, advocate of German nationalism and colonialism who did much to establish a German colony in East Africa, became a film hero, when the Bavaria-Filmkunst GmbH produced its epic *Carl Peters: Ein deutsches Schicksal*, directed by Herbert Selpin. The character of Peters was played by the popular actor Hans Albers, while black prisoners of war had to play their African counterparts. Although this young academic historian and philosopher cum adventurer eventually received official backing for a colony in East Africa, his relationship with Otto von Bismarck and the German government remained a contentious one that eventually led to his disgrace and political exile in London. But the Nazis elevated Peters to new heights of glory, viewing him as a true German patriot who had fallen victim to the Jew-

ish conspiracy, and an early advocate of *Lebensraum*. Although Peters vanished from the political scene in 1896, his ideas continued to be influential in German nationalist ideology.

Arne Perras has written a new "political biography" of this fascinating figure that places his colonialist ideology firmly within a context of that German nationalism and a crude, racist, Social Darwinism. Early on Perras adopts a revisionist tone by arguing that historians have paid little attention to Peter's role as a leading colonial propagandist, dismissing him as a pathological case (he quotes Hans-Ulrich Wehler to the latter effect). Perras disputes Weyler's thesis that Bismarckian colonial policy was an instrument to reduce domestic tension, when in fact it did the opposite, and also rejects the "Crown Prince Thesis" associated with A. T. G. Riehl as an explanation for Bismarck's expansionist policy. German colonial expansion can best be explained by looking at its nationalist roots, and no matter how skeptical Bismarck might have been about colonies, the power of colonialism as part of a larger German nationalist ideology could not be ignored. In fact, Bismarck paved the way for Peters when he granted an imperial charter for East Africa. In the 1880s Peters emphasized pan-German ideas. Here Perras takes issue with Roger Chickering, who in *We Men Who Feel Most German: A Cultural Study of the Pan German League, 1886-1914* (1985) claims that many pan-Germans came from marginal groups within society that suffered from social disorientation and sought order and stability. Far from being marginalized, Peters spoke for the very center of German society, which embraced a revolutionary, dynamic vision of a pan-German future and rejected a national past that he portrayed as a "miserable, weak, and sentimentalist phase of cosmopolitanism" (p. 179).

Whatever his psychological predilections, and no matter how brutal his suppression of contentious Africans, many contemporaries saw Peters as a complicated individual. Peters believed that German identity had to be imperial, that to be German required one to be not just a colonizer but a strong, utterly ruthless colonizer. Missionary Alfred Steggall heard from one African "who was spoken to by Dr. Peters . . . in these words: God sent me to Kilimanjaro to exterminate the black man" (p. 200). His favorite question to his men while in East Africa was "Haven't you shot a negro yet?" (p. 118). For Peters, colonial expansion was not just a policy but a matter of life and death. His pan-Germanism became more and more shrill: "Away with Italian tooting and French blare! German tones for the German house" (p. 91). Always seeing things in terms of the Darwinian struggle for existence between nations, he railed against the anglicization of the world even as he admired the vigor of the British race. Yet the man who agitated for German world power would be destroyed by that very power over charges involving the Kilimanjaro expedition. Among other acts of brutality, Peters was accused of hanging an African man who had slipped into his tent and had sex with one of his concubines. A good deal was made of the argument that

Peters had hanged the African man, and possibly the woman as well, on the grounds of sexual jealousy. Arousing more concern among both pious Christian groups and civilizing Social Democrats like August Bebel was Peter's justification that he had married the woman according to Muslim law and therefore possessed complete power over her. Peters had, in short, committed the ultimate sin and gone native, violating the civilizing mission of colonization. He became anathema to the German political establishment. As Perras so acutely puts it, "Peters had to go not because his goals of Weltpolitik were seen as a great threat, but because he himself had become an obstacle to the pursuit of a world-political agenda" (p. 230).

Perras has written an interesting book that utilizes some new sources to reveal how German colonial expansion was not just "manipulated social imperialism" but also needs to be understood through its nationalist roots. Although he states that he has written a political biography, the author passes too lightly over the personal (and mental) history of his subject, whom the Nazis revered as a precursor to Adolf Hitler. As Nazism became more and more radical, aggressive, militant, and uncompromising, one cannot help but think that maybe Wehler and Chickering were on to something when they inquired into some of Peter's pathological traits.

RICHARD A. VOELTZ
Cameron University

ROBERT T. FOLEY. *German Strategy and the Path to Verdun: Erich von Falkenhayn and the Development of Attrition, 1870-1916*. (Cambridge Military Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 301. \$70.00.

Erich von Falkenhayn, the leader of the second German High Command during World War I, was an enigmatic and controversial figure. After the war, the German official historians laid much of the blame for their army's defeat on him. In particular, they cited his failure to support an offensive that could have driven the Russians out of the war in 1915, as well as his ill-conceived plans for a German offensive in the west the next year. Markus Pöhlmann's exhaustive analysis of the German official history has laid bare the politics in which these charges were grounded, while Holger Aflerbach's superb biography of the general has demonstrated that most of the charges were baseless. Nevertheless, in the absence of most of Falkenhayn's personal papers, questions persist about the strategic and operational vision that guided him during these critical stages of the war.

Although it rests on the same archival sources as Aflerbach's biography and arrives at similar conclusions, Robert T. Foley's study offers the most far-reaching defense of Falkenhayn to date. Foley situates the general's command decisions within a tradition of German military thinking that took shape in the late nineteenth century in opposition to the army's fixation on strategic

maneuver, battles of annihilation, and short, decisive wars. The skeptics, who included the elder Helmuth von Moltke, Colmar von der Goltz, and the military historian Hans Delbrück, questioned the feasibility of this so-called *Vernichtungsstrategie* (strategy of annihilation) in an era of “people’s wars”—vast, protracted contests among fully mobilized nation-states. The strategies appropriate for such wars should draw instead, they believed, from what Foley calls “a new paradigm of warfare” (p. 5). Their vision was oriented toward attrition, long battles, and the systematic exhaustion of enemy forces. Once Alfred von Schlieffen and his disciples took charge of the General Staff, however, the proponents of this alternative *Ermattungsstrategie* (strategy of attrition) were marginalized. In Foley’s view they still included Falkenhayn, whose career trajectory and personal qualities had already made him something of an outsider.

The principal part of Foley’s book is devoted to the translation of these views into action during Falkenhayn’s tenure as leader of the German armies in 1915 and 1916. Foley argues that, far from being the weak-willed commander that his critics portrayed, Falkenhayn worked with a coherent vision; he “developed and articulated” a “clear alternative strategic and operational approach to warfare” (p. 13). He recognized early the impossibility of destroying the Entente armies, so he pursued a strategy calculated to bring about a separate, negotiated peace with one of Germany’s antagonists: Russia in 1915, France in 1916. He failed, however, to communicate his ideas effectively to his subcommanders, who had trained to fight decisive battles and neither supported nor understood his thinking. Falkenhayn’s decision to limit the scope of the German offensive in Poland earned him the contempt of the eastern commanders, Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff, who pled that the annihilation of the Russian army was in fact possible in 1915. The commanders of the German armies in the west likewise failed to grasp the intricacies of Falkenhayn’s plan for the 1916 campaign, which eschewed the quest for decisive victory and sought instead to provoke the French and British armies into fruitless counterattacks against strong German positions.

Foley supports these conclusions with a close reading of the recently rediscovered *Forschungsarbeiten*, the narrative drafts and appended documents on which the historians of the Reichsarchiv based their official history of the Great War. Although he has little to say about the sources of Falkenhayn’s thinking before the war, Foley makes a compelling case for the coherence and design of his subject’s operational decisions once the war began. He argues further that Falkenhayn’s thinking synthesized “strategy, battle design, and tactics” (p. 207). The workability or, for that matter, the practical significance of this synthesis is not, however, altogether clear. For one thing, Falkenhayn’s decisions were based ultimately on the possibility of a negotiated peace, a political assumption that he did not share with the country’s political leadership and that was, as Foley

writes, “completely unrealistic” (p. 268). For another, the German commanders and their staffs in the west might be forgiven their inability to appreciate the subtleties of Falkenhayn’s plans in 1916. These envisaged German seizure of the forts on the eastern bank of the Meuse above Verdun but not the fortress itself; and because of Falkenhayn’s animus against “mass attacks” (p. 195), they also foreswore an early assault on the west-bank fortresses, for which the area commanders were pleading on sound tactical grounds. In the end, it is not easy to discern the subtle differences between Falkenhayn’s grand vision of this war’s outcome and that of his German rivals. Under Falkenhayn’s leadership, Foley concludes, Germany “attempted to end the war not with a peace dictated by Germany, but rather through a negotiated peace, albeit on terms favorable to Germany” (p. 264). The German leadership could defend the peace of Brest-Litovsk on just these terms.

ROGER CHICKERING
Georgetown University

PAMELA E. SWETT. *Neighbors and Enemies: The Culture of Radicalism in Berlin, 1929–1933*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 336. \$75.00.

The collapse of the Weimar Republic, as is well known, took place on two levels. As Karl Dietrich Bracher suggested over forty years ago, the increasing social tensions generated by the Depression pulled power away from legislative assemblies and elected governments upward, toward the army and the circle around President Paul von Hindenburg, where government was carried out by decree, and downward, onto the streets, where violence grew increasingly destructive and extreme in the early 1930s.

Pamela E. Swett’s detailed and well-researched book claims to be the first to investigate the role of violence on the streets, but there have in fact been many others; its real claim to innovation lies in its cultural approach. Swett argues that cultural norms and power structures in Berlin’s neighborhoods disintegrated under the corrosive impact of mass unemployment. Neighborhoods became more independent, more resentful of national power politics, more violent, and more radical. Young men adopted an undifferentiated culture of brutal street fighting. All this proved counterproductive; attempts to generate a local sense of power ended by destroying it as middle-class Berliners grasped for the only way they could imagine of restoring order—a Nazi dictatorship.

Swett has much of absorbing interest to say about her chosen neighborhood, the working-class *Kiez* (district) around the Nostizstrasse in Kreuzberg. Her depiction of the neighborhood is a vivid masterpiece of local history and demonstrates her intimate and in many ways affectionate knowledge of the district. The following section of the book puts the neighborhood equally effectively in the wider context of Berlin and its politics. Particularly illuminating is her focus on gender conflicts and tensions between generations, discussed exten-

sively in the third chapter of the book. Swett shows how unemployment undermined masculine identities and propelled young men toward all-male institutions like the pub as well as toward assertions of their masculinity through acts of individual and collective violence and aggression. The bloody riots of May 1929, described in graphic detail, were one result of this process.

At this point, however, the book begins to get into difficulties. In order to sustain her argument, Swett has to present the working-class neighborhood as a site of undifferentiated violence and extremism. Thus she claims that Nazi and Communist identities were fluid (p. 211), and there was massive switching of allegiance between the two (p. 297). Yet electoral studies have shown that very few voters changed their allegiance from one of these parties to the other, and the evidence Swett presents for brownshirt and "red front-fighter" paramilitaries coming from the same background, and knowing each other intimately from daily contact in the neighborhood, is thin: a cartoon, a few pub discussions between the two sides, a couple of examples of Communists expelled from the party because of close contacts with the Nazi enemy, some speculation about where the many men who left the Communist Party might have taken their allegiance. In the end, it does not amount to much. Even on Swett's own evidence, most men left the Communist and Nazi parties because they could not afford to pay the dues, and so did not transfer their political loyalties anywhere else.

Like other historians who want to present Communism and Nazism as two sides of the same coin, Swett makes play with the two parties' cooperation in the Berlin transport workers' strike of 1932, but this was a wholly exceptional event that—contrary to Swett's argument—deeply damaged the Nazis by frightening away middle-class voters, who deserted the party in droves in the subsequent elections. Swett claims (p. 188) that many workers were won over to the Nazis by the party's antisemitic propaganda, but all that we know about the party's electoral strategy confirms that antisemitism played a very small part in its appeal to voters at this time, and was generally underplayed by party speakers as a consequence. On a national level, too, workers were seriously underrepresented among Nazi Party members, and the party only made inroads into the proletariat where labor movement culture was weak, as it was not in Berlin. The working class in any case was strongly resistant to antisemitic propaganda.

What is lacking here, as in so much recent cultural history, is a serious social analysis of the parties involved. The Nostizstrasse Kiez was a stronghold of the Communist Party, yet there is no serious attempt to investigate the social bases of the party's support or find out who its Nazi opponents were. A social analysis along the lines of Anthony McElligott's *Contested City: Municipal Politics and the Rise of Nazism in Altona, 1917–1937* (1998) would no doubt have found different sources for the extreme violence visited by young Nazi and Communist thugs on each other than a high level of injured masculinity that was undistinguishable be-

tween the two. Swett's central thesis fails to convince.

RICHARD J. EVANS

University of Cambridge

RICHARD STEIGMANN-GALL. *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919–1945*. Paperback edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 294.

Richard Steigmann-Gall has challenged traditional notions regarding National Socialist leaders and the influence of Christianity in the Nazi movement. His title is aptly named for the questions he considers: did the leadership believe they were working to create a "holy" Reich, and what exactly were their conceptions of Christianity? More specifically, how did the Nazi party leaders situate their world view with regard to the "positive Christian" outlook, and how did their religious positions possibly influence Nazi policy?

Looking at Point 24 of the NSDAP platform, Steigmann-Gall argues that the Nazis were indeed thinking of themselves as part of a Christian community. Specifically, he lays out the three main components of Point 24: "the spiritual struggle against the Jews, the promulgation of a social ethic, and a new syncretism that would bridge Germany's confessional divide" (p. 14). Throughout the work, the author consistently argues that Point 24 was an attempt on the part of Nazi leaders to portray themselves as the "active Christians" of the new Germany. This interpretation stands in stark contrast to most accepted analyses of Point 24, which has generally been seen as a cynical ploy on the part of the Nazis to ingratiate themselves with practicing German Christians. To Steigmann-Gall, the critical element in Point 24 was the "positive" part of Christianity. In that sense, positive Christianity was left open to many fluid interpretations, and Steigmann-Gall sets out to examine just how Nazi members defined their religious beliefs, free from traditional Christian dogma yet incorporating significant Christian concepts.

One way to evaluate the impact of Nazi leaders' positive Christianity would be to examine their attitudes toward the existing churches in Germany. In chapter two, Steigmann-Gall analyzes how many Nazis thought in nonconfessional terms. They tended to stress being German first, Catholic or Protestant second. What Steigmann-Gall argues is that the positive Christians of the party cared little for doctrinal differences and cared more about finding commonalities to bridge over the sectarian divide present in German society. However, Martin Luther, father of the Protestant Reformation, tended to remain for most Germans the lightning rod of the confessional divide and a figure that the Nazis found hard to sell to the Catholic population. Through the establishment of nonconfessional schools and various social organizations, Steigmann-Gall concludes that the real proclivity among Nazi leaders was to favor Protestantism as somehow "more true" to being German. This meant that even nominal German Catholics were at a disadvantage in the Nazi world view.

Steigmann-Gall acknowledges that there were, indeed, Nazis in positions of power who saw no linkages between Christianity and Nazism. These would be the men designated as "pagans," most of who were looking for a return to a Nordic mystic past. Examining key figures such as Erich Ludendorff, Alfred Rosenberg, and Richard Walther Darré, Steigmann-Gall concludes that despite these men's rejection of most basic Christian tenets of faith, they primarily rejected Roman Catholicism and were virulently anticlerical. Those paganists who remained in powerful positions within the Nazi Party structure were valued, the author argues, for their administrative skills, not for their religious world view. Thus, the pagan faction was never able to attain a position of true influence over religious questions of the day.

Most Nazis calling themselves positive Christians tended to believe that they were taking the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth and putting them into action. They highlighted Nazi social programs such as Winter Relief in order to deride clergymen and institutional bureaucracy. Again, what emerges in Steigmann-Gall's interpretation is the contempt with which most Nazi positive Christians viewed the Catholic Church. Laying claim to the "true message of Christianity," they tried to portray a corrupted, infected church structure unable to free itself of "Jewish influences." Building on the theme of the corruption of the Catholic Church, the author examines Adolf Hitler's attempt to bring about a unified Protestant National Church. In the end, the efforts were unsuccessful. Steigmann-Gall is convinced that Nazi aims were truly an attempt to create a Germanic, national church and that Hitler only washed his hands of this affair once he encountered some institutional resistance to the "coordination" of the Protestant churches. As the Nazi program and most Protestant organizations were fighting over the same "social turf," dual allegiance to church and state could no longer be tolerated. This led to a reorientation in Nazi thinking (p. 218).

After 1937, there was a marked increase in the anti-Christian segment of the Nazi leadership. Individual churchmen who had been active in the Nazi Party were now told that they had to choose where their loyalties would lie: with the church or the state? Yet Steigmann-Gall demonstrates that, despite the rise in antagonism with institutional Christianity, the decrease in party memberships in official churches, and the outright persecution of clergymen under the direction of Martin Bormann, positive Christians still continued to refer to Point 24, arguing that certain tenets of Christianity had the right to exist in Germany. Steigmann-Gall's ideas are original and controversial; he has taken on an entire body of scholarship, and he must be credited with challenging historians to take religious beliefs seriously no matter how uncomfortable that may make us.

BETH A. GRIECH-POLELLE
Bowling Green State University

MARK EDWARD RUFF, *The Wayward Flock: Catholic Youth in Postwar West Germany, 1945–1965*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 284. \$49.95.

The publication of this book is particularly timely, as it occurred within weeks of the election of Pope Benedict XVI, a member of the very cohort identified as "wayward" by Mark Edward Ruff. In this revision of his dissertation, however, Ruff does not so much question the attitudes or actions of individual youth but rather focuses on the apparent paradox that Catholic youth organizations suffered a major decline "at the very point at which the Catholic lay leadership achieved substantial and enduring political success" (p. 2). Ruff explains both internal and external challenges to the Catholic Church's youth ministry programs in the early postwar years and argues that although the church had traditionally been able to accommodate changes in secular society, declining membership in Catholic youth organizations in the 1950s was due primarily to the church's inability to compete with the offerings of an increasingly individualized consumer culture.

Historiographically, Ruff's book contributes to the gradual bridging of a traditional divide between ecclesiastical and secular history. Historical work on German youth has tended to focus on secular organizations such as the turn-of-the-century *Wandervögel*, the Hitler Youth, and the postwar Free German Youth or Red Falcons. Scholars of German Catholicism, meanwhile, have struggled to overcome longstanding criticism that their work lacked methodological rigor and underestimated interactions between religious and secular milieus. In contrast, Ruff's well-documented work demonstrates not only an awareness of the evolution of German youth movements but also the existence of a Catholic leadership that was very much aware of secular culture and actively debated how best to compete with the new opportunities it offered youth. The book also challenges standard evaluations of the 1950s as a historical lull between the storms of Nazism and 1960s unrest.

Examining Catholic youth publications, as well as the records of Catholic organizations such as the Young Christian Workers in Essen and the Archdiocese of Cologne, Ruff asks how generational memory, gender, class, and local economic structure shaped Catholic youth culture in the postwar era. Thus, the first chapter examines how the prewar experiences of both clergy and laity shaped efforts to revive youth organizations in the late 1940s and 1950s. Chapter two documents the activities of local parish groups and demonstrates how the church dealt with increased competition from secular leisure opportunities. Chapter three explains that while prewar secular culture had largely reinforced Catholic gender values, new postwar options drew young women away from church-sponsored activities. Chapters four and five compare the hurdles faced by urban and rural organizers; while the former struggled to engage young workers, the latter, having maintained

a more distinctive Catholic milieu during the war, better met the challenges posed by postwar economic development.

Ruff's conclusion takes the form of a case study of a rift within a Catholic athletic organization known as the Deutsche Jugendkraft (DJK), arguing that the aforementioned factors all shaped the nature—and resolution—of a dispute ostensibly about connections between Catholic and secular sporting movements. In this and other chapters, Ruff situates postwar developments within a longer survey of Catholic youth ministries back into the nineteenth century. While this thematic approach leads to some repetition and might perplex readers without some knowledge of turn-of-the-century Germany, it has advantages: each chapter stands alone, exploring Catholic youth culture through a particular lens, and more importantly, the thematic structure helps to erode stereotypes about a hegemonic national identity by drawing to the fore the particular concerns of the various subcohorts.

Although Ruff paints a dynamic picture of the church's youth ministries, he seems at times to isolate the Catholic experience from broader debates about young Germans in the early postwar era. There is little consideration of the war's impact, spiritual or otherwise, on youth, except for a few brief references to sociologist Helmut Schelsky's *Das skeptische Generation* (1957). Nor does Ruff advance a strong case for the uniqueness of the Catholic experience. Virtually all postwar authorities believed that organizing Germany's youth constituted a critical component of cultural rehabilitation and relied largely on alumni of pre-1933 youth groups as leaders. Furthermore, many top-down attempts to organize youth faltered in the postwar years, due at least in part to the factors Ruff blames for the Catholic Church's eventual failure.

Nonetheless, Ruff offers an insightful examination of what he rightly suggests is a decade too often dismissed as "static" and of a postwar youth cohort methodically courted by both secular and ecclesiastical organizations. In short, this book reveals an energetic church establishment struggling to maintain its relevance in the face of increasing individualistic and secular youth culture.

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CHARLES E. MCCLELLAND. *Prophets, Paupers, or Professionals? A Social History of Everyday Visual Artists in Modern Germany, 1850-Present*. (German Linguistic and Cultural Studies, number 12.) New York: Peter Lang. 2003. Pp. 238. \$52.95.

The romantic image of the artist envisions him laboring away in an isolated atelier, driven solely by the demands of Art. Charles E. McClelland here counters this myth with a social history of German visual artists' struggle to promote their profession over the course of nearly two centuries. This is an ambitious task, but McClelland's expertise with the learned and free professions in

Europe serves him well as he surveys both the successes and failures of artists' efforts to define and defend their professional identity. In chapters organized thematically, he explores the problem of just who can be considered an artist, the role of education, the art market, professional organizations, and artists' positions and roles in society.

McClelland defines the visual arts broadly to include the fine and applied arts, the arts and crafts movement, and even computer-generated media. He is less interested in familiar elites than in what he terms "everyday artists," by which he means the rank and file of the profession. He likens his work to a collective portrait of generations of artists who pursued their craft as they shaped and reacted to public taste. This presents him with an inherent problem. Archival records of artists' organizations and schools are incomplete, and memoirs are rare. To provide detailed features of relatively anonymous practitioners, he must necessarily rely on more famous, not so "everyday" artists such as Lovis Corinth or Josef Beuys. However, he also uses lesser-known figures such as Hermann Muthesius, Otto Marcus, and Friedrich Ahlers-Hestermann to represent the profession.

Throughout his work, McClelland demonstrates that the very nature of the artistic enterprise undermined artists' ability to professionalize successfully. Anyone can claim the right to be called an artist, and a successful career depends on public support that is fickle and fleeting. As a result, artists were unable to regulate entry into their profession and to control demand for its services. McClelland's analysis of art education highlights these problems for the profession. Despite their initial promise, art academies never won a monopoly over entrance into the field. The academies did not offer degrees or certificates, which in any case were not required for artists as they were for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. McClelland explains the academies' lack of innovation and their inability to assure graduates financial success led to competition from the applied arts institutes and arts-and-crafts schools. Technological transformations in printing processes and the rise of new media also pitted the fine, applied, and popular artists against each other as they fought for a share of the market. McClelland treats the wide array of art schools in detail, demonstrating how each promoted artists' claims to professionalism even as the field became more crowded and competition intensified.

In the chapter aptly titled "Herding Cats," McClelland argues organizations also had mixed results in representing artists' interests. McClelland recognizes the role that stylistic controversies played in working against professional solidarity, but these are treated only briefly. Instead, he focuses on how artists organized to advance their professional identity and financial success. McClelland explains that before 1945, the General German Artists' Association, the German Artists' League, the Reich Association of Visual Artists, and other groups struggled for state recognition, the

right to control access to exhibitions and museum purchases, copyright protection, tax relief, and a host of other occupational interests. These organizations' inability to control the market for art accounts for artists' continual quest to establish new groups, thereby fracturing the profession further. Even after 1945, most artists experienced little of the German economic miracle. Despite the best efforts of GEDOK (for women), the Federal Association of Visual Artists, or even the Artists' Congress in 1971, art organizations could not fix prices, control competition, or ensure the public's willingness to purchase art.

Because McClelland traces the development of the profession from the guilds to the present, scholars will inevitably find their particular time periods treated in less detail than they might hope. Yet it is to his credit that he undertook such a task. Even the Third Reich and the German Democratic Republic, often omitted from surveys of art in Germany, are included.

McClelland's book will become required reading for scholars and graduate students interested in the professionalization process and artists in Germany. However, considerations of space appear to have led the publisher to forego the scholarly apparatus a work of this caliber deserves. The archives used are mentioned only in the preface; the bibliography and footnotes, while serviceable, are hardly extensive. McClelland kindly invites interested scholars to contact him for more information on the sources, but our own profession's interests would be better served by a more complete account.

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ERNST WANGERMANN, *Die Waffen der Publizität: Zum Funktionswandel der politischen Literatur unter Joseph II.* (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Österreichkunde.) Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik. R. Oldenbourg. 2004. Pp. 252. €24.80.

Fifty years have passed since Ernst Wangermann completed the doctoral dissertation that was to become his first book: *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials: Government Policy and Public Opinion in the Habsburg Dominions in the Period of the French Revolution* (1959). During the intervening half-century he has continued to work on the Austrian pamphlet literature of the 1780s, taking time off only to translate a volume of the collected works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and to edit Engels's *The Role of Force in History*. The axiom that underpinned his previous work and also informs this present volume has the virtue of simplicity: Joseph's attempt to impose "enlightened absolutism" on the Habsburg monarchy, especially after he became sole ruler on the death of his mother in 1780, created a Frankenstein monster. Far from gratefully accepting their sovereign's largesse, his subjects looked beyond his program to political and social emancipation. Belatedly realizing the error of his ways, toward the end of his life Joseph tried to turn the clock back, initiating

a policy of repression continued by his successors. As Wangermann puts it in the book under review, "From 1784 a growing number of writers emerged who no longer saw themselves as the shield-bearers of the reforming prince but much more as the champions of their fellow-citizens, as spokesmen of the nation, as they often described themselves . . . After four years experience of Joseph's reforming policies, the reading public in Austria had become more mature" (p. 17).

There is much to be said for this scenario. The relaxation of censorship in 1781 put Vienna for the first time in the intellectual avant-garde of German-speaking Europe. There followed a great torrent of pamphlets—a veritable *Broschürenflut*—on every imaginable subject, especially on the religious and social reforming legislation that poured in similar profusion from the emperor's office. Writers of every hue, from darkest clerical-conservative to brightest enlightened-progressive, hastened from all corners of the Holy Roman Empire to Vienna to take advantage of the liberal conditions. As Wangermann recognizes, many of the most enlightened were anxious to take Joseph's side against his conservative opponents. With their support, he scored a notable victory in his campaign to replace traditional baroque piety with a "purified" form of Catholic worship. Indeed, in one of the most original sections of the book, Wangermann argues convincingly that the government itself initiated and financed publications supporting its own position.

No great claim is made for the literary or intellectual quality of these pamphlets and poems. One can only feel admiration and sympathy for anyone prepared to spend year after year in the gloomy reading room of the City Library in Vienna Town Hall, noting and transcribing their contents (for a typically Austrian regulation dictates that nothing published before 1900 may be photocopied). One's gratitude would perhaps be greater if more had been paraphrased, for the numerous lengthy quotations bring what is already a laborious exposition to the verge of unreadability. However, a great deal more would have been welcome on those aspects of Joseph's regime that are currently neglected or even ignored. The introduction implies that this study constitutes a comprehensive investigation of the contemporary literature, but even the most cursory of glances at what is available shows that only a modest sample is discussed and cited here. Most serious, almost all the numerous publications that do not fit the central argument, but rather show that Joseph II was *not* "overtaken" by public opinion, are conspicuously absent from footnotes and bibliography alike.

This becomes a particular problem when the closing years of the decade are treated. Although now prepared to acknowledge that the war against the Turks was successful in 1789 and that the fall of Belgrade in October did lead to public rejoicing in Vienna, Wangermann essentially remains in a state of denial about this crucial episode. The numerous publications celebrating the great victory over the Turkish *Erbfeind* are imaginatively interpreted as being really a vote for peace. It

does not help his case that he simply ignores or summarily rejects the arguments and evidence produced by scholars who do not share his opinions. Derek Beales's cogent and well-supported analysis of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's patriotism, for example, is airily dismissed in a single sentence as "extremely improbable." In short, the pamphlet literature of the Habsburg monarchy in the period still awaits its historian. In the meantime, Leslie Bodi's flawed but much more satisfactory study, *Tauwetter in Wien: Zur Prosa der österreichischen Aufklärung 1781–1795* (1977), must continue to fill the gap. The subtitle of this book should be revised to read *Some Aspects of Political Literature in Vienna during the 1780s*.

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CAROLINE CASTIGLIONE. *Patrons and Adversaries: Nobles and Villagers in Italian Politics, 1640–1760*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 254. \$19.95.

Caroline Castiglione's study is a masterful rejection of prevailing views of the history of the Roman countryside. In that view, the power of a handful of powerful baronial families was contested by the clerical officials of the papal theocracy, who are considered to have won the contest over time. Crushing clerical taxation thus hit a passive, downtrodden peasantry. Instead, this volume demonstrates that peasants availed themselves of the medieval legacy of the village commune and resisted noble attempts to usurp peasant rights, while respecting noble rule and even seeking noble patronage at times. Nobles, too, were not decadent absentee landlords; they remained actively involved in their domains and were vital to any papal control.

Castiglione's revision rests on taking a microscope to the domains of one baronial family, the Barberini, who assembled six villages into the *stato* of Monte Libretti in the province of Sabina, northeast of Rome. Rather than relying on serial records disclosing births, deaths, marriages, and transactions, which have been at the core of other historical village studies, Castiglione takes advantage of the survival of communal records in two villages to delve into peasant political views and the interactions between the local population and both their feudal overlords and the papal administration. Roman nobles had substantial powers of jurisdiction in villages subject to them. The villagers, while never rebellious, actively debated issues of local resources and needs through communal organizations, negotiated with their lords, and on occasion challenged judicial practices or fiscal demands through papal channels. Castiglione sees village politics in one sense as a matter of literacy: practices of reading and writing that by the eighteenth century resulted in the production of alternative texts or interpretations "challenging the textual monopoly that dictated that only those in Rome should be able to make or interpret written records" (p. 13).

The Barberini and their estates had their peculiar features. The originally Florentine family rose quickly

to prominence when Maffeo Barberini became Pope Urban VIII. Shortly after his death in 1644, Taddeo Barberini, his nephew, purchased Monte Libretti from an old noble family, the Orsini, for a hefty sum. What possession of the papacy had first provided the Barberini was maintained thereafter by possession of a sizeable, if not terribly wealthy or productive, landed estate. Their own financial problems and successful challenges by the villagers under their rule meant that they were not free to impose laws and increase duties owed them. The Barberini never realized the level of income they had hoped for, and their power had to be negotiated more than they ever anticipated.

The Barberini themselves were not consistently effective lords. Taddeo's son Maffeo quickly took over after his father's death in 1647. He was intent on expanding his rights and revenues, but the village of Nerola was able to resist his numerous efforts to curb villagers' hunting and fishing rights, among other things. Villagers' sense of the *statuto* establishing the relationship between them and their lord was consistent. A less consistent sense of their *statuto* operated in nearby Monte Libretti, where Barberini patronage provided physicians and teachers for the village; but there, too, the village *consiglio* could articulate its own sense of priorities and of a "public good."

Maffeo's son, Urbano, was a weak administrator and spendthrift, and during his tenure governance of the *stato* was neglected. Urbano's brother, Cardinal Francesco, was able to restore some control in the 1720s and 1730s, fending off pretensions of the papal Buon Governo, which was intent on expanding papal power and fiscal prerogatives in the countryside. Francesco relied on competent officials, notably Domenico Camilli, to track down outstanding debts and get them paid. His successors—his niece and her husband—carried on his work in the face of mounting demands for revenues from the papal administration. They worked with the Buon Governo and kept an extremely active correspondence with their functionaries. "In the day-to-day governing of the *stato* of Monte Libretti, it was the Barberini who remained more involved in village affairs" (p. 118) than the papal officials.

Castiglione's fifth and sixth chapters offer perceptive readings of the ideological differences between the Barberini's benevolent paternalism and the villagers' adversarial invocations of charity and justice. The section dealing with the prolonged efforts of the villagers of Monte Flavio in papal courts in the 1750s to resist collection of annual dues paid to the noble family is especially interesting. It is a key prop to Castiglione's argument about the interpretive abilities of village society's leaders, and as such deserves close attention. But this book as a whole will reward any reader who makes the effort to follow its complex and sophisticated structure. It is to be hoped that similar studies can test Castiglione's findings in other contexts and also proceed beyond to link this approach to the economic and de-

mographic studies of villages constructed on the basis of other sorts of records.

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JOHN F. POLLARD. *Money and the Rise of the Modern Papacy: Financing the Vatican, 1850–1950*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 265. \$85.00.

This book is not an entirely “pioneering study” as the publisher claims; it will nevertheless prove valuable. John F. Pollard is especially strong on Vatican finances during the papacy of Pius XI, the pope who appointed the shrewd, extremely capable Bernardino Nogara as his in-house financial manager. Unfortunately, the author is notably weaker on papal finances during the ensuing papacy of Pius XII, who reigned during World War II and the early Cold War era.

Pollard argues that money has made the papacy what it is today. It “democratized” and internationalized the church because it made the Vatican dependent on mass contributions to Peter’s Pence. Paradoxically, at the same time money allowed the church to become ever more autocratic and centralized. The nineteenth-century popes, like other European aristocrats, had a difficult time adjusting to an industrial world. Indeed, Pollard notes that at one point Peter’s Pence, collected from the poor as well as the not-so-poor, was being used to bail out indigent Roman aristocrats with Vatican connections (p. 62). But in the twentieth century, the papacy achieved solvency. This is the important point, not the old question of “how rich” the pope may or may not be.

The big swing in papal fortunes came about as a result of the Lateran Treaty (1929) with Benito Mussolini’s Italy. The cash thereby generated fell into Nogara’s capable hands, with the result that the Vatican became invested worldwide in the capitalist marketplace. The interesting question that this investment capability raises, and that Pollard addresses, is whether the Vatican speculated in the market according to the dictates of its own social teachings. The answer Pollard gives is that it did not. Leo XIII was the first pope to come to terms with the social questions spawned by industrialization in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891). When it came to investing, however, the pope did not seem to take his own advice. Pius XI followed suit. Although at the time of the Great Depression he harped about how the monopoly capitalism of only a few men caused so much misery for the masses, it never occurred to him that he or Nogara might be one of those “few men.” Unfortunately, Pollard does not pursue this theme as vigorously as he might have.

A similar ethical question arises out of the Vatican’s investment in what nowadays is called the military-industrial complex. Vatican investments dotted the map, but in no country were its funds as deeply and broadly enmeshed as in Italy’s economy. Thus, when the country went to war with Libya (1911) and, even more so, with Ethiopia (1935), Vatican money was part and par-

cel of the national effort. The popes had not taken care to avoid those industries that might compromise its “just war” tradition. The dilemma comes up again with regard to possible investment by the Vatican in tungsten, which was vital for Germany’s World War II industry. Pollard’s handling of this issue is inept. Not knowing whether the Vatican did or did not so invest, Pollard nonetheless writes that it “traded in tungsten” (p. 216) and refers the reader back to page 192 where there is no mention at all on this point (on page 190, footnote 32, Pollard mentions that there is a “theory” about such an investment by the Vatican). Pollard’s treatment of other World War II-era financial undertakings of the Vatican such as Sudameris, a South American banking chain, is at best superficial.

The strength of Pollard’s work is undoubtedly his exploitation of Nogara’s diary, actually the notes he took on his meetings with Pius XI. Whereas earlier chapters are all based on secondary sources, the sections based on the diary fill an important gap in the historical record—a breakthrough, actually, since we have no other documentary evidence. Pollard has written extensively on the Vatican, and, as he takes us through the financial story, pope by pope, he provides excellent political and diplomatic context.

This is a small, compact volume in ten-point type with a hefty sticker price.

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A. JAMES GREGOR. *Mussolini’s Intellectuals: Fascist Social and Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 282. \$35.00.

For historians still harboring delusions about fascism’s ideological vacuity, the very title of this book has a provocative, oxymoronic quality. Once readers have ventured beyond the opening chapter, in which A. James Gregor vents his spleen on the conceptual slovenliness of those colleagues who insist that generic fascism represents a flight into the realm of irrationality, pathology, and terror, they are treated to nine eminently readable essays on different aspects of fascism’s doctrinal evolution within the context of its genesis, establishment as a regime, growing involvement in imperialism and international war, its collapse in 1943, and its brief reincarnation as the Italian Social Republic. The central section of the volume concentrates on the confluence of Italian forms of ultranationalism embodied in such figures as Enrico Corradini and Alfredo Rocco with national varieties of revolutionary syndicalism advocated by the likes of Sergio Panunzio and Ugo Spirito, who offered elaborate rationales for Italy’s experiment in creating a corporate state.

In perhaps the most rewarding section of the book for anglophone readers, Gregor considers the attempts by Camillo Pelizzi and Carlo Costamagna to develop a theory of the fascist state and its geopolitical role adapted to the tumultuous transformations of European history—and the Italian regime’s growing marginalization as

an Axis power—under the impact of the Third Reich. This is followed, after a “doctrinal interlude” on the aberrant relationship of Julius Evola to mainstream fascism, by a chapter on final ideological developments once it had been reconstituted within the Nazi puppet state.

Cumulatively this book succeeds in distancing fascist ideology from the mindless politics of *ducismo* or the histrionic cult of aestheticized violence embodied in Filippo Marinetti with which it is sometimes identified, while also refuting simplistic equations of its doctrine with the neo-Hegelianism of Giovanni Gentile. By insisting on facism’s relocation firmly within the mainstream history of European political, social and economic thought, Gregor effectively repackages some of the material of his earlier books, *The Ideology of Fascism: The Rationale of Totalitarianism* (1969) and *Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship* (1979), for a new generation of students, as well as building on *The Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism* (1979) and *Giovanni Gentile: Philosopher of Fascism* (2001), which together dispel any illusion that Italian fascism is to be dismissed as an ideological will o’ the wisp.

What compromises this book’s quality as a work of scholarship and its potential value to students of fascism is Gregor’s insistence on assuming the role familiar from several recent publications—notably the second edition of *Interpretations of Fascism* (1997) and *Phoenix: Fascism in our Time* (1999)—of an academic loner endowed with a unique insight into the nature of fascism largely ignored by his colleagues. By the end of the 1970s, pioneering research by the likes of Eugen Weber, Juan Linz, Stanley G. Payne, and George L. Mosse had already produced a considerable body of scholarship convergent with Gregor’s approach establishing the ideological credentials of fascism as a relatively coherent ideology of modernizing, revolutionary change firmly rooted in European traditions of social thought and political action. Moreover, the last decade has witnessed growing scholarly agreement among historians and political scientists that generic fascism had a cohesive ideological and intellectual culture at whose core lay the same project of national “redemption and rebirth” (p. 37) that Gregor attributes to Italian fascism.

Three major weaknesses of the volume may be attributable to Gregor’s belief in the superiority of his own position and his concomitant reluctance to collaborate in the search for historical understanding or to be open to approaches or data that conflict with his established position. First, in chapter one he repeatedly parodies the positions of other academics on fascism in order to refute them, and then proceeds to ignore major contributions to his themes by the likes of Emilio Gentile, Walter Adamson, Alexander de Grand, Zeev Sternhell, Mario Sznajder, and David Roberts.

Second, his efforts in chapter nine to show that Evola was never a true representative of Italian fascist ideology under Benito Mussolini is tilting at windmills,

since no serious scholar has ever claimed this. What experts such as Marco Revelli, Franco Ferraresi, and Richard Drake *have* demonstrated in considerable empirical detail is that Evola has had a major impact both on postwar fascism in Italy and on several currents of revolutionary nationalism, both cultural and terrorist, that emerged elsewhere in Europe after the defeat of the Axis powers. As a philosopher of generic fascism, Evola eclipses in importance Giovanni Gentile, whose impact outside the confines of fascist Italy has been minimal.

Third, Gregor’s verdict that between 1922 and 1938 fascist racism was “essentially benign” (p. 193) takes no account of the work of a number of scholars (e.g. S. Robert Wistrich, Sergio DellaPergola, and Ruth Ben-Ghiat) that places the infamous antisemitic race laws that Mussolini’s regime promulgated in 1938 in a more sinister light by uncovering their debt to powerful indigenous currents of racism within Italian fascist ideology and policy.

Fascist social and political thought has to be taken seriously, and Gregor is far from being the first scholar to realize this. However, it is also vital that the doctrinal aspect of this thought is correlated to the regime’s utopian goals, to its propaganda, to its expression in mythicized and ritualized forms of politics, and above all to the praxis that resulted from attempts to implement it in the policies it adopted and decisions it took, and to their material consequences for historical events and human lives. The fruits of Italian fascist thought were overshadowed by those of Nazism in the sheer scale of systemic inhumanity committed in the name of a purified race. Nevertheless, Italy’s parallel experiment in creating a new sociopolitical order had by April 1945 also turned out to be a total failure with disastrous social, national, and human consequences, even if Gregor apparently does not consider such issues to lie within his remit. As a contribution to fascist studies, this book is thus reminiscent of a once busy sea port whose imposing buildings still stand as proud symbols of its former importance, but that now finds itself landlocked in splendid isolation some miles inland.

ROGER GRIFFIN

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STEFANO LUCONI and GUIDO TINTORI. *L’ombra lunga del fascio: Canali di propaganda fascista per gli “italiani d’America.”* Milan: M&B Publishing. 2004. Pp. 154. €17.00.

No admirer of the Duce, Italian émigré historian Gaetano Salvemini defined the Italian dictator as a “propaganda genius” with a profound understanding of media power, and favorably compared Benito Mussolini’s efforts and results in this field to Adolf Hitler’s. This slim volume of essays by Stefano Luconi and Guido Tintori both confirms and complicates the issue. Mussolini and his advisors actively used media to reach Italian American communities across the Atlantic. The reason was simple: the Duce and his advisors knew well

that Italian American communities played a relevant role in the political balance of many states vital to the New Deal coalition. If they could be enticed to support fascism, Italian Americans' electoral weight could keep in check the antifascist elements of the FDR administration.

This said, the authors find that, compared with the well-oiled Nazi propaganda machine, fascist propagandists were perennially underfunded and lacked coordination. Headed by Ugo Veniero D'Annunzio, the son of the fascist poet laureate Gabriele D'Annunzio, the Italian Library of Information (ILI, the subject of Tintori's first essay) was supposed to diffuse material favorable to the regime and promote tours by profascist lecturers. ILI, however, never had the funds that Germany, or Great Britain, made available to their propagandists in the United States. When it was closed down in July 1941, ILI had accomplished none of the goals it had been set up to achieve.

Tintori's second essay tells of the regime's hapless efforts to distribute fascist newsreels and documentaries in the U.S. Italian authorities were distrustful of non-Italian American distribution circuits, but the *paesani* they did choose to distribute their films were always unreliable and often connected to the mob. When the Italo-Ethiopian war and, later, the beginning of the European conflict made the distribution of newsreels urgently necessary, fascists were generally unwilling to air mail their material, relying instead on much slower ground and sea routes. Consequently, fascist newsreels arrived too late to be of use, while pro-Nazi propaganda was regularly updated. Radio efforts were not better. The regime was unable to operate a short-wave broadcast station until July 1930. Appropriate investment in money and technology came only in the aftermath of the Ethiopian campaign. In his essay, Luconi suggests that the intensifying of fascist radio efforts during the Ethiopian war may have borne some fruit since Italian-American contributions to the Italian Red Cross increased. He acknowledges, however, that fascist propaganda among Italian Americans had little effect (p. 143).

If they suggest that the regime's propaganda efforts were haphazard and ineffective, Luconi and Tintori are also convinced that this failure ultimately did not matter. Italian Americans by and large supported the fascist regime, even when it became involved in its more murderous enterprises. The authors suggest that the reasons for this loyalty have less to do with fascism's goals and propaganda efforts than with the situation of Italian Americans. The victims of discrimination in the preceding decades, Italian Americans saw fascism, and especially the Duce, as a welcome source of ethnic pride. In doing so, they were encouraged by the praise bestowed on Mussolini by many influential, and thoroughly American, personalities like U.S. Ambassador Breckinridge Long. Italian American support of fascism was, however, somewhat superficial. The Little Italies of the United States chose Italy over Ethiopia in

1935, but after the U.S. entered the conflict they almost immediately sided with their host country.

The title of this book promises an analysis of the "Fascist propaganda channels for Italian Americans." As valuable as they are as individual articles, these three essays are far from living up to the title's pledge. Boggled down by a bulky and yet not entirely exhaustive footnote apparatus (thirty-four pages of notes out of a total of 154), the essays leave many issues unexplored. For example, the roles of the press and of Italian fiction films in Italian American communities are not engaged, and absent also is any discussion of gender differences in the reception of radio and other media. Furthermore, in the 1930s fascist intellectuals were not the only ones to think in terms of media policy, but this important transnational debate is not examined.

These are major flaws for the book, yet they do not necessarily detract from the value of each of the three essays as partial contributions to the history of Italian Americans and of fascist propaganda in the United States. These articles are thought provoking and engage important historical issues harking to current debates concerning the permanence or waning of ethnic identities after the Johnson Reed Act of 1924 or the centrality of the Italian-Ethiopian war in the history of fascism and the history of Italian American communities. It is too bad, however, that three good, separate, essays a complete book do not make.

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BENJAMIN FROMMER. *National Cleansing: Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 20.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 387. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$26.99.

Benjamin Frommer's book captures the furor and intensity of the immediate post-World War II period, when Czechs went after their own. After six years under occupation, the act of punishing collaborators cut deep into the social fabric. A retribution decree drafted in London by the exile government mandated summary justice: no option for appeal, execution within three hours of a verdict, and harsh sentences for lesser crimes. Before February 1948, over 686 defendants had been executed. The Great Decree of June 1945 established twenty-four Extraordinary People's Courts with a judge plus four "people's judges" drawn from the four political parties of the coalition government. 32,000 people were tried by People's Courts and another 135,000 defendants went before local courts. In 1946 the Small Decree indicted another 179,896 by lowering the burden of proof and criminalizing offences against "national honor." The prosecution of collaboration was intertwined with ethnic cleansing, which Frommer notes blurred the legal distinction between nation and state. Dual citizenship, German club membership, or cross-ethnic love affairs became potentially criminal. The deportation of ethnic Germans preempted many of

these trials and moved the already convicted from jail cells to trains.

Frommer captures the injustice as well as the essential justice of the trials. A tremendous evil had been perpetrated on Czech society. The simultaneous turn to collective punishment was a tragic continuation of war-time ethnic cleansing. Frommer establishes convincingly that the most egregious aspects of summary justice were not the work of the communists, thus correcting the tendency to conflate the communist show trials with the war crimes trials that preceded the February 1948 communist takeover. The twisted social climate of denunciation weakened the sense of legal due process in a democratic republic, removing some obstacles to Stalinization.

Once the Sudeten Germans were removed, the public enthusiasm for trials waned. The book begins with high intensity and gradually peters out, reflecting the process Frommer is describing. "Retribution fatigue set in": spectator galleries emptied out, sentences became lighter, and ever more ended in acquittals. Only 46,422 people were ultimately convicted under the Small Decree. Too often, cases reaching the lower courts were vendettas of neighbor against neighbor or simply ugly divorces. Frommer punctures the cliché of a female proclivity for denunciation. Men were more likely to denounce and be arrested for it, but women who were convicted were more likely to be accused of denunciation.

After more than 100 hangings and six months of minnows in the dock, finally the Prague National Court began trying the big fish in 1946. Three generals, seven journalists, and several Czech fascist leaders received death sentences. But the court moved warily against the old elite and issued no death sentences to any key Protectorate officials. In Hungary, as elsewhere, the pattern was reversed. High-profile trials began in Budapest before the war had ended in the West, followed by People's Court trials that were largely scorned as a product of "Jewish revenge." The "Jewish question" is the elephant in the closet in this book. Two-thirds of Czech Jewry and virtually all Roma had perished. In line with the stance of postwar regimes, the only reference in the Great Decree to the Holocaust is to the crime of "racial enrichment." Unfortunately, Frommer does not free himself from the categories and formulas of his sources to fully examine this question. In one-to-two-paragraph vignettes taken from trial records, he provides tantalizing examples of testimony from survivors or about camp guards and other perpetrators. Czech People's Court judges were also taken from the resistance and survivors. The court venue for redress probably eased reintegration for some survivors, but a process of justice anchored by ethnic cleansing in the name of nation building was problematic.

Frommer's book is based on the Czech archives. He did not examine the Slovak trials (which operated differently) or Slovakia's incomplete ethnic cleansing of its Hungarian minority. With the states now separated, this is certainly understandable, but it also handicaps

our understanding of the process of "nationalizing the state" of Czechoslovakia. Frommer's book is the first in what promises to be a flurry of new work mining the now available records of the war crimes tribunals in Central/Eastern Europe after World War II. The Czech decision to open its archives to American scholars has borne fruit in this study of the political and personal ramifications of war crimes trials—something Hungarian privacy policies have thwarted.

Frommer's study reminds us of a period of trauma and hope wedged between the aftermath of war and the communist seizure of power. The trials satisfied a need for justice; they healed, but they also purged, purified, and were intertwined in the sorry saga of ethnic cleansing. Frommer's study provides a valuable model for future researchers in its emphasis on the People's Courts rather than the high-profile trials, as well as some cautionary evidence for scholars focused on the second wave of war crimes trials under communist rule.

ALICE FREIFELD
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ROUMEN DASKALOV. *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 286. \$47.95.

Roumen Daskalov's book breaks new ground. It is unusual in the East European field in that it offers a thorough historiographical review, peppered with theoretical analysis, on one discrete period in a nation's history: namely the period of the Bulgarian national revival, ca. 1778–1878. Daskalov sheds needed light on this period via his foray into the uses and misuses of history by Bulgarian historians since 1878.

The Bulgarian national revival is a phenomenon that has received little attention in Western scholarship, although it has played a central role in Bulgarian historical writing and national imaginings. Here as elsewhere in the East European field, the "little country" problem has resulted in a paucity of sources and hence discussion within Anglo-American academia. In Bulgarian, however, there is a great deal of scholarship, much of it constrained by the communist period and its intellectual hangover. In spite of such constraints, this literature is rich with important and interesting debates, particularly given the flood of corrective scholarship since 1989.

This is precisely what makes Daskalov's work so appealing and useful. He makes the body of Bulgarian scholarship accessible to those who do not read the language, while synthesizing and analyzing it for those who do. When appropriate, he weaves the perspectives of Western historians into the narrative, but the book is really about the work of Bulgarians and the misuses of history in service of national regimes. As Daskalov claims, the primary problem with scholarship on the so-called revival period is that the period is wholly sanctified, even to this day. Bulgarian emotional attachment to the heroes and events of the period has been det-

rimental to the uncovering of “truths” about the era in question.

The author’s focus, perhaps surprisingly, is on the historical works of the communist period. Indeed, Daskalov spends perhaps more time than needed sifting through the minor shifts and hair-splitting of communist-era historians over economic and social issues, class categories, and Marxist analyses of revival heroes and events. There are places in the text where such ruminations become as tedious as the communist-era works themselves. But, as if in premeditated response, Daskalov openly apologizes for so much attention paid to “biased and dogmatic” views that are “antiquated and overcome” (p. 217). He convincingly points out that communist-era scholarship provides “archeological evidence” for understanding the molding of historical memory. In addition, he argues that communist-period historians engaged in nuanced debates on the subject since the 1970s that in some cases was tantamount to academic dissent. Class conflict, for example, was muted and then eventually thrown out as an organizing paradigm. And while the nationalist-minded regime of Todor Zhivkov eventually endorsed such a shift, historians seem to have initiated such changes in opposition to official dictates.

Daskalov’s discussion of postcommunist revisionism, although sparse, does offer some insights into the kind of rewriting of the history of the revival that is long in coming. In the postcommunist period, the revival, as Daskalov points out, is still sacrosanct and popular views have been slow to change. Having said that, there is a small group of Bulgarian scholars—Daskalov among them—that is treading heavily on sacred ground. Some are openly exploring the rifts, crises, failures, and animosities in the actions and actors of the Bulgarian revival. This includes a desanctification of the hallowed heroes, who apparently used terror to raise money for their cause. Such changes, however, are present mainly in academic studies, not textbooks, and have not necessarily filtered down to the Bulgarian public.

Perhaps the most interesting moments in the text—though in short supply—are Daskalov’s own profound insights on the revival period and Bulgarian historical writing in general. For example, he rejects the periodization of Bulgarian history that tends to lean on or to draw parallels with West European history: Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, etc. Instead he delves into the question of Bulgaria’s “missing Modernity” and “self-colonizing inferiority complex” that have driven the need for historians to justify or compensate for Bulgaria’s inadequacies (pp. 44–45). Such introspection on Bulgarian history is hard to come by in any language, and Daskalov’s contributions are much appreciated. One only wishes that he had spent more time on such insightful analyses and less time on recounting the clumsy failings and debate shifts of communist authors.

MARY NEUBURGER
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ROBERT P. GERACI. *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 389. \$52.50.

Since 2001, when this book was published, nation and empire-building have emerged as important topics in the historiography of imperial Russia. Western and Eurasian scholars are publishing rigorously researched articles and monographs, richly informed by archival documents, with some of the most interesting work appearing in new journals, such as the bilingual Russian-English *Ab Imperio*. Robert P. Geraci fits squarely into this growth industry, and indeed, has helped to build it, as both this monograph under review and the author’s co-edited volume, with Michael Khodarkovsky, on religion and empire (2001) attest. The works of Geraci, Khodarkovsky, and other scholars such as Daniel Brower, Nathaniel Knight, Theodore Weeks, and Paul Werth, to name a few, are bringing local and regional knowledge to bear in assessments of Russia’s identity as nation and as empire in the eighteenth through early twentieth centuries.

Like most other books in this genre, Geraci’s focus is on Russians, even though the setting is Russia’s “East” (mostly defined here by the Middle Volga region, centered in the city of Kazan). His purpose is to investigate “the history of Russian nationality” (p. 11), with a focus on Russians’ “consciousness of the empire’s ethnic diversity and attempts to lessen it” (p. vii) through “methods of cultural integration” (p. 7) or assimilation. One of the major accomplishments of the book is its demonstration of the profound extent to which Russians measured their identity against non-Russians; in both the capital St. Petersburg and in Kazan, Russians put enormous effort into the task of understanding, educating, and potentially assimilating the non-Russian Others (both Muslims and converted Christians), thereby refining a sense of their own individual, national, and imperial identities.

The first third of the book concentrates on strategies of Russification employed within the Orthodox Church. Nikolai Il’minskii, missionary and educator, looms large in this section and indeed throughout the book. Il’minskii’s method and entire system of providing religious schools for non-Russian Orthodox Christians in their own languages, with teachers eventually drawn from the native populations, was supported at the imperial level until after Il’minskii’s death (1891) as a way to keep these peoples within the Orthodox fold. For Il’minskii and his supporters, at issue was how to make non-Russians sufficiently “Russian” that they would not join the ranks of apostates to Islam. Il’minskii did little work directly to challenge Islamic learning or Islam as a faith (he believed the best approach was to ignore the Muslims by, for example, not providing their communities with funding or personnel for schools), but his colleague Father Evfimii Malov adopted sophisticated anti-Islamic polemics as the best strategy for preventing “Tatarization” and promoting Russification. Geraci’s analysis of the two men and the schools that their views

inspired gives us a fascinating version of the larger “debate on the meaning of ‘Russianness’” (p. 116) of the 1860s–1890s.

The scholarly and amateur study of the peoples of the Middle Volga region and the impact that study had on policies of cultural integration is the focus of the middle third of Geraci’s book. Here he demonstrates how important were Kazan University and local scholarly societies to the orientalist project of categorizing and ultimately knowing the peoples that made the empire so culturally diverse. But much more than that, Geraci conveys an excellent sense of the contested scholarly and legal arenas in which Russians applied this knowledge in the interests of “lessening” the empire’s diversity.

The final third of the book analyzes the rightward shift in assimilationist politics in the early twentieth century, a period that saw support for the Il’minskii system wane considerably. In the least successful, although potentially the most provocative, chapter of the book (chapter eight), Geraci analyzes Russian responses to the vibrant Muslim jadidist reform movement; the responses were variously antagonistic, orientaling or, interestingly, inspiring of similar reforms for Russia itself, especially within the church. While the notion that the movement of renewal within Russia’s Muslim community could inspire church leaders to pursue their own versions of cultural reform is fascinating in itself, Geraci could just as effectively have made the point without his long, superficial descriptions of jadid discourse and activism. Alternatively, the chapter could very fruitfully be expanded into a longer study that adds the voices of Tatar reformers and their views of the empire’s cultural policies.

The last chapter is symbolic of many issues that Geraci takes on throughout the book: it offers a mini-biography of the linguist and ethnographer of Russia’s “eastern” peoples, Nikolai Katanov, whose “hybrid identity” as Christian and ethnically non-Russian imposed barriers to his professional advancement. The conditions and attitudes that made full professional and personal integration into Russia’s scholarly world impossible for Katanov are as complex and diverse as are the era’s conceptualizations of Russianness, a conclusion that this rich and challenging book brings us so convincingly to recognize.

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JULIE A. BUCKLER. *Mapping St. Petersburg: Imperial Text and Cityscape*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. 364. \$35.00.

Julie A. Buckler takes up a well-worn topic—the cultural history of nineteenth-century St. Petersburg—but aims to give it a new twist. She contends that previous scholars and commentators have tended to pass off myth as analysis. Contrasting the city’s grand imperial public spaces with its squalid lower depths, they have

taken the city to be apocalyptic, sepulchral, utopian, or hallucinatory, all the while relying on a relatively small number of canonical writings. In Buckler’s view, the culture of St. Petersburg was much messier and more diverse than these interpretations allow. Her book is designed to explore Petersburg’s amorphous cultural “middle” in three main ways. First, in its chronology: Buckler concentrates on the period 1830–1890 (although she has plenty to say about earlier and later periods as well), which has often been rushed over by cultural historians as a nondescript interlude between the Pushkinian Golden Age and the glamorous modernist era. Second, in its effort to bring to the fore noncanonical writings. Third, in its methodology: Buckler argues for resonances between the city as a lived space and built environment and the city as a written text. As she takes her spatial and literary stroll through Petersburg, she wants her gaze to remain at eye level instead of wandering to the skyline or sinking to the cellars and grimy pavements.

The book starts with a chapter on printed discussion of Petersburg architecture. It makes the case that the term “eclecticism” has been used as an ungainly—and, since the second half of the nineteenth century, largely derogatory—catch-all for architectural phenomena that cannot be pigeonholed as “classical” or “modern.” The second chapter adopts eclecticism as an analytical tool for discussing various written depictions of the city in the same period. The third chapter shows interaction between guidebooks and material more readily identified as “literary.” In the fourth chapter, Buckler takes up the intriguing subject of urban legends, dwelling particularly on the connections between oral and literary culture. The remaining chapters discuss the literary treatment of three broad themes: the relationship between the public ceremonial center of the city and its various margins and hinterlands (slums, dachas, suburbs, factory districts); the arrival and adaptation of provincials in the big city; and memorialization (with particular reference to cemeteries and toponyms).

This book should perhaps come with a small health warning for historians. Taking as axiomatic the notion that writing is on a higher plane than other objects of study, it offers above all a self-referential discussion of a corpus of printed words. It evinces little interest in the circumstances in which these words were produced and received. A notable example comes when we are informed that Petr Chaadaev shifted in the 1830s from a negative to a positive assessment of Russia’s cultural eclecticism (pp. 32–33). Only in an obliquely phrased endnote are we reminded that Chaadaev was declared insane and placed under house arrest after the publication of his “First Philosophical Letter” in 1836, a fact that may conceivably have had something to do with his change of heart (p. 260). Equally, Buckler’s notion of the Petersburg “middle” is resolutely abstract. She cites the relevant scholarly literature on the increasing diversity and dynamism of urban life in late tsarist Russia but does not dwell on it or add to it. As the book’s purpose lies primarily in the descriptive analysis of texts, it

sometimes seems to lack direction. Moments of analytical closure are provided largely by references to the theorists who patrol the borderlands between cultural studies and urban geography.

All this is not to deny that the book has value. It offers a useful, thematically organized synthesis of interesting writings on St. Petersburg, many of them otherwise inaccessible to anglophone readers. It flags a couple of themes—orality and memory—that deserve further investigation in Russian studies. It contains thoughtful and skilful treatments of literary works. Yet, even on its own terms, the book fails to deliver in some crucial respects. Its source base is not as noncanonical, nor its methodology as innovative, as the author claims. Although Buckler acknowledges that the daily or near-daily press was the main medium for the literary and societal “middle,” her endnotes contain only a handful of references to newspaper articles (and she has clearly come to all of them via the work of other scholars). In other words, there is no firm evidence in this book that Buckler has ever held in her hands a nineteenth-century newspaper, let alone read widely in the press. For a book on the written culture of the nineteenth-century city, this is a staggering omission.

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GREGORY CARLETON. *Sexual Revolution in Bolshevik Russia*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2005. Pp. x, 272. \$34.95.

The sexual revolution that accompanied the Russian Revolution is notorious, but until recently it has been known more by reputation than by serious academic study. That situation is changing with the opening of once-sequestered sources, and a turn to previously tabooed topics. Gregory Carleton's intriguing book makes an important contribution to the history of Russian sexualities.

Nonspecialists might be surprised by the range of sources on early Soviet sexuality. Carleton's book follows a trail blazed by Richard Stites, Igor Kon, Eric Naiman, and Frances L. Bernstein to exploit official commentaries, sociological surveys, medical literature, fiction and literary criticism, journal debates, and archives giving voice to Soviet Russia's fevered “sexual question” in the 1920s. Carleton aims to show “how the sexual revolution was written and received in Bolshevik culture, with a focus on the mainstream press and the proletarian, Komsomol [Communist Youth] and party voices” (p. 11). He also wants “to reconstruct a fuller picture of what circulated in literary culture and why” (p. 17) and to assess its reception by “average readers and critics” who have received less attention from historians. The book's project is thus narrower than its title might suggest.

Yet Carleton's book delivers eight chapters of vivid material. Beginning with ideological and medical views of revolutionary sexual values, he argues that for those

who led the new society, in sexual matters “unanimity of purpose was conspicuously absent” (p. 51). The Bolsheviks, having implemented radical sexual legislation nevertheless owed a “debt to the past that was never fully acknowledged” (p. 75). Revolutionaries and official experts vacillated between a prim ultra-moralism and a faith in sexual freedom. Komsomol leaders debated whether Marxism dictated “when to go to bed, what leisure activities were proper, or how many dates one could have” (p. 102). Fiction (artistically weak, but attracting readers) fueled critical debates that intensified after 1926; that year saw not only the infamous Chubarov Alley gang rape in Leningrad (discussed by Naiman) but an uproar over sex-themed literature that appeared in print, with the imprimatur of editors keen to recapture readers, and the blessing of a chaotic and understaffed censorship (p. 135).

In chapters exploring sexual themes in Soviet literary politics, Carleton argues that radical Young Guardists sponsored a more sensitive portrayal of sex (“psychologism,” the so-called “living person”), against an ideological orthodoxy that wanted accessible fiction anticipating socialist realism in its programmatic hero worship (pp. 141–143). Yet authors continued to develop a “canon of ambiguity,” using sex to explore “one's identity and one's place after the revolution” (p. 171). In particular, women's identities as sexual agents contradicted orthodox hopes that fiction could be populated by “iron virgins”; authors persisted in favoring “more dramatic femmes fatales and psychologically complex suicide victims”—hardly icons of a new order (p. 191). It was only in the 1930s that these impulses were finally suppressed by “orthodox critics and their party supporters.” Their triumph brought an end to a decade of debate and ambiguity; they saw themselves purging literature of “pessimism, passivity, psychologism, ignorance of the collective, absence of a Marxist approach, dysfunctional families, pornography” and the demons of Sigmund Freud, Leon Trotsky, and their associated theories (p. 220).

These arguments are perhaps advanced too gently in the body of the work; undergraduates may struggle to seize significance among the many readings of surveys, debates, and fictional plots. The conclusion sets out Carleton's central thesis: that scholars of the sexual revolution, whether “totalitarians” (Mikhail Stern, Kon) or “postmodernists” (Naiman), have emphasized the Bolshevik Party as the grand engineer of sexuality-as-instrument-of-control, either to repress it in the totalitarian model or to incite sexuality as a discursive power field (the postmodernist view). Carleton argues that revolutionaries shared a common core of platitudes but disagreed about what to do about this aspect of everyday life. Controversies were not “incited” for Machiavellian purposes but were historical accidents. Some readers may nevertheless wonder if all actors in this drama were not bound by modernist conventions about sexual speech that dovetailed, ultimately, with the Bolsheviks' modernizing aspirations.

What historians will welcome here is the emphasis on

the messiness of Bolshevik thinking about sexuality. It was never a first or even a second-rank priority in the ideological canon. The party found itself surprised and divided by sexual issues, and it was surprisingly willing to debate them in the 1920s. Carleton's book brings this exciting uncertainty to the foreground for a new generation. Surprising in a work that strains to historicize its subject are some apparently anachronistic translation choices: did A. Timofeev speak of "gender" in 1926, or of sex (p. 65)? Israel Gelman could not have used the phrase "gay man" in 1923 (p. 78). The lack of a bibliography is also disappointing. Despite these quibbles, Carleton's admirable book provokes many questions and will doubtless incite others to more discourse on the sexual revolution.

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JUDITH DEUTSCH KORNBLOTT. *Doubly Chosen: Jewish Identity, the Soviet Intelligentsia, and the Russian Orthodox Church*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 203. \$29.95.

A disproportionate part of the post-Stalinist Russian intelligentsia, especially in Moscow and Petersburg, was born Jewish, but like members of other ethnic groups in Soviet Russia, allied itself completely with the Russian majority. During the 1960s, the young counterculture set took to religion, meditation, and Zen Buddhism, most ultimately fixing upon Christianity. There was a feeling among members of this group that the Soviet system was destroying Russia, its land, and its values. Loyal to an idiosyncratic idea of the Russian tradition that emerged from readings of Russia's religious thinkers, they linked up with the only institution that seemed to combine integrity with Russianness: the Russian Orthodox Church. It was a church that was itself being persecuted, though selectively; there was a patriarch who was virtually a state employee. But the church was ideologically permissive and responsive to Jewish converts. (Nor did Judaism, which meant little or nothing to these converts, stand in their way.)

The story of the spiritual tensions and hopes of this and the next generation of Russian Jewish converts to Christianity has found a sympathetic spokesperson in Judith Deutsch Kornblatt. Basing her book on thirty-five interviews with converts on three continents, Kornblatt inquires about identity and spiritual purpose. What is the identity of a Jewish Christian living in Israel? What do these people signify both for the church and the Jewish people? In their answers, the name of the Russian philosopher, Vladimir Solov'ev arises a number of times. Solov'ev (1847–1900), an ecumenical and philosemitic thinker, believed in the unity of all mankind through the intercession and conversion of the Jews to Christianity.

"Doubly chosen," in the sense that Kornblatt uses the term, refers to the way that Christian faith has made these individuals more appreciative of their Jewish

background and given rise to a desire to achieve a utopian goal: to renew Christianity, perfect Judaism, and realize Solov'ev's idea of total unity of all being. It should be said that these individuals cleanse church doctrine from antisemitism; their views are in many senses an imagination of what the church *should* be.

The reader senses an apologetic intention. In her introduction, Kornblatt explains what motivated her to write the book. She describes her training as a scholar of Russian Orthodoxy, its religious doctrine, theologians, and thinkers. As if searching to understand the mystery of her own being, she wonders: "What scholarly, or other, fascination did I find in the icons and liturgy of the Russian Orthodox Church? Was this an occupation, after all, for a good Jewish girl?" (pp. ix-x). Kornblatt answers that questions of religious interpenetration can deepen understanding of one's own tradition and identity. In her case, they have made her a more profound Jew. But she also expresses great appreciation for the ideals of universal harmony, the unification of mankind, the idea of internal freedom and personal joy found in Russian Orthodoxy, at least as Solov'ev understood it. These ideals apparently motivated many of her interviewees to convert to Christianity.

Although her open affection for her "clients," as she affectionately calls them in one place, may put off the Jewish reader, Kornblatt emphasizes that these converts are not contemptible or opportunistic apostates. In fact, they reflect something universal, the experience of contemporary religious life grounded in freedom, self-definition, and ideological unorthodoxy. Almost all of us, if we practice religion at all, do so according to personal dictates rather than blindly following tradition. Russian-Jewish Christians, implicitly an oddity, are not as weird as we might think.

As a historian, however, I wondered about the extent of the movement. Was it limited to a few hundred individuals in Russia, Israel, and the United States, and if the group numbered fewer than a thousand members, what overall significance did it or will it have? I also wished that the book had more to say about the Soviet Jewish intelligentsia in its historical context. Scholars interested in the religious dimension of the Soviet dissident movement or in the ideas of the theologian, Alexander Men', the converts' spiritual father, must seek enlightenment elsewhere.

Nevertheless, I liked this book and found several testimonies incredibly powerful. Clearly these converts have internalized and are living out the ideas of the Russian philosophers whom Kornblatt admires. The book speaks on behalf of those who live by ideas in the Russian way, since in their religious fervor they fight a "ceaseless battle for a better future" (p. 116).

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

CARTER VAUGHN FINDLEY. *The Turks in World History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 300. Cloth \$45.00, paper 19.95.

Carter Vaughn Findley's book is one of the most noteworthy achievements in recent years and a very welcome and needed contribution to Turkish and Turkic studies. Anyone who is directly involved in teaching a survey course in English on the "Turks," and their rich and various traditions and civilizations, must know the scholarly and pedagogical pain of collecting available publications on the subject, the arduous process of filtering these valuable but linguistically and methodologically not-so-accessible publications for the consumption of undergraduate and graduate students. As Findley states in the introduction, the idea of writing such a work, free from academic jargon and highly technical discourse, first came to mind when he was a graduate student. In the way the book is organized and presented (I am especially impressed and pleased with Findley's straightforward but colorful and playful language), it may indeed be targeting "nonspecialists," but it will be read and consulted by many "specialists" as well. The story of the "Turks," from their pre-Islamic, nomadic times to their glorious and powerful Islamic empires, and to their encounter with Western ideas and ideals, is masterfully presented in a single and accessible volume accompanied by specially generated maps and pictures.

No book is perfect, and the one at hand is no exception. Some of its shortcomings originate from the fact that no one single scholar can thoroughly research and completely digest the scholarly data on such an enormous subject; it requires multiple scholars covering different parts of the so-called Turkic world. Findley acknowledges this throughout the book. When a great majority of Turkic-speaking peoples do not embrace the generic identity marker "Turk" in defining their vastly different cultures and civilizations (Uzbek, Kazak, Kirgiz, Chuvash, and the like), a single book on the "Turks" might find itself wrapped in ideological and methodological impossibilities. For a long time many Turkish and Turkic historians struggled to create a pan-Turkist ideal to define and unite all the "Turks" of the world. Indeed, the book itself provides much valuable information on this quasi-fascist agenda, and needless to say, Findley is not even remotely close to accepting or following such unhealthy approaches. Nevertheless, attempting to write a book of this nature and naming it *The Turks in World History*, may suggest commonalities that may not in fact exist or be accepted within the various and vastly different communities themselves.

Many of the conclusions put forth in this book will not satisfy everyone and indeed should be viewed as a matter of difference in interpretation, which is what serious scholarship requires. For example, in regard to Turkey's possible European Union membership and the Islamist government in power, Findley makes an analogy between Germany's Christian Democrat Party

and Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP), defining or endorsing the definition of AKP as a "moderate Islamic party." He continues by saying that "the radical secularism of the early republic might not be Turkey's only route into modernity after all" (p. 218). Other conclusions, such as his statement that "the main motive [of the Turkish alphabet reform] was to make the Ottoman-Islamic thought world inaccessible to the children of the republic" (p. 207), are more problematic and give the present reviewer the impression that they were accepted as "proven facts" by the author and his sources.

This may again come from the weight of such a huge scholarly endeavor, but there are also some statements in the book that are simply not correct. To give but one example, Findley writes: "Little survives in writing from the fourteenth-century Ottomans; no doubt the bubonic plague is greatly to blame. Thereafter, they would create the most important of all Turkic literary cultures" (p. 75). However tempting it might be to explain the lack of extant writing from any Ottoman century through the supposed effects of the bubonic plague, this assertion cannot be applied to the fourteenth century, as we have copious literary works from that era, some of which have already been deciphered and published, and others that are still in manuscript form.

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DINA LE GALL. *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandīs in the Ottoman World, 1450–1700*. (SUNY Series in Medieval Middle East History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 285. \$45.00.

Although the scholarship of the last three decades has addressed the history of the Naqshbandi sufi *tariqa* order (which originated in Transoxania and eventually extended to the Balkans, Anatolia, Arabia, India, China, and Indonesia), "(o)ne phase that remains almost entirely ignored is that of the early Ottoman Naqshbandiyya (ca. 1450–1700)" (p. 3). Dina Le Gall rightly insists on the necessity of studying this period with the aim of examining it on its own terms as a discrete history, rather than an extension of Naqshbandiyya of Transoxiana (thirteenth through fifteenth centuries). Nor should it be viewed as a product of retrospective modern reading, or in terms of a general development across continents. Le Gall proposes an ambitious agenda "to gain a better understanding of Naqshbandi history and of the workings of pre-modern tariqas and . . . window into Ottoman society and culture and into aspects of the less well known 'middle Ottoman centuries'" (p. 4). The results of this experiment are mixed.

The author argues that the Naqshbandi order had some appeal to the Ottoman higher *ilmiye* (religious), but that it had a greater following among the lesser *ilmiye* and the urban public. Like other sufi *tariqas*, it attracted a wide audience whose members appreciated the Naqshbandi's "devotional sobriety and *shari'a* abi-

dance" (p. 65). (A variation on this expression is repeated throughout the text as a formula for representing the special and specific character of this order, which also insisted on silent *zîkr*). She then discusses the organizational and cultural patterns of the Naqshbandiyya, with an account of the less formal *murshid* (or guide) for disciples. The order displayed a "linguistic adaptability . . . a knack for dissemination of Persian culture" (especially exemplified by reading Rumi's *Masnavi*) and, in her view, became "instruments of cultural transmission and integration" (p. 157).

In support of her study, Le Gall uses mainly general, printed dictionaries (*Osmanli Muelefleri*, *Hadikatul-Cevami'*, *Sicil-i Osmani*), manuals and some manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish. These dictionaries and encyclopedias tend to be mostly perfunctory in their information. Many represent retrospective readings by these author(s) and lack a systematic, historical constructions of either the biographies concerned or historical information about mosques and endowments that are central to her project. A prosopographic study of the members of the order for the early and middle Ottoman periods would have offered a more useful profile of the background, personal history, and affiliations of those who found the Naqshbandi order attractive. Since membership in multiple orders was not restricted, what factors were involved in choosing the Naqshbandiyya? Along with other changes that took place in society, Le Gall could have coordinated change over time, in appeal with different, emerging social actors. The period discussed spans over two hundred years; were there any changes in recruitment to the order, and what factors affected them?

Although Le Gall is aware that the middle period of Ottoman history experienced major social, political, and economic changes, none of these appear in the construction of the social contexts of her study. For example, the Ottoman economy was shifting from one based on *timar-ziamet* (feudal) exploitation of the land to an incipient economy based on money. This coincided with commensurate bureaucratic and political transformations. Greater social mobility was achieved, and new social groups were entering government service and the *ilmiye*. It is these changes in Ottoman society that coincide with the reconfiguration of cultural institutions such as the sufi orders. The Naqshbandi must have participated in these changes. Were there discernible changes in those who found the Naqshbandi order attractive? Would it not be important, in a discussion of Naqshbandiyya cultural production, to consider their educational theories, which suggest an awareness of developmental psychology, wherein the shaykhs would have shepherded adepts in the ways of the *tariqa* depending on their age and levels of comprehension?

These questions should be taken to indicate a direction for further research that considers cultural change

as a function of social and political transformations in Ottoman history.

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JOHN M. VANDERLIPPE. *The Politics of Turkish Democracy: İsmet İnönü and the Formation of the Multi-Party System, 1938–1950*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. 271. \$70.00.

John M. VanderLippe's study is as timely as it is contributory to scholarly research on the vital period of Turkey's history and politics that it covers. The formation of multiparty systems has been nearly absent from among majoritarian Muslim countries in the post-World War II era.

The author demonstrates that Turkey's multiparty system had its origins in the confluence of global, geopolitical, and regional developments that influenced its domestic politics. Turkey had established a staunch authoritarian system under the rule of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1923–1938). When Atatürk, known as the Eternal Leader, died in 1938, he was replaced by his former foreign minister and long-time associate, İsmet İnönü, who, by adopting the title National Leader, indicated that he would and wanted to continue the Eternal Leader's authoritarian one-party (Republican People's Party, or RPP) system.

İnönü's accession to power coincided with the outbreak of World War II. Turkey's prior experiences with European countries, resulting in the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire and the bitter struggle of Turkish nationalists to establish a republic in 1923, impelled İnönü to pursue a policy of neutrality, which he thought required the continuance of one-party rule. Post-World War II developments compelled İnönü to change his policies, if not his mind. For one thing, Turkey became a member of the United Nations, aligned with the United States, and was a recipient of Truman Doctrine aid. VanderLippe shows the close relationship between Turkey's domestic and foreign policies when he points out that on the same day (July 12, 1947) that Turkey and the United States signed a treaty of assistance, İnönü also made a statement, known as the July 12th Declaration, in which he promised continued support for the multiparty experiment (p. 150). It was important, for the principal leaders of the Demokrat Partisi (DP), the main challenger to the RPP, that Turkey's public-sector economy be reduced in favor of an enlarged private sector. By 1950, their argument resonated with a large portion of Turkey's public who also wanted more freedom of expression, religious freedom, less taxes, more schools, better roads, and electricity. This combination of interests brought the DP to power in 1950.

VanderLippe's study is much more a history than a biography of İsmet İnönü. For the latter readers will have to consult Metin Heper's, *İsmet İnönü: The Making of a Turkish Statesman* (1998). VanderLippe argues

that it was not the proclivity or democratic ideas of İnönü that compelled him to acquiesce to the formation of a multiparty system, but the “realities” of postwar developments and İnönü’s belief in the inevitability of war between the Soviet bloc and the Western Allies. His political opponents shared this “reality,” but they demanded that İnönü and the RPP allow the DP to function as a legitimate political party in return for its support of the RPP’s pro-West and pro-American policies. İnönü did not like the DP demands or ideas, but he acquiesced to the new political “realities.” VanderLippe’s study also shows that the circumstances in which Turkey’s multiparty system developed are unique, and that Turkey’s experience cannot easily be a model for other Muslim countries.

This is a first-rate study that uses abundant Turkish sources to fill a needed spot in the lacunae of Turkey’s historiography. It will be a valuable source for upper-division and graduate courses.

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LISA POLLARD, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805–1923*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 287. \$24.95.

In 1882, Britain occupied Egypt and insisted that ordinary Egyptians would benefit from enlightened British rule. For the British, the practice of polygamy and the keeping of harems indicated that Egyptian society was morally unsound and in need of British tutelage. This was nothing new: the British made similar arguments to justify British imperial rule in India and Africa, and so did the French in Algeria. What should nationalists do to convince their occupying authorities that they were indeed ready for independence and not in need of their governance? In this engaging book, Lisa Pollard argues that in the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, Egyptian nationalists—men and women alike—sought to counter negative British assessments of Egyptian mores by forming new family arrangements based on monogamous marriages and by running households, schools, and charities along Western lines.

Once in Egypt, however, the British made no attempt to pass laws against polygamy, child marriage, or forced marriage. They did not expand female education. Instead they firmly established British rule and limited the participation of Egyptians in politics. Within a few years, the Egyptian intelligentsia began calling for a liberal constitutional government run by modern Egyptians. To that end Egyptian women should be educated in order to create modern men. Earlier scholars such as Leila Ahmad, Margot Badran, and Beth Baron have argued that Egyptian elites wanted to educate a new generation of women homemakers to create a more promising future for Egyptians, that Egyptian women who came in contact with new European ideas then began to demand more freedom for themselves, and that the

newly founded women’s press stimulated support for the Egyptian nationalist movement and for women’s participation in it. Pollard builds on and adds to the earlier histories by arguing that nationalists called on women to play the central role in the domestic realm. Since the domestic realm was the basis of the political realm, women could not play a role in public life because without them at home the political realm would collapse. This celebration of women’s domestic role was a trap for women who wished to lead active lives outside the home.

Chapter one discusses the Egyptians who traveled to Europe on state missions in the 1820s to 1840s and returned home to write about and to extol the benefits of European domestic arrangements. Chapter two focuses on European travel literature that depicted exotic harems more like *A Thousand and One Nights* than contemporary family life in Egypt. Chapter three argues that British official policies were based on the romantic images of the travel literature despite their obvious divergence from everyday realities. Chapter four shows how late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Egyptian teachers’ manuals, syllabi, and textbooks for children idealized European-style family arrangements. Chapter five suggests that newspaper articles debating the “woman question” were really calling for the liberation of the Egyptian nation rather than of Egyptian women.

The book is well researched with a few missteps. On page 209, for example, we find a quote from an article entitled “Half a Nation: A Century of Feminism” that appeared in 1995 in the English-language magazine, *al-Ahram Weekly*. The citation notes that the article was edited by Faysa Hassan. The quote will be familiar to readers because it has already appeared on page 7, where the citation references *Feminists, Islam, and Nation* by Margot Badran, who is clearly the author of both. Pollard argues that elite Egyptians began going to the opera, dining in Western-style restaurants, wearing European fashions, decorating their homes with European furnishings, vacationing in Europe, and hiring European nannies to raise their children in order to demonstrate their modernity and fitness for independence. Some of these trends were well underway before the British occupation or not directly connected to the nationalist movement. Khedive Ismail, for example, built the Cairo Opera House in 1869 to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal. Egyptian businessmen needed educated wives to socialize with the wives of their British counterparts. The new ways were in response to complex political, economic, social, and cultural developments. Pollard has clearly demonstrated the importance of the nationalist movement in the transformation of women’s lives, but it is part of the story, not the whole story.

After Egypt won its independence, nationalist men proceeded to write women out of the constitution and to deny them the vote. Egyptian nationalists were following European constitutional models that did not allow European women much participation in political

life. European and Egyptian women realized this, of course, and at times attempted to make common cause, but conflicting national interests and ingrained hierarchies usually prevailed. I would strongly recommend this fascinating book to those interested in gender and empire and in the social history of modern Egypt.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

O HEROI (THE HERO). Directed by Zézé Gamboa. Produced by FERNANDO VENDRELL. Screenplay by Carla Baptista. 2004; color; 97 minutes. Distributed by California Newsreel.

Winner of the Sundance Grand Jury prize for World Cinema, Zézé Gamboa's *O Heroi* is not the story of one decorated, debilitated, and demobilized sergeant but the story of a whole society in the throes of postwar reconstruction. The film shows little of Vitório Silva's wartime actions, except for the flash remembrance of stepping on a land mine, and focuses instead on the daily struggles of a number of characters whose lives intersect with Vitório's in present-day Luanda (Angola's capital).

The film opens with an aerial shot that moves from Luanda's sprawling *musseques* (shantytowns) over the city center and to a basketball court overlooking the shipping port. This visual gesture evokes the history of the slave trade that once dominated this coast and hinterland and embraces the *musseques* and its residents as the soul of the city. The camera shifts to the young boy Manu leaving the basketball court after a mid-game quarrel, then jumps to Vitório at the hospital as he confronts the doctor who amputated his leg but never delivered the promised prosthesis.

The film accompanies Vitório and Manu as their stories converge. Vitório must adjust to his new condition and suffers a series of humiliations, including a foreman at a construction site who tells Vitório he is looking for "normal men" and a prostitute who calls him a *mutilado* (gimp) when he shows her his crutch as a response to her invitation to dance. Seeing that his medals and fatigues mean little in Luanda, Vitório trades his hospital-issued crutch for a cane and cash, with which he purchases jeans and a shirt. Two days later he awakens from a nightmare to find that his prosthesis has been stolen. Manu, who lives with his grandmother because his mother left when he was a baby and his father went to fight in the civil war and has never returned, is torn between school and the street, where his friendships and youthful antics escalate to more serious levels of theft and violence. In exchange for a stolen radio, a mechanic gives Manu the prosthesis.

Three female characters are pivotal: Joana (Manu's teacher), Flora (Manu's grandmother), and Judite (Vitório's girlfriend). All have been affected by the war, Judite the most directly, as she was separated from her

young son when their town was attacked. Joana meets Vitório by chance at the hospital and then dreams up a scheme to help him retrieve his prosthesis. She gets her boyfriend to persuade his uncle, a government minister, to broadcast a radio program in which Vitório will tell his story. The minister then makes a broad appeal for "Angolan solidarity" and uses the opportunity to boost his own public profile (as his nephew argues, "even if they don't vote, popularity is important"). Manu and Flora hear the program. When Flora tucks Manu into bed she stumbles on the prosthesis. Furious, she drags Manu off to the radio station, now empty except for Vitório, to return it to its owner. A few days later, Vitório and Judite dine at Flora and Manu's home. From the rubble of war a new family is formed: Manu finds a father, Judite a son, Flora a son and daughter-in-law, and Vitório a family (in place of the one to which he never said goodbye). And Vitório lands a job as the minister's driver. The film closes with Vitório and Manu driving along the city's bay, followed by a reverse of the opening aerial shot, moving from the coast, over the city and out across the *musseques*.

Gamboa is also a hero. After many years in Europe he has returned home to make a film in and about Angola, where film production was moribund. *O Heroi* is one of three feature-length films filmed in Angola since the end of the war in 2002. While the film's lead characters are all played by foreigners, Milton Coelho, who plays Manu, and the rest of the cast are Angolans. The film showcases Luanda's streets and architecture: the old wooden houses of the working class, the São Miguel fort, the Nazaré church, historic neighborhoods, and contemporary markets. The rich sound track is mostly drawn from the work of a young and much-loved Angolan artist, Paulo Flores, and his 2001 album *Recompasso*.

O Heroi evades the politics of the war and reconciliation, and concentrates instead on the human dimension. It exemplifies a comment often heard in Angola during the war: "this is a war between politicians." But the film goes on to show that in fact it was regular folks, drafted as soldiers or swept up as civilian victims, who killed and died and who have borne the emotional and material costs of twenty-seven years of civil war (after thirteen years of an armed anticolonial struggle). Gamboa's point is clear: reconstruction and reconciliation must take place at the level of human relations.

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DAVID GOODHEW. *Respectability and Resistance: A History of Sophiatown*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. xxvi, 190. \$84.95.

Respectability in Africa has largely been seen as a deterrent to nationalist resistance and a characteristic of the most conservative elements of the African elite. Yet David Goodhew challenges this assumption, arguing that respectability in Sophiatown, South Africa, could

be found among working-class residents as well as its much smaller, more educated, often property-owning elite. Covering the period from 1905 to the destruction of Sophiatown in 1955, Goodhew demonstrates both the broad basis of commitment to respectability among Sophiatown's residents and their active engagement in resistance both to state oppression and to internal disruptions, particularly criminal activity.

Based on a wide variety of archival and scholarly sources, Goodhew identifies three aspects of respectability that dominated the thinking and behavior of respectable Sophiatown residents: belief in the importance of religion, education, and the rule of law. He traces the efforts of Sophiatown citizens to build respectable lives and community by supporting these three pillars of respectability. Most importantly, Goodhew demonstrates the complexity and fragility of class formation in Sophiatown and the dangers of linking attitudes and behavior to class position.

Sophiatown was one of three neighboring townships, along with Newclare and Western Native Township (WNT), growing up on the edge of Johannesburg in the early twentieth century. Sophiatown and Newclare were unique in that land could be bought freehold by all races, which attracted ambitious black Africans, Indians, and coloreds (mixed race) as well as some poorer whites. Sophiatown became an ethnic and racial melting pot, with a vibrant culture and society where the few professional people lived side by side with shebeen queens, pimps, and members of the working class. A respectable working class (and much smaller middle class) was well entrenched in Sophiatown by the 1930s. Committed to education, religion, and law and order, the advocates of respectability demonstrated the capacity both to work with and also to fight against existing power structures. They could exclude certain elements of the population and yet retain a broad appeal. While "respectability" was certainly shaped by liberal whites, especially missionaries, it soon developed an African flavor in Sophiatown. According to Goodhew, although it never brought social acceptance from whites, the commitment to better education, religious values, and law and order of "respectable" citizens resonated with the hopes and dreams of many Sophiatown residents

and provided important social glue for the community. These goals mobilized Sophiatown residents from all walks of life, particularly the desire to improve schooling and to combat crime, which was increasing in the face of an ineffective and unconcerned police and state.

As pressure to eliminate the "black spots" in Johannesburg, especially Sophiatown, intensified in the 1940s, the political activism of the "respectable" elements in the community grew as well. The Advisory Board, dominated by "respectable" community members, joined with the radical Communist Party to stage a series of activities to save Sophiatown and the Western Areas in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1949, a boycott of trams to protest a rise in fares took place. By 1953 the area had become a byword for black radicalism. Protests intensified throughout the period, particularly as the fight against the destruction of Sophiatown took shape. Respectable members of the working and middle class were at the forefront of these struggles, and their failure to save Sophiatown can be seen as a key factor in the shift from efforts at reasoned, respectable protest to the adoption of armed struggle.

Goodhew's analysis has much to tell us about the widespread support for supposedly elite concerns, particularly the desire for better schools, religious values, and law and order. He demonstrates the power of these ideals for mobilizing political action across differences. He also demonstrates the links among widespread poverty, the fragility of economic success, and the limits to class formation in Sophiatown. More attention to daily life as well as notions about gender, consumption, and respectability might have revealed subtle divisions within the respectable classes—ones that defined daily life while not impeding collaboration across various divides. The link between respectability and nationalism in South Africa could have received more attention as well. Nevertheless, this is an important book. It provides lessons from a more inclusive, multiethnic, multicultural, and tolerant past that offer hope to those who believe South Africa can prove that a "rainbow nation" is a possibility in Africa.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

JÜRGEN STRAUB, editor. *Narration, Identity and Historical Consciousness*. (Making Sense of History, number 3.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2005. Pp. xvi, 280. \$60.00.

DONALD E. POLKINGHORNE, Narrative Psychology and Historical Consciousness: Relationships and Perspectives. JEROME S. BRUNER, Past and Present as Narrative Constructions. JÜRGEN STRAUB, Telling Stories, Making History: Toward a Narrative Psychology of the Historical Construction of Meaning. KENNETH J. GERGEN, Narrative, Moral Identity, and Historical Consciousness: A Social Constructionist Account. DONALD P. SPENCE, Narrative Truth and Identity Formation: Abduction and Abuse Stories as Metaphors. MICHA BRUMLIK, The Concept of Time and the Faculty of Judgment in the Ontogenesis of Historical Consciousness. PETER SEIXAS, Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Postprogressive Age. ELFRIEDE BILLMANN-MAHECHA and MONIKA HAUSEN, Empirical Psychological Approaches to the Historical Consciousness of Children. SAMUEL S. WINEBURG, The Psychological Study of Historical Consciousness. BRIGITTE BOOTHE, Biography—A Dream? Self-Chronicling in the Age Psychoanalysis. ALEXANDRE MÉTRAUX, Authenticity and Authority: On Understanding the Shoah. HARALD WELZER, Albert Speer's Memories of the Future: On the Historical Consciousness of a Leading Figure in the Third Reich.

JEFF KESHEN and SYLVIE PERRIER, editors. *Building New Bridges: Sources, Methods and Interdisciplinarity/Bâtir de nouveaux ponts: Sources, méthodes et interdisciplinarité*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. 2005. Pp. 277. \$35.00.

CHARLOTTE MASEMANN, Vellum and *Vaccinium*: Documentary and Archaeological Evidence in the Study of Medieval Produce. JAMES HULL, Talking Numbers: Deconstructing Engineering Discourse. SUSAN LAMB, Model Behaviour: A Material Culture Approach to the History of Anatomy Models. LISA HELPS, Re-disciplining the Body. ROBERT STRONG, The Uncooperative Primary Source: Literary Recovery versus Historical Fact in the Strange Production of *Cogewea*. BARBARA LORENZKOWSKI, Reading Books/Reading Lives: Culture, Lan-

guage, and Power in Nineteenth-Century School Readers. HUBERT WATELET, Rigueur et sensibilité dans un parcours historique. LAURA E. ETTINGER, Inside Out: The Use and Inadvertent Misuse of Oral Histories. KOUKY FIANU and SYLVIE PERRIER, Les sources juridiques au service de l'histoire socio-culturelle de la France médiévale et moderne. VADIM KUKUSHKIN, Revisiting Quantitative Methods in Immigration History: Immigrant Files in the Archives of the Russian Consulates in Canada. SAMY KHALID, Réflexions sur la question identitaire d'après les recensements informatisés: L'exemple des "Suisse" en Ontario (1871–1881). CRISTINA BRADATAN, The Politics of Sources and Definitions. JEFF KESHEN, Reporting the People's War: Ottawa (1914–1918). JONATHAN F. VANCE, Documents in Bronze and Stone: Memorials and Monuments as Historical Sources. KATHERINE ROMBA, The Evidence of Omission in Art History's Texts. MÉLANIE DE GROOTE, Images: mode(s) d'emploi. ANNE F. MACLENNAN, What do the Radio Program Schedules Reveal? Content Analysis versus Accidental Sampling in Early Canadian Radio History. CAROLINE-ISABELLE CARON, Television as Historical Source: Using Images in Cultural History. MICHEL S. BEAULIEU, "Wie es eigentlich gewesen?" Early Film as Historical Source? CHAD GAFFIELD, Evidence of What? Changing Answers to the Question of Historical Sources as Illustrated by Research Using the Census.

GEORGE STEINMETZ, editor. *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences: Positivism and Its Epistemological Others*. (Politics, History and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. 620. \$25.95.

GEORGE STEINMETZ, Positivism and Its Others in the Social Sciences. WEBB KEANE, Estrangement, Intimacy, and the Objects of Anthropology. MICHAEL DUTTON, The Trick of Words: Asian Studies, Translation, and the Problems of Knowledge. TIMOTHY MITCHELL, Economists and the Economy in the Twentieth Century. PHILIP MIROWSKI, How Positivism Made a Pact with the Postwar Social Sciences in the United States. WILLIAM H. SEWELL, JR., The Political Unconscious of Social and Cultural History, or, Confessions of a Former Quantitative Historian. EMILY HAUPTMANN, Defining "Theory" in Postwar Political Science. MARGARET R. SOMERS, Beware Trojan Horses Bearing Social Capital: How Privatization Turned *Solidarity* into a Bowling Team. GEORGE STEINMETZ, Scientific Authority and the Transition to Post-Fordism: The Plausibility of Positivism in U.S. Sociology since 1945. ANDREW COLLIER, Critical Realism. SANDRA HARDING, Negotiating with the Positivist Legacy: New Social Justice Movements and a Standpoint Politics of Method. TONY LAWSON, A Perspective on Modern Economics. ANDREW ABBOTT, The Idea of Outcome

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

TOYIN FALOLA and MATT D. CHILDS, editors. *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 455. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$27.95.

MATT D. CHILDS and TOYIN FALOLA, The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World: Methodology and Research. DAVID ELTIS, The Diaspora of Yoruba Speakers, 1650–1865: Dimensions and Implications. PAUL E. LOVEJOY, The Yoruba Factor in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. ANN O'HEAR, The Enslavement of Yoruba. JOÃO JOSÉ REIS and BEATRIZ GALLOTTI MAMIGONIAN, Nagô and Mina: The Yoruba Diaspora in Brazil. MICHELE REID, The Yoruba in Cuba: Origins, Identities, and Transformations. RUSSELL LOHSE, Africans in a Colony of Creoles: The Yoruba in Colonial Costa Rica. ROSALYN HOWARD, Yoruba in the British Caribbean: A Comparative Perspective on Trinidad and the Bahamas. KEVIN ROBERTS, The Influential Yoruba Past in Haiti. LUIS NICOLAU PARÉS, The "Nagôization" Process in Bahian Candomblé. CHRISTINE AYORINDE, Santería in Cuba: Tradition and Transformation. MARIZA DE CARVALHO SOARES, From Gbe to Yoruba: Ethnic Change and the Mina Nation in Rio de Janeiro. KEVIN ROBERTS, Yoruba Family, Gender, and Kinship Roles in New World Slavery. ROBIN MOORE, Revolution and Religion: Yoruba Sacred Music in Socialist Cuba. BABATUNDE LAWAL, Reclaiming the Past: Yoruba Elements in African American Arts. AUGUSTINE H. AGWUELE, "Yorubaisms" in African American "Speech" Patterns. ROBIN LAW, Yoruba Liberated Slaves Who Returned to West Africa. C. MAGBAILY FYLE, The Yoruba Diaspora in Sierra Leone's Krio Society. GIBRIL R. COLE, Liberated Slaves and Islam in Nineteenth-Century West Africa.

ALEXIA GROSJEAN and STEVE MURDOCH, editors. *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions: History, Culture, Religion, Ideas, number 107.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xx, 417. \$199.00.

PATRICK FITZGERALD, Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth Century. WALDEMAR KOWALSKI, The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. DAVID DOBSON, Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas. NINA ØSTBY PEDERSEN, Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. DOUGLAS CATTERALL, Scots along the Maas, c. 1570–1750. ALEXIA GROSJEAN and STEVE MURDOCH, The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg. RIMANTAS ŽIGULIS, The Scottish Community in Kėdainiai c.1630–c.1750. KATHRIN ZICKERMANN "Briteannia ist mein patria": Scotsmen and the "British" Community in Hamburg. GINNY GARDNER, A Haven for Intrigue: The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660–1690. ESTHER MIJERS, Scottish Students in the Netherlands, 1680–1730. ANDREW LITTLE, A Comparative Survey of Scottish Service in the English

and Dutch Maritime Communities c. 1650–1707. LEX HEERMA VAN VOSS, SØLVI SOGNER, and THOMAS O'CONNOR, Scottish Communities Abroad: Some Concluding Remarks.

KRISTA O'DONNELL, RENATE BRIDENTHAL, and NANCY R. REAGIN, editors. *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. x, 326. \$29.95.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITORS:

I wish to register a protest concerning the review by Ralph M. Coury of S. S. Hasan, *Christians versus Muslims in Modern Egypt: The Century-Long Struggle for Coptic Equality* (AHR, April 2005, 591). This review, contrary to AHR guidelines, tells us little about the book itself but much about the reviewer's blatant political prejudices.

I object particularly to Coury's accusation—which is nowhere made in Ms. Hasan's own valuable and honest book—that Israel aims “to exploit Coptic and other forms of Middle Eastern minority identities for [its] own purposes.” A reader of the review alone would not know that the author was herself banned from Egypt because of government intolerance of her advocacy of peace with Israel (*Christians versus Muslims*, xi).

The review is replete with anti-Israeli innuendo while sidestepping the major subject of militant Islamist persecution of Coptic Christians. When Coury refers crudely to “an alliance of the American Zionist lobby and the Christian right,” he is guilty of stereotyping and caricaturing pro-Zionist opinion and involvement in this country—much of which is solidly liberal and democratic. I am proud to be in that camp.

DAVID E. NARRETT

University of Texas, Arlington

RALPH M. COURY RESPONDS:

American/Zionist efforts to exploit Middle Eastern minority identities have had a long history, from Zionist attempts to ally with Lebanese Maronites in the 1920s to the operation of Israeli agents in Kurdish areas of Iran and Syria today.

Oded Yinon, a former official of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, summarized the strategy in a report to the World Zionist Organization in 1982: Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq could be broken up into religious, ethnic, and regional enclaves. Iraq, in particular, “rich in oil,” “the greatest threat to Israel,” and “internally torn,” was “guaranteed as a candidate for Israel's targets.”

Yinon's report reflects a wider pattern of thought that helps us to understand the recent occupation of Iraq. In 1996, the American neoconservatives Richard Perle, David Wurmser, and Douglas Feith drafted “A Clean Break: Defense of the Realm [Israel]” for Prime Minister Netanyahu. They advocated removal of Saddam Hussein, a “roll back” of Syria, renunciation of Oslo, and replacement of Arafat. These and other prominent architects of the Iraqi occupation aim to reorganize Arab societies on religious, tribal, and clan foundations wherever possible, to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict on Sharon's terms, to shift power to Israel, Turkey, and an Iraq under permanent American control, and to accord ethnic and religious minorities rights as self-contained entities in order to weaken the Arab states and stifle pan-Arabism.

Egypt has not been neglected in this strategy. “The vision of a Christian Coptic state in Upper Egypt,” Yinon noted, “. . . seems inevitable in the long run.” To be sure, Egypt is not likely to be destroyed, but it is clear that serious deconstructive pressures are being applied. I cannot here document the story of how Israel and various American allies (eminent neoconservatives and liberals, the Zionist lobby, Christian rightists, and expatriate Copts) have played the Coptic card through such devices as the Congressional International Religious Freedom Act of 1998. I will simply refer to two telling pieces of evidence that provide deliciously blatant manifestations of hypocrisy and double standards.

In 2001, Elliott Abrams, chair of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, led a fact-

finding delegation to Egypt and Saudi Arabia but refused to accompany other delegates to Israel inasmuch as he believed that no Israeli problems warranted attention. The Commission issued no report about Israel and the occupied territories because of the "complexity of the situation" and "differences of opinion." When Abrams was later appointed National Security Advisor for the Near East and North Africa, the *Weekly Standard* hailed the event as a move that neatly "cocks a snook at the pro-Palestinian wimps at the State Department."

Another example is provided by the international conference "Egyptian Copts: A Minority under Siege," which expatriate Coptic associations sponsored in Zurich in 2004. The keynote speaker was none other than Daniel Pipes, whose "Campus Watch" website monitors professors who "dislike" their country and its allies (i.e., American and Israeli policies). Pipes asserted that Christianity was disappearing from the Middle East (because of Muslim persecution) and from Europe (because of Muslim immigration and high birth rates). The "great cultures: Italian, French, English and others, will likely be replaced by a new transnational Muslim identity." No concerns were expressed for the Church of the Nativity.

In spite of all of this, most Egyptian Copts are not taken in. "Egyptians, Muslims and Copts alike, will never bow before the Zionist and Western designs to bend our will, alter our national priorities, and usurp our autonomous resolve," Pope Shenouda III declared in response to *Daily Telegraph* misrepresentations of Coptic/Muslim relations in 1997.

David Narrett is "proud" to be a liberal pro-Zionist. There are indeed differences between liberal and right-wing Zionists, but this should not obscure fundamental commonalities. Zionism has been a form of settler-colonialism that has necessitated the support of an imperial power (Britain, then the United States) and counterrevolutionary strategies. Israel's alliances with apartheid South Africa, with France against Algeria, and with France and Britain against Egypt, as well as its

policies of divide and rule, existed long before the ascendancy of the Likud. Such alliances and policies were effected by many who were also proud to call themselves liberals, and by some who even called themselves socialists and Marxists.

RALPH M. COURY
Fairfield University

REVIEWS

TO THE EDITORS:

In her review of Julie Taylor's *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony of Lucera* (*AHR*, October 2004, 1295–1296), Sally McKee wrote, "when tensions between the Christians and Muslims in Sicily in the first decades of the thirteenth century disrupted life on Frederick II's island, the emperor did what the Christian rulers of Iberia had done in the eleventh century: he removed the Muslims from his kingdom." Although before 1085 Christian reconquering rulers sometimes did expel local Muslims, for example, Fernando I of Leon-Castile after reconquering Coimbra in 1064, this policy was not in fact always pursued by Christian Iberian rulers in the eleventh century. Most notably, Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile permitted the substantial Muslim community of Toledo to remain there after its reconquest in 1085. For documentation, please refer to Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "Mudejars of Castile and Portugal," in *Muslims under Latin Rule*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 13–19, especially note 7. Given the current international climate, I feel that it is very important that the historical record of medieval Christian rulers' treatment of their Muslim subjects not be unduly misrepresented.

ALICE WHEALEY

Sally McKee does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

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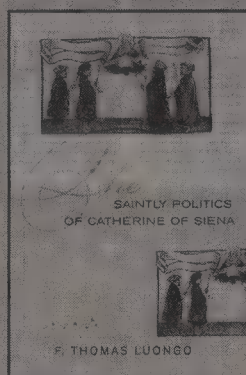
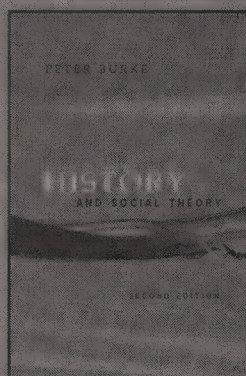
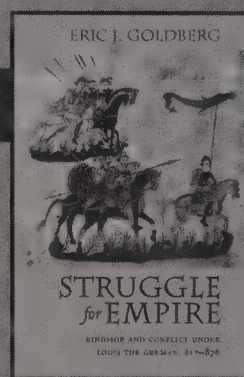
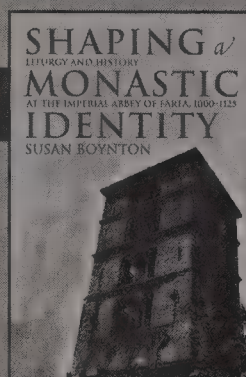
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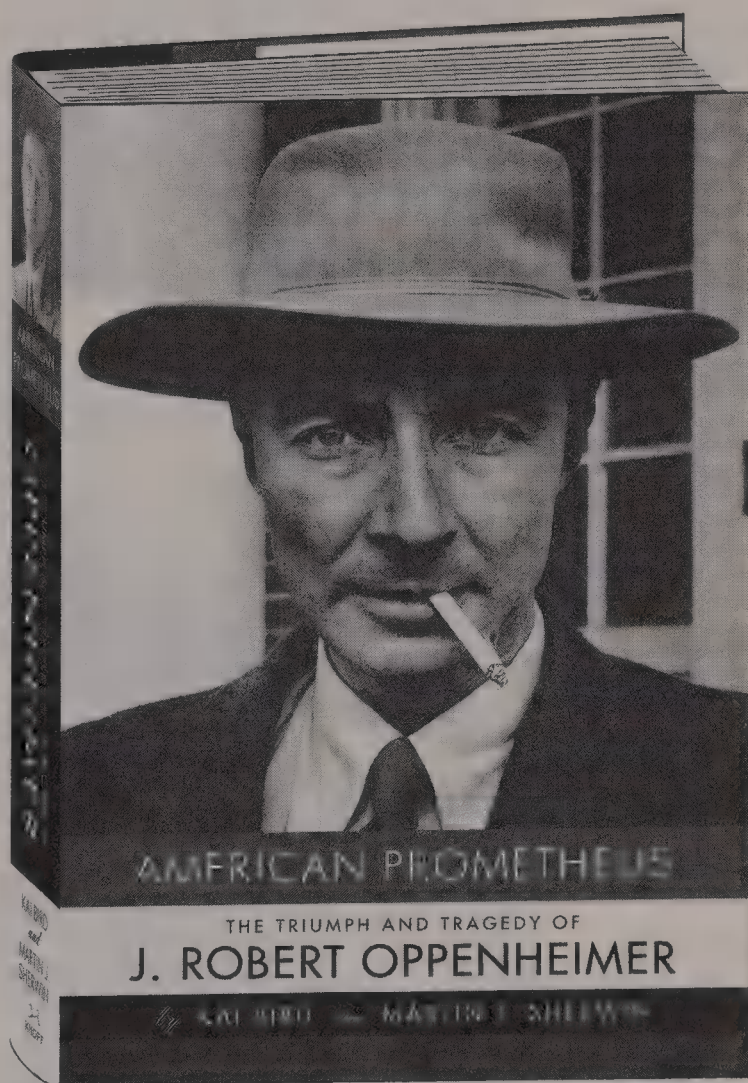


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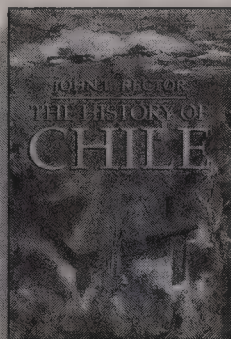
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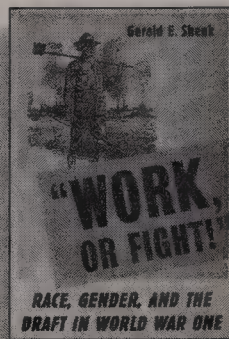
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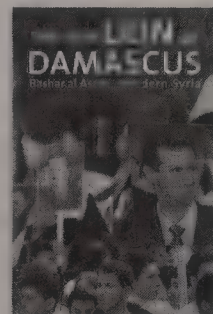
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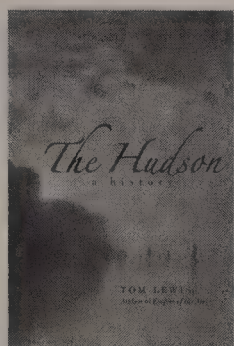
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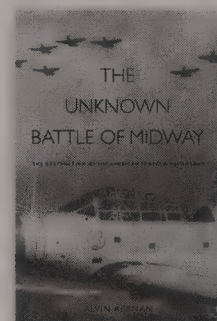
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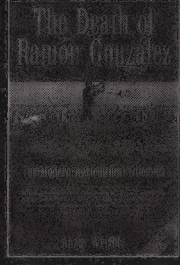


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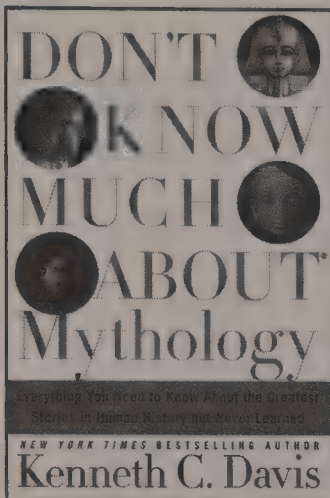


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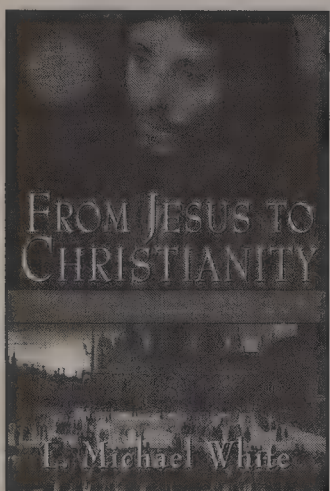
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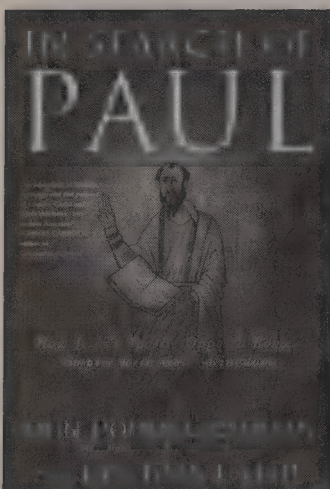
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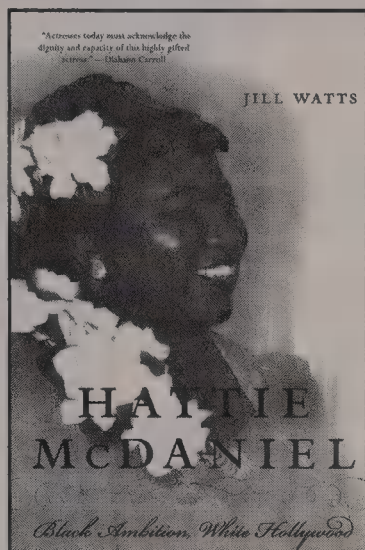


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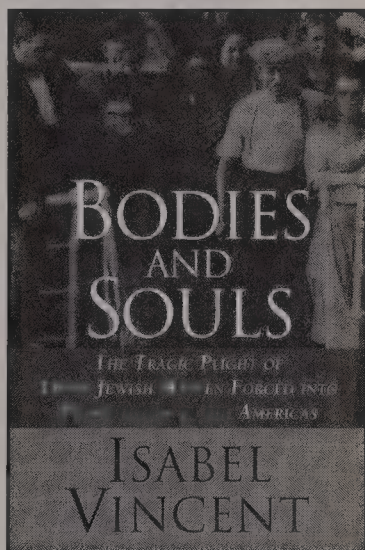
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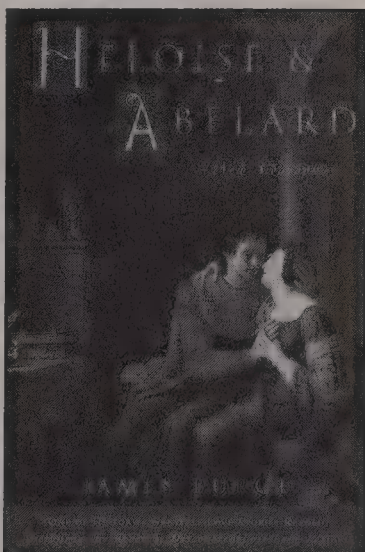
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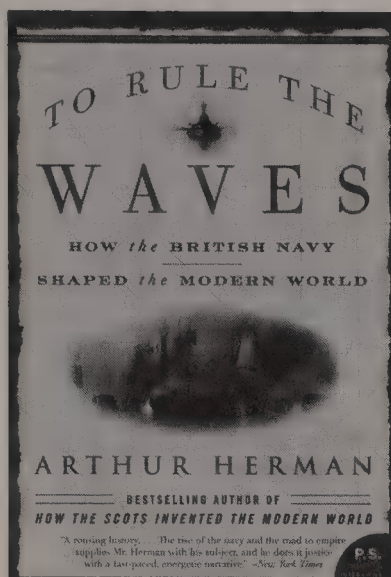
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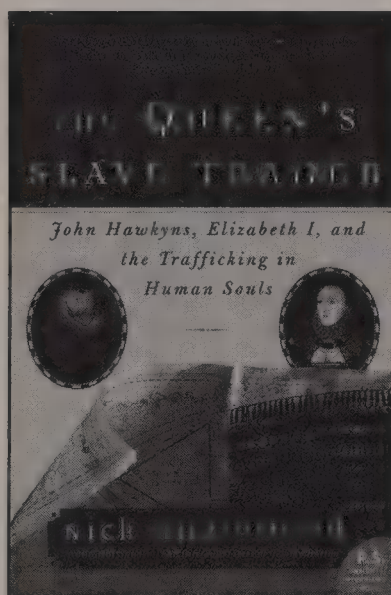
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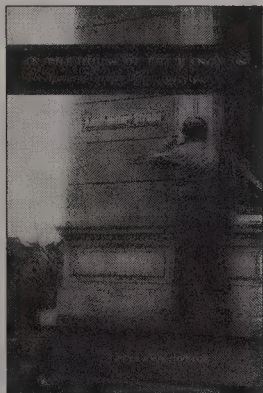
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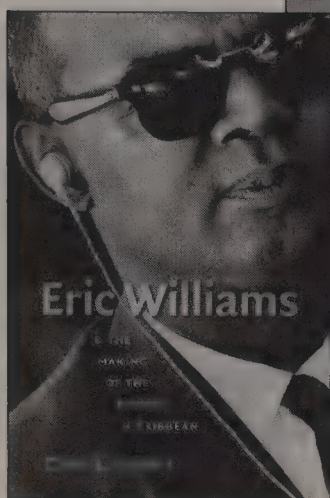
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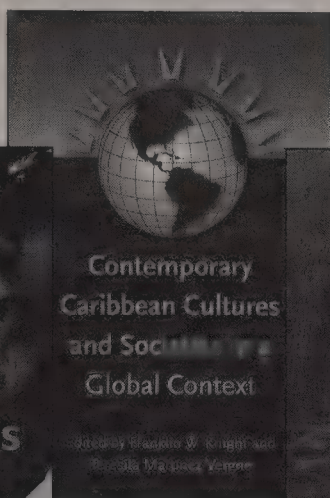
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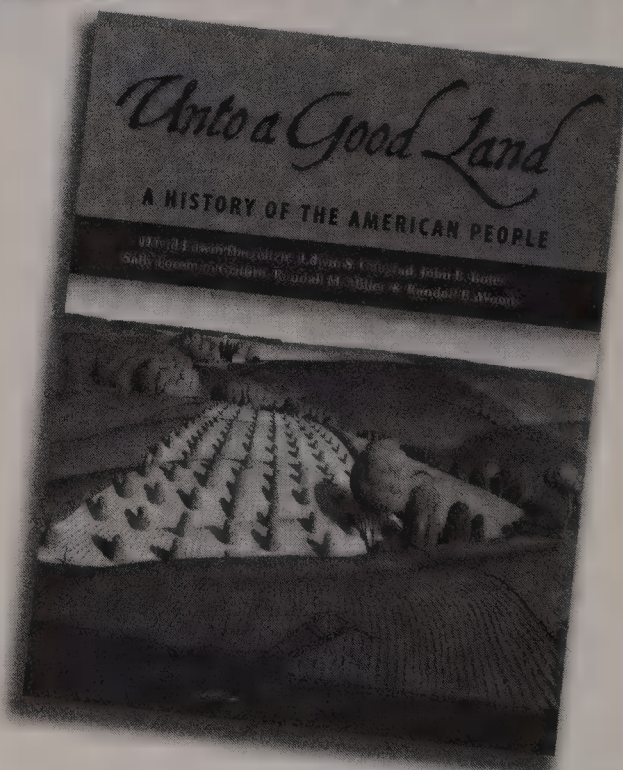
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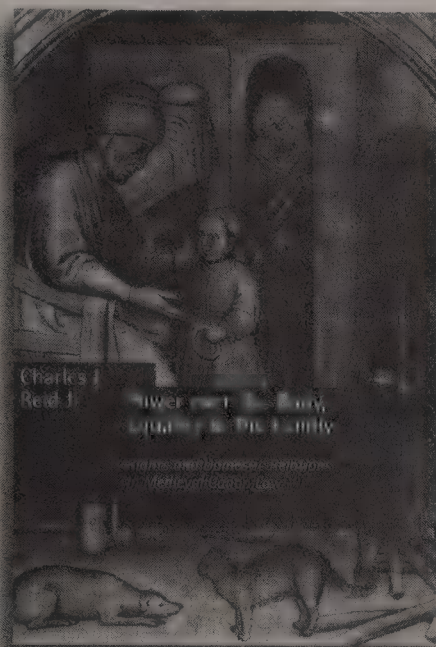
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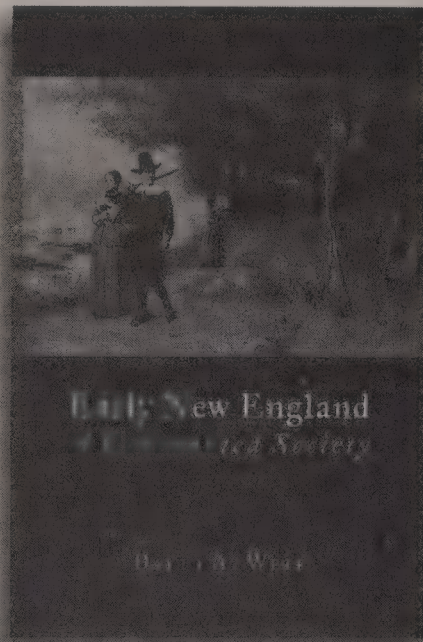
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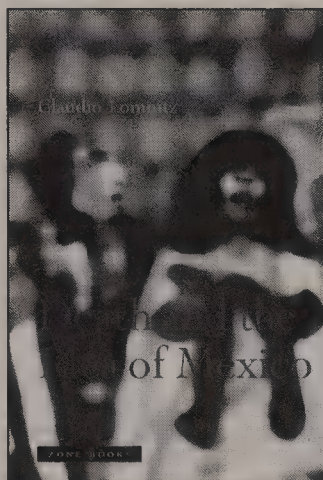
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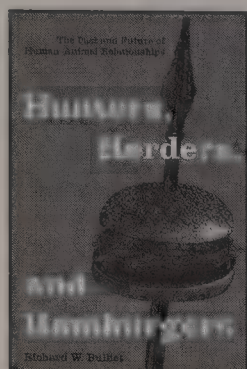
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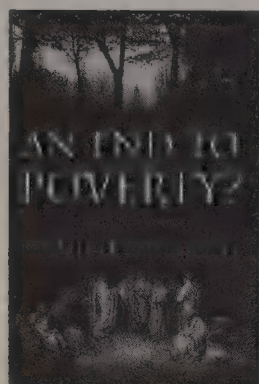
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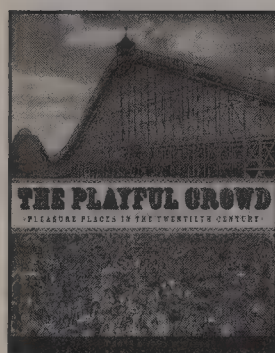
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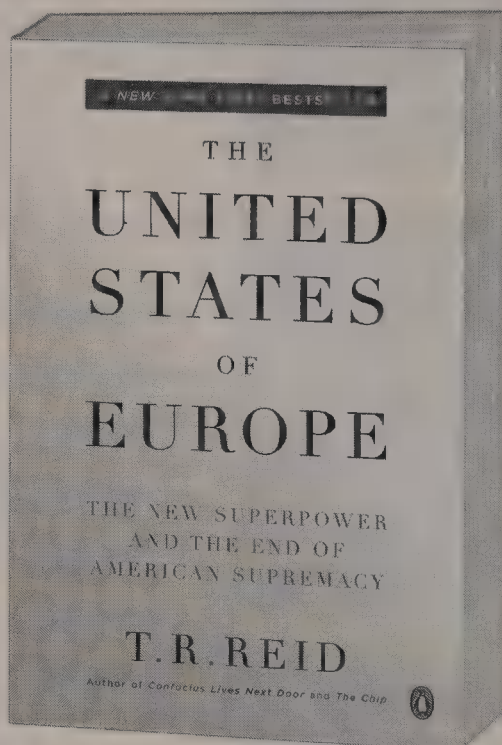
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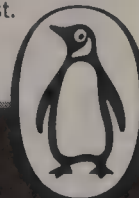
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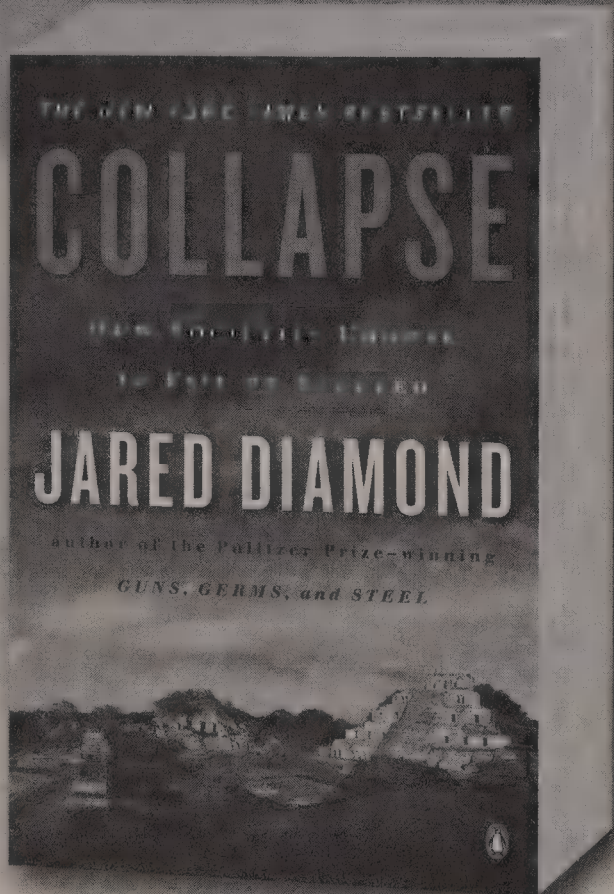
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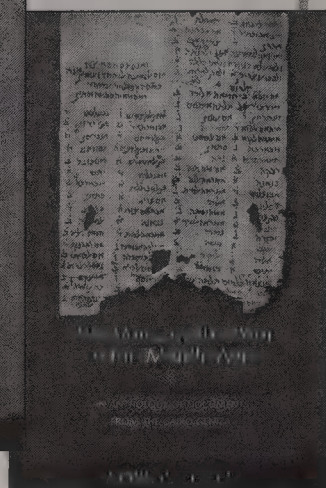
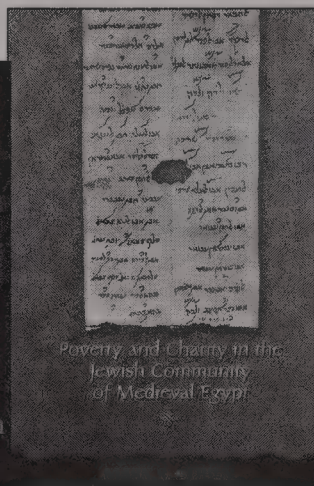
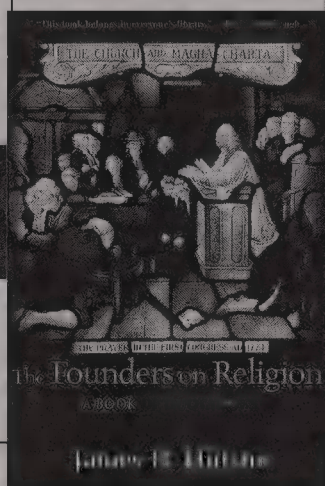
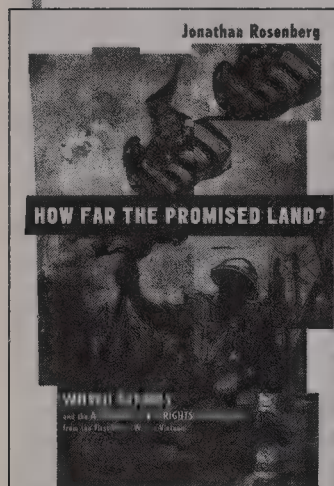
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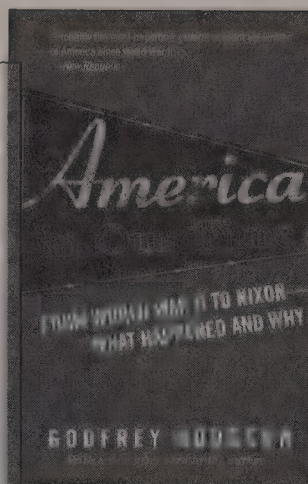
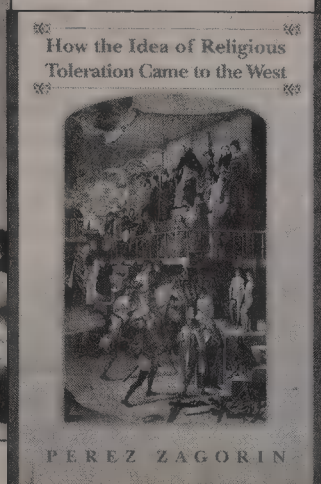
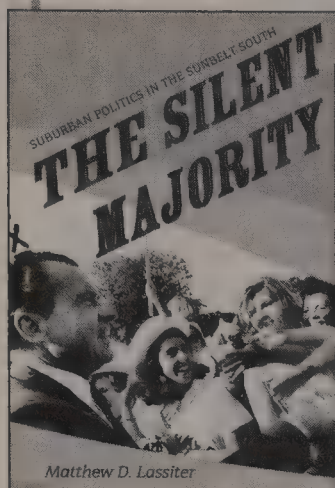
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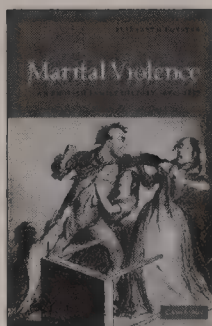
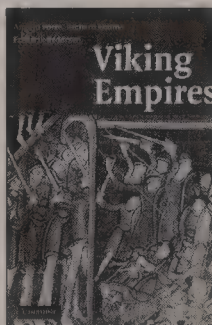
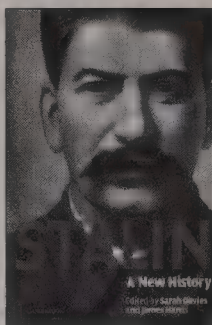
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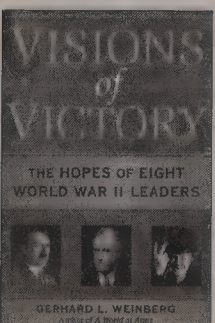
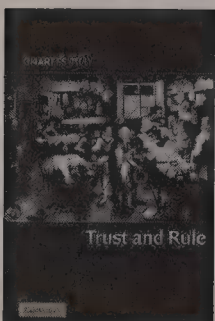
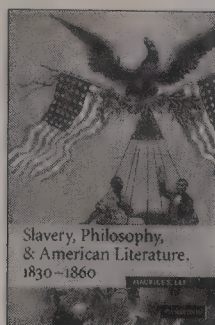
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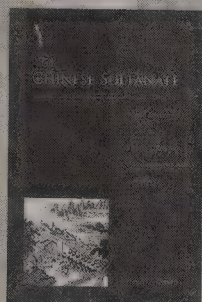
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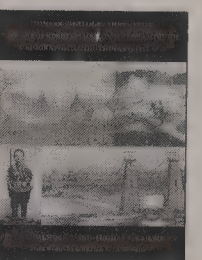
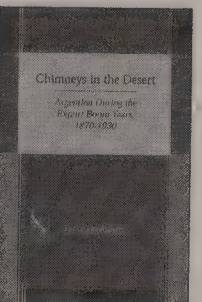
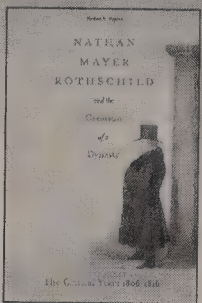
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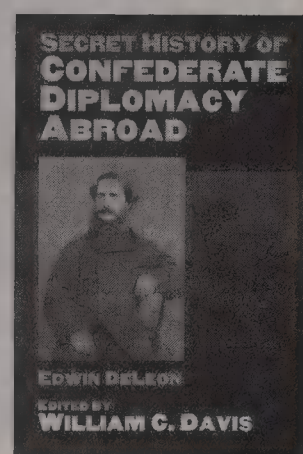
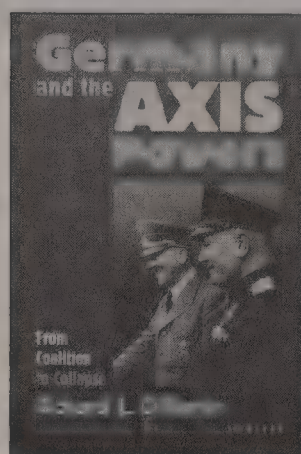
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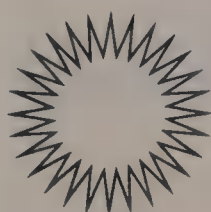
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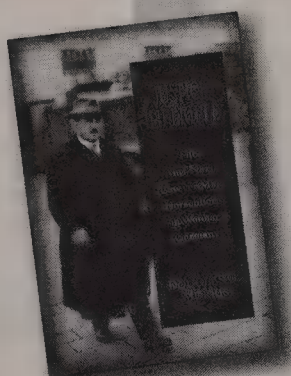


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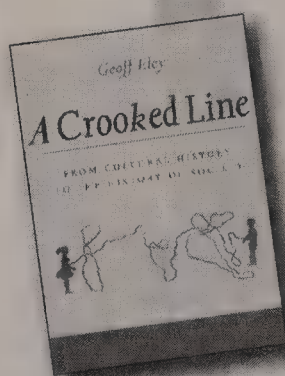
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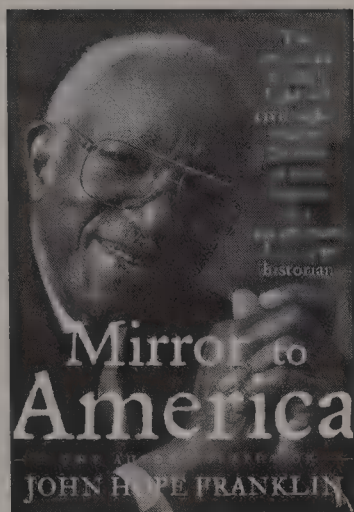
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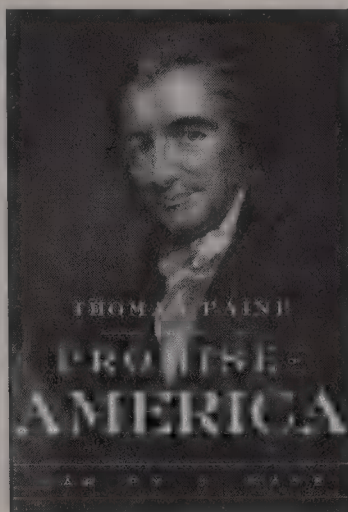


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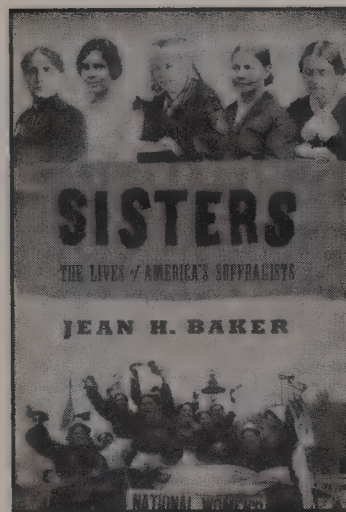
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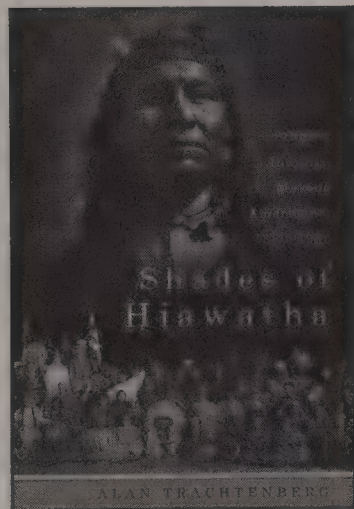
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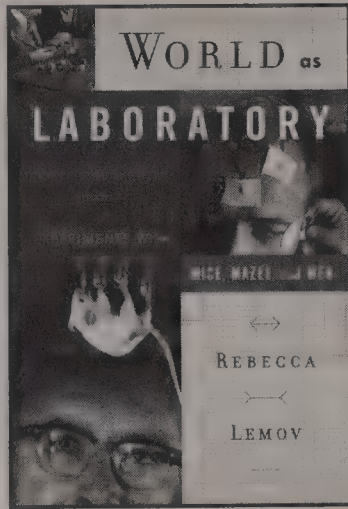
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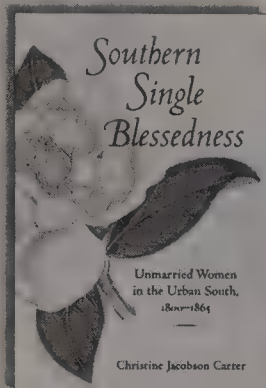
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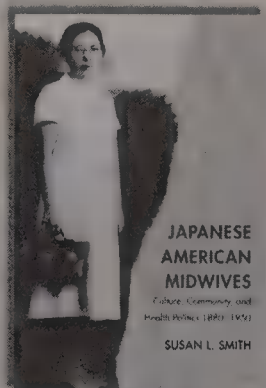
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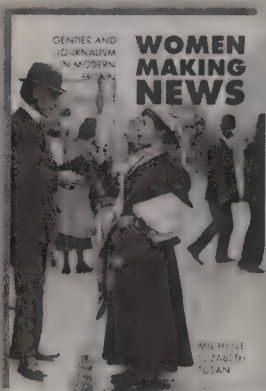


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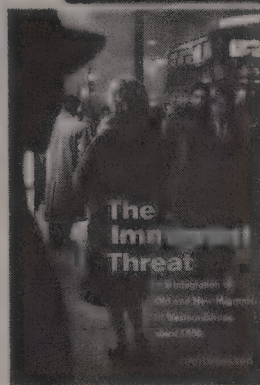
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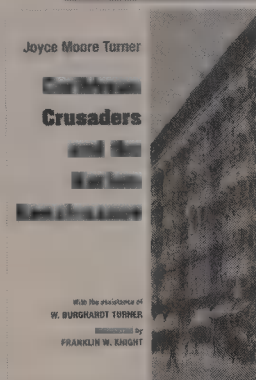
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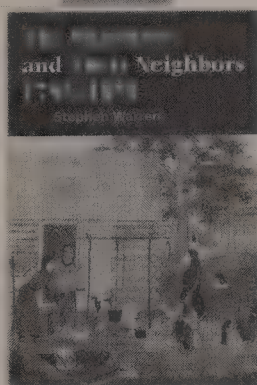
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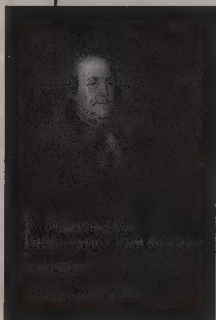
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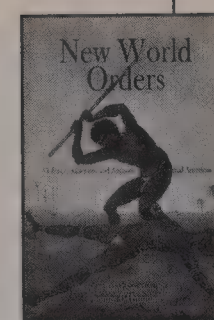
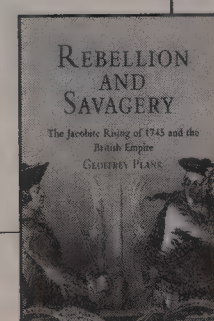
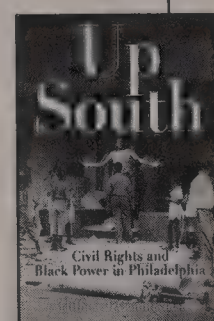
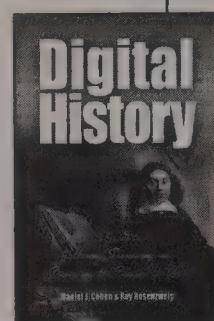
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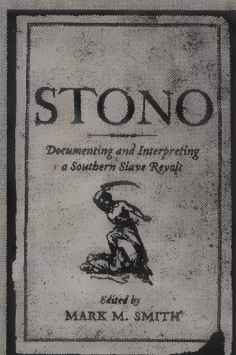
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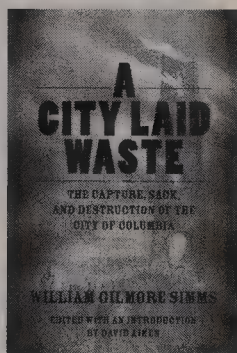
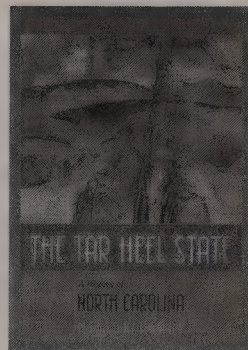
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